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THE ROMANIC REVIEW



THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

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Volume II

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PUBLISHED BY
THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1911

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THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

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CONTENTS

CHARLES H. HASKINS, The Translation of Hugo Sanctelliensis.....	1
JAMES HOLLY HANFORD, Classical Eclogue and Mediæval Debate.....	16, 129
FRANCIS WOOLSON SNOW, The Symbolism of Petrarch's Canzone to the Virgin	32
STANLEY LEMAN GALPIN, Influence of the Mediæval Christian Visions on Jean de Meun's Notions of Hell	54
A. A. LIVINGSTON, The Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis, Translated into Eng- lish, with Textual Notes	61
IRVILLE C. LECOMPTE, On the Text of Richeut	80
E. H. TUTTLE, Notes on the Rumanian Numerals	83
DUDLEY HOWE MILES, Dante and Aquinas	85
H. N. MACCRACKEN, An Italian Complaint for the Death of Pierre de Lusignan	89
JOHN LIVINGSTON LOWES, Illustrations of Chaucer. Drawn Chiefly from Deschamps	113
H. M. EVERS, Notes on Renoart	144
J. L. GERIG, Barthélemy Aneau: a Study in Humanism	163
J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, The Braggart Soldier and the Rufián in the Spanish Drama of the Sixteenth Century	186
W. W. COMFORT, Vita Nova: 41 and Cligés: 5815 ff.....	209
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON, A Sonnet of Ciro di Pers Attributed to G. F. Busenello.	212
T. F. CRANE, Miracles of the Virgin	235
JOHN M. BURNHAM, Becerro de Benvivere: Third Part containing the "Vida de el Señor Diego Martinez Salvador Fundador de Benvivere Llamado el Santo"	279
HELEN HARVITT, Gestes des Solliciteurs—A Sixteenth Century Account of the Abuses of Law Courts by Eustorg de Beaulieu	301
STANLEY L. GALPIN, Dangier li Vilains	316
GUY E. SNAVELY, Jehan de Vignay and his Influence on Early English Literature	318
GEORGE L. HAMILTON, Storm-Making Springs: Studies on the Sources of <i>Yvain</i>	355
J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD, The Pastor and Bobo in the Spanish Religious Drama of the Sixteenth Century	376
ARTHUR LIVINGSTON, Giambattista Vidali: A Document for his Biography (1679)	402
JOHN BERDAN, Tudor Literature and Mr. Lee	413
ALLAN H. GILBERT, Petrarch's Confessional Psalms	429

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Baudrier, J., <i>Bibliographie Lyonnaise</i> (J. L. Gerig).....	229
<i>Bibliographie hispanique, 1905 et 1906</i> (C. P. Wagner).....	103
Colton, Molton Avery, <i>La Phonétique castillane</i> (Frederick Bliss Luquiens) .	466
Croce, Benedetto, <i>Lirici Marinisti</i> (J. E. Shaw).....	444
Croce, Benedetto, <i>Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento</i> (A. A. Livingston)	108
Crœstien's von Troyes <i>Contes del Graal</i> (Percevaus li galois) (Raymond Weeks)	101
Debenedetti, Santorre, <i>Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento</i> (Federico Olivero)	349
Goer, Joan, <i>Confision del Amante</i> (Chas. Philip Wagner).....	459
Hanssen, Friedrich, <i>Spanische Grammatik auf Historischer Grundlage</i> (H. R. Lang)	327
Laumonier, Paul, <i>Ronsard, poète lyrique</i> (C. Ruutz-Rees).....	106
Pidal, R. Menéndez, <i>El Romancero Español</i> (John D. FitzGerald).....	96
Pidal, R. Menéndez, <i>L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole</i> (John D. FitzGerald)	100
Raynaud, Gaston, <i>La Chastelaine de Vergi</i> (E. S. Sheldon).....	214
Reuter, Fritz, <i>Die Bataille d'Arleschant</i> (Raymond Weeks).....	462
Ruutz-Rees, Caroline, <i>Charles de Sainte-Marthe</i> (R. L. Hawkins).....	223
Söderhjelm, Werner, <i>La nouvelle française au XV^e siècle</i> (G. L. Hamilton) .	347
Studer, P., <i>The Oak Book of Southampton</i> (R. Weeks)	229
Toynbee, Paget, <i>Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary</i> (George L. Hamilton)	215
Voretzsch, Carl, <i>Balduins Tod</i> (R. W.).....	351
Zilliacus, Emile, <i>Giovanni Pascoli et l'Antiquité</i> (Dino Bigongiari).....	225
NOTES AND NEWS	III, 233, 352, 468
OBITUARY	469

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. II — JANUARY-MARCH, 1911 — No. 1

THE TRANSLATIONS OF HUGO SANCTELLIENSIS

IN the history of culture in the Romance countries of mediæval Europe an important place must be given to the movement which it is becoming common to call the renaissance of the twelfth century. This revival of learning had many aspects, according as we consider it from the point of view of classical literature, of law, of natural science, or of philosophy and theology; but on its philosophical and scientific sides it owed its significance to the influx of a great body of new knowledge, coming in some measure from direct contact with Greek writers in the Norman kingdom of Sicily and elsewhere,¹ but derived for the most part through the intermediary of Arabic and Jewish sources as these were made accessible in central and northern Spain. Here the chief center was Toledo, where a large amount of Arabic literature survived the Christian conquest of 1085 and whence in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries an active school of translators spread over western Europe the Latin versions of Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid, Galen, Hippocrates, and their Arabic expositors and commentators which constituted the basis of study and teaching in the mediæval universities. The impulse to this movement would seem to have come in the first instance from Raymond, archbishop of Toledo from 1126 to 1151,² under whom we find the archdeacon of Segovia, Dominic Gondisalvi, and a converted Jew named John of Seville³ busy with versions of Avicenna and various astronom-

¹ Haskins and Lockwood, *The Sicilian Translators of the Twelfth Century and the First Latin Version of Ptolemy's Almagest*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXI, 75-102.

² Gams, *Kirchengeschichte von Spanien*, III, 1, pp. 20-23, 37.

³ On the Toletan translators see Jourdain, *Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote* (Paris, 1843), pp. 107-120; Rose,

ical and astrological treatises; but it would be a mistake to regard it as confined to Toledo or to these men. John of Seville was in relations, how close we do not know, with a group of scholars from other lands, including Plato of Tivoli, an Englishman named Robertus Retinensis, Hermann the Dalmatian and his pupil Rudolph of Bruges, who worked, mainly on astronomical subjects, in various cities of northern Spain and, probably, southern France.⁴ Plato, who is found in Spain as early as 1136,⁵ is connected particularly with Barcelona; Hermann and Robert first appear in 1141 as students of astrology on the banks of the Ebro, and one or both of them can be traced at Segovia, Leon, Toulouse, Béziers,⁶ and

Ptolemäus und die Schule von Toledo, in *Hermes*, VIII, 327-349; Wüstenfeld, *Die Uebersetzungen arabischer Werke in das Lateinische*, in *Abhandlungen of the Göttingen Academy* (1877), XXII, 25-39; Correns, *Dominicus Gundisalvi de Unitate*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (1891), I, 1; Bülow, *Des Dominicus Gundissalinus Schrift von der Unsterblichkeit der Seele*, *ibid.* (1897), II, 3; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1893), pp. 981-984; *id.*, *Die europäischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Arabischen*, in *Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy*, phil.-hist. Kl. (1904), CXLIX, 4, pp. 32, 40-50.

⁴ Boncompagni, *Sulle versioni fatte da Platone Tiburtino* (Rome, 1851), from *Atti dell' Accademia Pontificia*, IV; Wüstenfeld, *l. c.*, pp. 25-53; Steinschneider, *Vienna SB.*, CXLIX, 4, pp. 33-34, 62-66, 67-73, 74-75; Björnbo, *Hermannus Dalmata als Uebersetzer astronomischer Arbeiten*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, third series, IV, 130-133; Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge* (Paris, 1895), pp. 189 ff.; *Dictionary of National Biography*, on Robert de Retines. The relations of these men to John of Seville appear from the dedications of translations. See Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, pp. 281, 568, 582, and for Rudolph of Bruges the introduction to his treatise on the astrolabe: *Huius instrumenti formulam dilectissimo domino suo Iohanni David Rodolfus Bruggensis Hermanni secundi discipulus describit*. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS. VIII. C. 50, not foliated; British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespasian A. II, f. 35; MS. Lat. 16552, in Bubnov, *Gerberti Opera Mathematica* (Berlin, 1899), p. 115 n.

⁵ His translation of the *Liber embadorum* of Savasorda, edited by Curtze in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematik*, XII, 1-183, is dated in the year 510 of the Hegira, i. e., 1116, but an examination of the position of the sun and planets there given (p. 182) shows that the real date is August 13, 1145, an error doubtless started by a scribe who wrote DX for DXL.

⁶ I can find no ground for accepting the assumption of Steinschneider (*Vienna SB.*, CXLIX, 4, p. 74) and Björnbo (*Bibliotheca Mathematica*, IV, 131) that the "Tolosa" of the MS. designates the unimportant Tolosa, in Guipuzcoa, rather than the obvious Toulouse. The "Biternis" of MS. Naples VIII. C. 50 is in all probability meant for "Biterris," the usual Latin form of Béziers. For mention of Leon, see Bubnov, *Gerberti Opera*, pp. xxv, cxi, 115 n.

Pamplona, where Robert became archdeacon. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to an active and hitherto unknown center of such studies at Tarazona, in Aragon, and to examine the work of a contemporary translator, Hugo Sanctelliensis, of whom exceedingly little has hitherto been known.

It is well to bear in mind that in the actual process of transmission of ancient learning to Latin Europe accident and convenience played a large part. The early translators groped somewhat blindly in the mass of Greek and Arabic works which were suddenly disclosed to them; they cared as much for astrology as for astronomy, often preferred an Arabic commentator to the subject of his commentary, and sometimes postponed the translation of the most important works because of their length or the difficulties of the subject-matter. Moreover the translators worked in different places, so that they might easily duplicate one another's work, and the translation which was the earliest or the most accurate did not always secure the widest circulation.⁷ Thus in the case of Ptolemy his *Planisphere* was one of the books translated by Hermann the Dalmatian in 1143;⁸ the Latin version of the *Optics*, which has survived the loss of both the Greek and the Arabic texts, was made from the Arabic in Sicily about the middle of the century; while his great work, the *Almagest*, became known at first only through the translated compend of al-Fargani⁹ and passed into general use, not in the first and more faithful version made from the Greek in Sicily about 1160, but in the translation from the Arabic which Gerard of Cremona completed at Toledo in 1175.¹⁰ On the other hand, Ptolemy's astrological treatise, the

⁷ Björnbo, *Die mittelalterlichen lateinischen Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen auf dem Gebiete der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften*, I, 387 (= *Festschrift Moritz Cantor anlässlich seines achtzigsten Geburtstages*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 95), suggests that the first translation made after the revival of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the one which held the field; but the opposite was true in the case of the *Almagest*, as appears below.

⁸ Heiberg, *Ptolomaei Opera* (Teubner, 1907), II, clxxxvii; Björnbo, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, IV, 130-133.

⁹ On which see Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, p. 554; Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, p. 44.

¹⁰ Haskins and Lockwood, in *Harvard Studies*, XXI, 77-84. A fragment of this translation from the Greek, but without the preface which fixes the date,

Quadripertitum, was the first of his works to be translated into Latin, in the version produced by Plato of Tivoli in 1138,¹¹ and the abridgment of this, the *Fructus* or *Centiloquium*, which was ascribed to Ptolemy throughout the Middle Ages, was translated somewhat earlier. The Latin rendering of the *Centiloquium* bears in most of the manuscripts the date of 1136, and while it was formerly ascribed to Plato of Tivoli, it is now, on the authority of an Erfurt manuscript, generally assigned to John of Seville.¹² Whether this attribution is correct and how many versions of the *Centiloquium* were made, only a comparison of the numerous copies can determine, but in any event there is extant in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples¹³ a translation prepared by Hugo Sanctellien-sis for the bishop of Tarazona, as appears from the following preface:

Incipiunt fructus Ptolomei, liber scilicet quem grecorum quidam centum verba appellant, Hugonis Sanctelliensis translatus. Prologus eiusdem ad Michaellem Tirassone antistitem.

De hiis que ad iudiciorum veritatem actinent, cum in illis totus astronomie consistat effectus secundum arabice secte verissima[m] inquisitionem et tam grecorum quam arabum quibus artis habiti sunt profexores famosissimi auctoritatem, volumina decem in hiis de multimoda auctorum copia eligendis diucius obversatus, ne tante expectationis fructus minor tantique laboris merces in aliquo deficere videretur, de arabico in latinum translatavi sermonem. His enim quot sufficiunt ut decet preiacentibus, tota huius artis structura atque series dignissimo gaudebit effectui. Ut enim Aristotiles in libro de signis superioribus asseruit, Siquis prudentissimus faber sive architectus in construenda cuiuslibet hedificii machina congruis et quot sufficiant careat instrumentis, totam fabricam vacillare aut aliquit minus perfectum inveniri necesse est. Quod si nec desit

was discovered independently at Florence by Björnbo (*Archiv Gesch. Naturwiss.*, I, 392) and described by Heiberg, in *Hermes*, XLV, 57-66.

¹¹ Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, p. 65.

¹² Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe* (Paris, 1876), II, 374; Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, pp. 527-529; Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, p. 41; Nallino, *Albatenii opus astronomicum* (Milan, 1903), I, lvii.

¹³ MS. VIII. D. 4, copied at Naples in the fifteenth century. The text proper begins: Verbum primum. Astrorum sciencia de te et de illis. Hoc in sermone de te et de illis videtur velle Ptholomeus duplicem esse astrorum scienciam. . . . Still another version of the *Centiloquium* was used by Albertus Magnus. *Catalogus codicum astrologorum grecorum*, V, 97; Steinschneider, in *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik*, XVI, 383.

huiusmodi sufficiencia cum opificis industria, non aliud postulat examen, unde et quasi sese comitancia sunt et aliud alio indigere videtur. Nec ab huius ordinis serie declinat quod in prologo dicitur sapiencia sine eloquencia parum prodesse civitatibus, eloquencia sine sapiencia prodesse nunquam, obesse plerumque. Quia ergo Ptholomeus inter ceteros astronomie professores precipuus habetur interpretes et auctor post *Almagesti* et *Quadripartitum* hunc solum de iudiciis astrorum reliquid tractatum, et ut tue, mi domine tirassoniensis antistes, satisfiat iubsioni, eius translacionis fructum ego Sactelliensis adporto, hac verum occasione compulsus ne dum in portu iudiciorum navigas in cimba locatus vasa saxosa formides et ne de tanti preceptoris operibus quippiam abesse queratis. Hic enim si quolibet hucusque circa huiusmodi negocium fuerat ambiguitas poterit aboleri, si quolibet disgressionis circucio poterit breviri, quidquid hians vel minus perfectum hiis centum verbis poterit reparari. Unde ex ipsius auctoris edicto tuam non incongruum video exortari diligentiam ne tante sapiencie archana cuilibet indingno tractanda commictas et ne quemlibet participem adhibeas qui potius gaudet librorum numero quam eorum delectetur artificio.

The dedication to Bishop Michael establishes an approximate date. Of unknown origin, this prelate was placed over the see of Tarazona in 1119, immediately after the recovery of that region from the Moors by Alfonso VII and seven years before Raymond became archbishop of Toledo, and continued in office until 1151. His labors for the establishment of his authority and the restoration of the ecclesiastical organization throughout his diocese are attested by a number of contemporary documents,¹⁴ but he has not hitherto been known as a patron of learning. From the preface just quoted we see that the translation of the *Centiloquium* was made by his command, to serve as a guide to the voluminous body of astrological literature which had already been placed at his disposal; and while we must make due allowance for the high-sounding praise of his learning and wisdom in the prefaces printed below, the mere list of the translations made at his orders shows that the *insaciabilis philosophandi aviditas* ascribed to him¹⁵ is no empty phrase. If he likes compendious treatises, he wishes them to be correct,¹⁶ nor does he desire mere rule-of-thumb manuals which do not explain their reasons.¹⁷ He cannot have been very

¹⁴ Lafuente, in *España sagrada*, XLIX, 125-142, 330-368.

¹⁵ *Infra*, p. 7.

¹⁶ See the preface to the *Liber imbrum*, *infra*, p. 12.

¹⁷ P. 7.

familiar with Arabic, else there would have been no need of Latin versions for his use, yet he searches for Arabic manuscripts on his own account, one of the texts translated having been found by him *in rotensi armario et inter secretiora bibliotece penetralia*.¹⁸ No place is mentioned, but Tarazona would seem most likely, and the library was doubtless a collection of books left in their cases by the departing Moors.

The author of this preface, Hugo Sanctelliensis, though not previously connected with the *Centiloquium* by bibliographers, has been known as the translator of certain other astrological works, but his time and place have not before been determined. The principal authorities on the occidental translations from the Arabic, Wüstenfeld¹⁹ and Steinschneider,²⁰ make Michael a French bishop and are inclined to place Hugo in the latter part of the Middle Ages, and while the late Paul Tannery would seem to have reached correct conclusions on these matters, he died before presenting any evidence in support of them.²¹ As at least one manuscript of Hugo's translations is of the twelfth century,²² he cannot be put later, and the mention of Bishop Michael in the prefaces fixes him definitely in the second quarter of this century and in Aragon. His surname appears in various forms—Sanctelliensis, Sanctellensis, Sanctallensis, Sanctaliensis, Sandaliensis, Satiliensis, Strellensis, and, in Provençal, de Satalia²³—without any indication of the country. None of these forms suggests France or Italy, while they all point to Santalla, a place-name common in the northwest of

¹⁸ P. 8.

¹⁹ Göttingen *Abhandlungen*, XXII, 22, 120.

²⁰ *Hebr. Uebers.*, pp. 566–567, 574; Vienna *SB.*, CXLIX, 4, pp. 35–37. Steinschneider's list of Hugo's writings, which is so far the most complete, enumerates al-Fargani, the Pseudo-Aristotle, the *Liber imbrum*, the *Geomantia*, and the *De spatula*.

²¹ The materials for this article were collected and the conclusions drawn before I discovered that Tannery, shortly before his death, had placed Hugo between 1120 and 1150 (*Bibliotheca Mathematica*, II, 41). An earlier note of the same author, while assigning him to Aragon, gave as his date the first half of the eleventh century, an obvious impossibility (*Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, XXV, 529).

²² MS. Selden Arch. B. 34, in the Bodleian, containing the translation of al-Fargani.

²³ For the Provençal form see Paul Meyer, in *Romania*, XXVI, 247.

Spain, especially in Galicia.²⁴ A reference to the Gauls in one of his prefaces—*gallorum posteritas tua benignitas largiatur*²⁵—suggests that Bishop Michael, and perhaps Hugo, had some connection with France; very likely copies of these translations were sent beyond the Pyrenees in the same way as those of the Toledo school. Nothing is known of Hugo's relations with the other translators of his age, nor have we any external evidence for his biography; the most that we can do is to examine the treatises upon which he worked, and in these, it is plain, he was closely under the orders of his patron bishop.

So far as the preface to the *Centiloquium* throws light on Hugo's literary labors, it shows him as a student of astrology and divination. From books dealing with these subjects, which he regards as the real justification for the study of astronomy, he has selected and turned into Latin ten volumes which exhibit the principles and applications of the art in all its aspects. The titles of these treatises are not given, but an examination of the numerous translations preserved under his name enables us to identify six extant versions of astrological and similar works, besides the *Centiloquium*, while in these reference is made to at least five others. From an astronomical point of view, the most important of these is a treatise with the following introduction:²⁶

Incipit tractatus Alfragani de motibus planetarum commentatus ab Hugoni Sanctaliensis.

Quia nonnullos nec inmerito te conturbat quod priscorum astrologorum intentio multas et varias in suis voluminibus, in his precipue que de stellarum collocatione et situ descripta arabes azig appellant, videtur protulisse sententias, nullam tamen quare potius sic aut sic agere eorum suaderet tradicio protulere rationem, unde huiusmodi minus plena perfectaque volumina pro auctoris defectu

²⁴ According to Madoz é Ibañez, *Diccionario geografico-estadístico-historico de España* (Madrid, 1846-1850) there are twenty places of this name in the province of Lugo, one in the province of Coruña, and one, the largest, in the province of Leon. There is also a Santalle in the province of Oviedo and a Santalha in Traz os Montes.

²⁵ *Infra*, p. 12. This is the passage that misled Wüstenfeld and Steinschneider into thinking Michael a Gallic bishop.

²⁶ Bodleian Library, MS. Selden Arch. B. 34, ff. 11-62v, of the twelfth century. Also in MS. Savile 15, f. 205, saec. xv; and in Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 456, saec. xiii (James, *Catalogue*, p. 531).

lectoris sensum et intelligentiam corrumpunt. Que cum ita se habeant, nichil ob stare videtur artis istius emulos, hos de quibus loquimur, gemino urgere incommodo, ut videlicet ex ignorantia aut ex invidia hoc factum fuisse coniectent. Nam inter multiplices antiquorum tractatus, de quorum videlicet prudentia ac discretione nulla est hesitatio, nonnulla legimus ea ratione fuisse descripta que tamen ut preceptori sic et lectori inutilia totius posteritatis clamat assertio. In libro autem Alhoarizmi quoniam huiusmodi diversitates te repperire confiteris, eum ex invidia ut supradiximus aut ex ignorantia suspectum esse palam est, sed etiam quendam Alfargani librum de rationibus azig Alhoarizmi imperfectum nec sufficientem te asseris repperiri, ubi videlicet que facilia sunt expediens que intricata et difficilia ad intelligendum fuerant pretermisit. Quia ergo, mi domine tyrassonensis antistes, ego Sanctelliensis tue petitioni ex me ipso satisfacere non possum, huius commenti translationem quod super eiusdem auctoris opus edictum in rotensi armario et inter secretiora bibliotece penetralia tua insatiabilis philosophandi aviditas meruit repperiri, tue dignitati offerre presumo. Habet enim ex tantis astronomie secretis ut placeat et ut ad omnium ex eadem materia voluminum expositionem ex sui integritate sufficiat. Quamvis tamen Alfargani edicione[m] minus plenam perfectamque cognoscam, cum ex aliis suis operibus perfectus et sapiens comprobetur, hec quam subscribam mihi videtur fuisse occasio. Potuit enim fieri ut morte preventus talem relinqueret, aut si perfectum atque emendatum eadem intercessit occasio ne id divulgaret, unde aliquid inde corrumpi aut ab invidorum manibus ut eius auctoritati quicquam derogarent abici satis liquido constat argumento, vel forsitan hic idem Alfargani, quod prudencioris cautele est, tante subtilitatis archana aggredi formidans difficillima pretermittens cetera reseravit. Nemo enim ad huius expositionis intelligentiam accedere potest nisi geometrie institutis et universo mensurandi genere quasi ad manum plenissime instruatur. Ne itaque antiquorum vestigiis penitus insistens a modernis prorsus videar dissentire, non per dialogum, ut apud arabes habetur, verum more solito atque usitato hoc opus subiciam, ac deinceps non solum Quadrupertiti atque Almaiezti ab Alkindio datam expositionem sed etiam quoddam Aristotilis super totam artem sufficiens et generale commentum, si vita superstes fuerit et facultas detur, te iubente aggregari.

Ad ingressum cuiuslibet arabici mensis, ut ait Alhoarizmi. . . .

As here given from the Selden manuscript, the title of this work is misleading and should be corrected from the other copies to *Hamis Benhamie Machumeti frater de geometria mobilis quanti-*

tatis et azig, hoc est canonis stellarum rationibus. What we have is not al-Fargani's explanation—this indeed the bishop has found insufficient—of the astronomical tables of al-Khowarezmi, which go back apparently to the Indian astronomers, but a commentary on al-Fargani written, with the aid of the tables and geometrical methods of Ptolemy, by a later astronomer who has recently been identified with Mohammed ben Ahmed el-Biruni.²⁷ A Hebrew translation of this commentary, preserving the questions and answers of the original, was made by Abraham ibn Ezra at Narbonne about 1160,²⁸ with an introduction which shows certain parallelisms with that of Hugo, but no Latin version has hitherto been identified.²⁹ The discovery of such a version, by facilitating a comparison with the translation of the Khorasmian tables made by Adelard of Bath in 1126,³⁰ may be expected to throw some light on the relations between Greek, Indian, and Arabian astronomy. It would be interesting to know in what form the bishop, whose knowledge of Arabic must have been inadequate for the free use of the works which he had Hugo translate, used the Khorasmian tables and the explanation of al-Fargani.

Of the two other works which Hugo has here promised to translate, the commentary of al-Kindi seems to have been lost,³¹ but the *generale commentum* of Aristotle is doubtless contained in two manuscripts of the Bodleian³² under the high-sounding title: *Liber Aristotilis de .255. indorum voluminibus universalium questionum tam generalium quam circularium summam continens.* The attri-

²⁷ Suter, *Der Verfasser des Buches 'Gründe der Tafeln des Chowarezmi,'* in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, IV, 127-129, where the utility of a comparative study is suggested.

²⁸ Steinschneider, in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXIV, 339-359, XXV, 421; *Hebr. Uebers.*, pp. 572-574.

²⁹ Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, I. c.; Suter, in *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften*, XIV, 158.

³⁰ Bodleian, MS. Auct. F. 1. 9; ff. 99v-159v; Chartres, MS. 214, ff. 41-102; Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS. 3642, ff. 82-87; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS. 10016, formerly in the chapter library at Toledo. Cf. Haskins, *Adelard of Bath*, to appear in the *English Historical Review* in 1911.

³¹ A commentary on the *Almagest* appears in the Arabic catalogue of his works (Flügel, in *Abhandlungen für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, I, 2, p. 27, No. 123) but has not been identified among those extant (Suter, in *Abh. Gesch. Math.*, X, 25).

³² MS. Digby 159; MS. Savile 15, f. 185.

bution to Aristotle will deceive no one,³³ but the account of the books upon which the compilation is based may contain something of interest for students of ancient astrology. From certain phrases of the preface it would seem that, while Hugo has been for some time a devotee of Arabian science, he has only recently (*nunc*) and comparatively late in the day (*serus ac indignus minister*) entered the bishop's service. Beyond this the prologue, being chiefly devoted to an account of the two hundred and fifty volumes from which the work is compiled, yields no new information for the translator's biography. The opening and closing portions are:

Ex multiplici questionum genere et ex intimis philosophie secretis quibus frequenter mee parvitat^{is} aures pulsare non desinis subtilissime tue inquisitionis archanum et celebris memorie intrinsecam vim et purissime discretionis intelligentiam, ad quam videlicet nostri temporis quispiam aspirare frustra nititur, manifestius licet attendere. Quare quod ex libris antiquorum percepi aut experimento didici aut existimatione sola credidi aut exercitio comparavi, et assidua scribere cogit exortatio et imperitie veretur formido. Ad graviora transcendere subtiliora penetrare novis etiam affluere tanta preceptoris daret auctoritas, si congrua ociandi daretur facultas. Nam humani generis error, ut qui inscientie crapula sui oblitus edormit stulticie nubibus soporata iudicio philosophantium sectam estimans lacivienti verborum petulantia, sicut huius temporis sapere negligit, sapientes et honestos inconstantie ascribit, veritatis concives imperitos diiudicat, verecundos atque patientes stolidos reputat. Ego tamen, quoniam auctoritate Tullii ad amicum libera est iactantia,³⁴ amore discipline cui semper pro ingenii viribus vigilanter institi arabes ingressus, si voto potiri minime contigisset, indos autem Egiptum pariter adire, si facultas unde libet³⁵ subveniat insaciata philosophandi aviditas omni metu abiecto nullatenus formidaret, ut saltem, dum ipsius philosophie vernulas arroganti supercilio negligunt, scientie tamen quantulamcumque portionem vix tandem adeptam minime depravari contingat sed potius ab eius amicis et secretariis venerari. Nunc autem, mi domine antistes Michael, sub te tanto scientiarum principe me militari posse triumpho, quem tocius honestatis fama et amor discipline insaciatus ultra modernos vel coequevos sic extollunt ut nemo huius temporis recte sapiens

³³ I find no other mention of this compilation. For other pseudo-Aristotelian works on astrology, magic, and divination, see *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, I, 82, 83; V, 92, 96, 102; Vienna SB., CLI, 1, pp. 6-8; *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft XII, 87-91.

³⁴ Doubtful; *iactantia* is not Ciceronian.

³⁵ The Savile MS. has: unde libri.

philosophi nomen et tante dignitatis vocabulum te meruisse inuideat. Unde fit ut hoc duplici munere beatus, dum hinc amor hinc honestas tertium quod est amor honestus constituent, non modicum probitatis habes solacium. Ego itaque Sanctelliensis Hugo tue sublimitatis serus ac indignus minister, ut animo sic et corpore labori et ocio expositus dum et mentis corporis torporem excitando pulsas oblivionis delens incommodum, quoniam id assidua vult exortatio quod a nullo modernorum plenissime valet explicari, ne plus videar sapere quam oportet sapere, quodque a meipso haberi scientie negat viduitas ab aliis mutuari priscorum multiplex suadet auctoritas, hunc librum ex arabice lingue opulentia in latinum transformavi sermonem. Sed quoniam, ut ait quidam sapiens, tam secretis misticisque rebus vivaciter pertractandis multimoda sunt auctoritatum perquirenda suffragia, istius auctor operis ex .cc.l. philosophorum voluminibus qui de astronomia conscripserunt hoc excultum esse asseruit, a quorum nominibus serio conterendis proprie narrationis duxit exordium. . . .

Hunc ergo, mi domine, ex tot ac tantis philosophorum voluminibus et quasi ex intimis astronomie visceribus ab eodem, ut iam dictum est, excepi, tamen et si mea de arabico in latinum mutuavit devocio supprema, tamen tue tam honeste ammonicionis optatos portus dabit correptio. Explicit prologus. Incipit Aristotilis comentum in astrologiam. Primo quidem omnium id recte atque convenienter preponi videar. . . .

Among more special works on astrology, we learn that Hugo translated four treatises on nativities, one of these, from the Arabic of Masallah, beginning as follows:⁸⁶

Liber Messehale de nativitatibus .14. distinctus capitulis Hugonis Sanctelliensis translacio. Prologus eiusdem ad Michaellem Tirasone antistitem.

Libellum hunc Messehale de nativitatibus, etsi apud nos Albu-mazar et Alheacib Alcuft ex eodem negotio et nostre translacionis studio plenissime habeantur, ob hoc placuit transferri ut quemadmodum ex eius secretis et iudiciorum via et ceteris astronomie institutis tua, mi domine antistes Michael, pollet sciencia tuumque pre ceteris studium nec inmerito gloriatur, sic et in genezia, nativitatum dico, speculatione tanti preceptoris certa imitando vestigia copiosius triumphet. Hoc igitur ego Sanctelliensis, non tam meo labore faciente quam auctoris testimonio confisus, ut placeam mitto compendium, quendam alium librum de eadem materia a quodam Messehale discipulo Abualy Alhuat nomine editum deinceps tracta-

⁸⁶ Bodleian, MS. Savile 15, f. 177v. This translation is unknown to the bibliographers.

urus, ut et supra nominatis voluminibus hoc attestante maior insit auctoritas et tanquam variis diversarum opum ferculis tua in hoc negotio sacietur aviditas. . . . Ut alio sicut idem asserit Messelaha nullatenus videatur indigere. Explicit prologus. Incipit textus. Quamvis librum istum ex ordine a libro secretorum assumpto per .14. capitula dividendum proposuerim. . . .

Of the authors of the two versions which are here mentioned as already completed, Albumazar is, of course, abu Ma'aschar Dja'afar, author of a number of works on astronomy and astrology, including one on nativities which has not yet been specially studied;³⁷ Alheacib Alcufi I have not identified, unless the latter name be a corruption of Alkindi.³⁸ Various manuscripts of abu Hali's work on the same subject exist, all of them anonymous except one in the Bodleian which ascribes the translation to John of Seville.³⁹

Hugo's translation of another work of Albumazar dealing especially with meteorological predictions is found in a dozen manuscripts.⁴⁰ The preface reads:

Incipit liber ymbrium ab antiquo indorum astrologo nomine Iafar editus deinde vero a Cillenio Mercurio abbreviatus. Superioris discipline inconcussam veritatem. . . . Quia ergo, mi domine antistes Michael, non solum compendiosa sed etiam certa et ad unguem correcta te semper optare cognovi, hunc de pluviis libellum ab antiquo indorum astrologo Iafar nomine editum, deinceps a Cillenio Mercurio sub brevitatis ordine correctum, tue offero dignitati, ut quod potissimum sibi deesse moderni deflent astrologi gallorum posteritati tua benignitas largiatur. Incipit series libri. Universa astronomie iudicia.⁴¹ . . .

Hugo is not mentioned in the text but is found in the margin of one of the manuscripts.⁴² Two similar treatises, ascribed to

³⁷ On his writings see Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebersetzungen*, pp. 566 ff., and Vienna SB., CLI, 35-38; Suter, in *Abhandl. Gesch. Math.*, X, 28-30; Houtsma, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, I, 100.

³⁸ Ja'akub ben Ishak al-Kindi, who wrote on nativities. Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, p. 563; Suter, *l. c.*, pp. 24-25.

³⁹ MS. Laud 594. See Steinschneider, in Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, p. 46; and in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 1890, pp. 69-70.

⁴⁰ Besides those mentioned by Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, p. 566, see MS. Bodl. 463, f. 20 (= Bernard, No. 2456); Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS. 233; Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. Lat. 7329, f. 66v, MS. Lat. 7316, f. 167 (extract only). Printed at Venice in 1507 with al-Kindi, *De pluviis*.

⁴¹ Bodleian, MS. Savile 15, f. 175v.

⁴² Steinschneider, *l. c.*

Massallah and al-Kindi, appear as having been translated by a Master Drogo or Azogo, which has been conjectured to be a corruption of Hugo;⁴³ but as these are not accompanied by prefaces, the question must for the present remain open.

Those who look for signs in the heavens are likely also to look for them on the earth, and we are not surprised to find that Hugo was the author of an elaborate treatise on geomancy, based upon the work of an unknown Tripolitan (Alatrabulucus) and sufficient to give him a certain reputation among vernacular writers as an authority on this art.⁴⁴ The copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale begins:⁴⁵

Incipit prologus super artem geomantie secundum magistrum Ugonem Sanctelliensem interpretem qui eam de arabico in latinum transtulit.

Rerum opifex Deus qui sine exemplo nova condidit universa, ante ipsam generationem de illorum futuro statu mente diiudicans, hec quidem etiam que de sue universitatis thesauro rationali creature dignatur singulis prout ipse vult distribuit. Unde universa creatura tam rationalis quam irrationalis vel inanimata eidem exhibet obedientiam ac, licet in vita ad secularium ordinem dilapsa, eum saltem ex sola unitate veneratur. Imaginarie priusquam fierent cuncta habens eorundem noticiam archano cordium quasi suspectam et intellectualem infudit. Habite tandem creature hic modus consistit ut summitates atque venerandos scriptorum institutores atque huiusmodi computationis industria quasi quadam compagine sociaret, ut ablata tocius alterationis rixa rationale alias positiva iusticia nexu equabili federaret adinvicem. Cum igitur universos stolidos videlicet tanquam sapientes ad philosophandum pronos fore contigisset, eruditior prudentium secta ad computandi artem et astronomie secreta rimanda mentis oculum revocans, astrorum loca cursus directos retrogradationes ortus occasus sublimationes depressiones et que sunt in his alterationes atque admiranda prodigia attendens, astrologorum minus prudentium multiplicem cognovit

⁴³ Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, II, 476 (where MS. Lat. 7439 should be 7440, and 10251 is incorrect); Steinschneider, *Hebr. Uebers.*, pp. 564, 600; Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, pp. 13, 36-37; *Abh. Gesch. Math.*, X, 6.

⁴⁴ Paul Meyer, *Traité en vers provençaux sur l'astrologie et la géomancie*, in *Romania*, XXVI, 247-250, 275. Cf. Steinschneider, Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, p. 36.

⁴⁵ MS. Lat. 7354, written in the thirteenth century, apparently in Spain or southern France. The treatise of Hugo on geomancy preserved in the Laurentian and studied by Meyer has a different *incipit* and may be another work.

errorem. Hac igitur ratione cogente compendium hoc certissimum ex his omnibus prudens adinvenit antiquitas. Denique apud universos philosophie professores ratum arbitror et constans quicquid in hoc mundo conditum subsistendi vice sortitum est haut dissimile exemplar in superiori circulo possidere, quicquid etiam hic inferius motu quolibet agitur superioris regionis motus sibi congruos imitari. Sicque manifestum est quia huiusmodi figure quas hic prosequi volumus signorum pariter et lunarium mansionum formas omnino sequuntur . . . Quia huiusmodi artificium antiquissimum fore et apud sapientum quamplurimos dignos et indignos in usu fuisse philosophorum antiquitas refert, ego Sancecelliensis geomantie inscriptionem aggredior et tibi, mi domine tirasonensis antistes, ex priscorum opulentia huiusmodi munusculum adporto, aeremantia et piromantia quas audivi sed minime contingit reperiri postpositis, deinceps idromantiam tractaturus . . . Que quidem disciplina sub quadam existimatione potissimum manat ab antiquorum peritissimis, ut iam dictum est, qua ipsi noverint ratione certis experimentis usitata. Explicit prologus.

Arenam limpidissimam a nemine conculcatam et de profundo ante solis ortum assumptam. . . .

Whether Hugo ever wrote on hydromancy or succeeded in informing himself on aeromancy or pyromancy, we cannot say; but while searching the heavens above and the earth beneath and the waters under the earth, he did not disdain the humbler form of divination which draws its inferences from the shoulder-blades of animals, and we have under his name a short treatise on spatulamancy which claims to go back ultimately to Greek sources:⁴⁶

Refert Ablaudius babilonicus inter antiquissima grecorum volumina cartam vetustissimam in qua de spatule agnitione nonnulla continebantur precepta apud Athena[s] se invenisse. . . . Hunc igitur librum, cuius auctor apud caldeos Anunbarhis (?) apud grecos Hermes fuisse legitur, et tante antiquitatis arkana et latinum aggrediar sermonem. . . . Quia igitur, mi domine antistes Michael, tuo munere tuaque munificentia ut me ipsum habeo, sic et philosophantium vestigii desidia et ignorantia gravatus insisto, ne ceteris compensatis istius expers inveniaris discipline, hoc tibi de spatula mitto preludeum. . . .

⁴⁶ Bodleian, Ashmolean MS. 342, f. 38, headed "Tractatus de spatula" and referred to in the margin as "Hugonis translatio." The tract in MS. Canon. Misc. 396, ff. 106-110, mentioned by Steinschneider (Vienna SB., CXLIX, 4, p. 37) is different, beginning, Incipiam adiutorio Dei. Steinschneider curiously fails to understand the meaning of *spatula*.

In medio itaque cartilaginis foramen ultra eminens repertum
pecoris domino pacem nunciat . . .

As a result of this investigation we now have, as against the five previously known, seven extant translations by Hugo, not counting those ascribed to Drogo and Azogo, besides two others which have been lost or are still to be identified⁴⁷ and three which he promises but may not have completed.⁴⁸ None of these are dated, but the *Centiloquium* is one of his later efforts, since ten have been produced before it, while the Khorasmian commentary is evidently early, being anterior to the Pseudo-Aristotle, which appears to have been translated soon after he entered the service of Bishop Michael. It would seem that both translator and patron gave chief attention first to astronomy and later to astrology, but to draw a sharp line between these subjects would be contrary to the spirit of mediæval, if not of Greek, learning, to which they were simply the pure and the applied aspects of the same subject. There is no evidence on Hugo's part of initiative or power of adaptation, indeed he expressly disclaims the ability to elucidate these problems from his own knowledge; he was a translator, rather than a compiler or popularizer. There is, at the same time, no indication of any connection with the other translators of his age, and the fact that certain of the treatises at which he labored were also translated by John of Seville indicates that they worked independently. That Hugo's versions nevertheless obtained a certain currency is shown by the number and wide distribution of the existing manuscripts, and the range and quantity of his work entitle him to a respectable place among the Spanish translators of the twelfth century.

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⁴⁷ The *De nativitatibus* of Albumazar and of Alheacib Alcufi. Tannery has shown that there is no good reason for assigning to our Hugo the *Practica Hugonis*, a geometrical treatise of the twelfth century. *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, II, 41.

⁴⁸ Abu Hali, *De nativitatibus*; al-Kindi, *Expositio Quadripertiti atque Almaiesti*; *Idromantia*.

CLASSICAL ECLOGUE AND MEDIÆVAL DEBATE

THE mediæval *conflictus*, or poetic debate between representative or allegorical figures, has been the subject of occasional remarks by numerous scholars; and its origin as a literary type has been variously explained. The ease with which such forms arise and the extraordinary prevalence of dialogues of this kind, not only in Europe but in the Orient as well,¹ has naturally led to the conclusion that it is useless to look for an individual source for this mass of literature; that it should rather be regarded as the outcome of many tendencies, and as springing up independently in different countries and at various times. Some writers, on the other hand, have claimed for the *conflictus*, as it exists in western Europe in the Middle Ages, a more or less definite descent from classical antiquity. "Elle [l'altercation poétique] certainement appartient," says M. Gaston Paris,² "aux traditions des *joculatores* des bas siècles romains." And Moritz Haupt,³ speaking of the *Judicium Vespæ*, a second or third century dispute between a cook and a baker, which bears a close resemblance to the typical mediæval debate, expresses the opinion that the ancient "streitgedicht," as represented by this poem, was not without its influence on Christian literature. A more recent opinion, based upon the existence of several of the *conflicti* in popular form, has tended to associate a large class of mediæval debates with the various forms of folk dialogue; and to make many of the poems but learned and academic echoes of the village green, with its flyting, its riddle contest, its laughing amorous dispute between youth and maiden.⁴

¹ See H. Ethé, *Über persische Tenzzone, Verhandlungen des fünften internationalen Orientalischen Congresses*, Berlin, 1881, part II, pp. 48 ff. A most impressive but not always accurate bibliography of debate subjects, European and Oriental, is Moritz Steinschneider's *Rangstreit-Litteratur, Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Litteratur- und Kulturgeschichte*, etc., *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien*, vol. 155 (1908), Abh. 4.

² In his review of Jeanroy's *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1892, p. 152.

³ *Opuscula*, vol. III, p. 20.

⁴ In spite of the statement quoted above, Paris finds traces of association

Obviously the theories thus briefly outlined cannot each be wholly right. Taken in a restricted sense, however, they are not necessarily contradictory. Looking at the whole body of mediæval contention dialogue in prose and verse, even of an allegorical type, no one would think of assigning to it a single definite origin. It owes its popularity in general to the two strong mediæval tendencies of allegory and disputation, and it is derived from the widest variety of sources: from the amatory discussions and verse contests of the poets of southern France, from the controversial and didactic dialogues of early Christian times, from philosophical dialogue, from classical and Christian allegory, from the flytings and riddle contests of the folk. Within this general class of literature, however, there may be distinguished a smaller but still extensive group of poetic contests, marked by certain common characteristics and clearly belonging to a single literary tradition. To these pieces the term *conflictus* is best restricted, and for the literary type which they represent we may with confidence assume a fairly definite origin, bearing in mind the fact that the significant element in the *conflictus*, regarded as a literary species, is not the contrasts which are the bases of individual poems, but the form in which these contrasts are embodied. The materials of the allegorical debate exist everywhere; in the literature and thought of the Middle Ages they were particularly common. The eternal war of the virtues and the vices, the old altercation of synagogue and church, the divine controversy of the daughters of God, with a thousand rivalries, enmities, and contrasts in daily life—all these besieged the mind of the poet, particularly the learned poet, and readily submitted to treatment according to a conventional mode. It is im-

with the popular celebration of the *renouveau* in several of the non-lyric debates; *op. cit.*, pp. 156-8. Cf. also the remark of Professor Allen, below, p. 28; and Professor F. B. Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 307: "These flytings [*i. e.*, those of the summer and winter type] came to be extraordinarily popular, and it is hard to draw a line between the *volkspoesie* and the *volkstümliche*; learned allegory, which was early on the ground, has the mark of Cain upon it and cannot be missed. Probably Böckel is right in looking on the winter and summer songs as originally communal, with those dialogues between soul and body, which one finds in nearly every literature of Europe, as a learned and allegorical imitation; a combination of the two kinds is not unusual. So one passes to all manner of debates,—riches and poverty, wine and water, peasant and noble, priest and knight, down to Burns's *Two Dogs*."

perative, therefore, in studying the genesis of the conflictus to determine the influence or influences which crystallized the varied mediæval tendencies toward literature of this sort into the comparatively rigid form assumed by these poems in the Latin poetry of the twelfth century and later.

The assertion that the mediæval conflictus was a heritage from antiquity rests upon the most unsubstantial foundation. That the subject matter of many of the debates and that certain literary influences, which were of importance in the development of the type, did descend from the classics is undeniable. It is one of these influences, indeed, which is the main theme of the present study. But that an extensive body of dialogue literature, corresponding closely to the mediæval debate, existed in either Greek or Latin, and constituted the starting point of the mediæval tradition has yet to be shown.⁵ In one of Ovid's elegies⁶ the old idea of the choice of Hercules, the contest between two ways of life, takes a form which is not unlike that of the conflictus; and the *Judicium Vespæ*,⁷ already referred to, bears a still closer resemblance to the mediæval debate. But these two works stand practically alone, and I can discover no trace of the influence of either. The possibility that dialogues of this character formed part of the repertoire of the *joculatores* and were thus handed on to Carolingian times, must be referred to the highly mysterious history of the Roman mime. We know little of the Latin minstrels of the dark ages, and it is more than doubtful, in spite of Reich, if any literary tradition came down unbroken through their hands.

Of the relation of the mediæval allegorical debate to popular dialogue forms I shall have something to say in the course of this essay. I do not pretend to dispute the established thesis that the French lyric *débats* go back to and are a courtly modification of the different varieties of *chants de danse*,⁸ nor should I hesitate

⁵ For a survey of allegorical contention literature in antiquity see Otto Hense, *Die Synkrisis in der antiken Litteratur*, Protekorats-Program, Freiburg, 1893; and an unpublished Radcliffe dissertation by Miss Margaret C. Waites, entitled *De Disputationibus inter Allegoricas Personas habitis*, etc.

⁶ *Amores*, Bk. III, El. 1.

⁷ Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, vol. I, no. 199.

⁸ See Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la Poésie Lyrique en France*, cap. II, "Le Débat."

to count the folk debate, taking the term in its broadest sense, as one of the forms which contributed to the tradition of the *conflictus*. Occasionally evident in the Latin poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such influences become increasingly important in the vernacular debates which continue and popularize the Latin tradition. What I do deny is that the process of development was the reverse of what I have suggested, viz., that the Latin poems were themselves preceded by similar dialogues in the vernacular, or that the vernacular debates sprang up in the main independently of the Latin out of the native soil of popular tradition. With the latter proposition I shall not much concern myself here. The existence of a continuous tradition from the Latin poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries into the various national literatures is obvious, and this is enough for my present purpose. With the conclusion that the Latin debates themselves rest upon a broad foundation of popular dialogue I shall take issue, endeavoring to show that the type to which these poems belong was developed in the main under literary and academic influences.

The earliest clear examples of the *conflictus* type in mediæval literature are to be found in a little group of poems belonging to the general period of the Carolingian Renaissance, and bearing such marked resemblances to each other and to later poems of this class as to make it almost inevitable to consider them as the definite starting point of the tradition. A careful examination of these poems in their relation to the literary influences of their time will, I believe, make clear the fact that they owe little to popular dialogue models, and that the chief determining factor in their development was the classical eclogue.⁹

Before taking up these poems in detail it will be well to consider for a moment the debate elements inherent in the eclogue form,

⁹ The existence of an important relation between the eclogue and the debate has long been recognized. It was first affirmed, I think, by Adolf Ebert (*Allgemeine Geschichte der lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, Leipzig, 1880, vol. II, p. 69), following a suggestion made by Ludwig Uhland in his essay on the folk drama of the seasons (*Schriften zur Geschichte der Dichtung und Sage*, vol. III, pp. 17 ff.). The subject has recently been further developed by Professor E. K. Rand of Harvard University, to whose kind encouragement and generous help I am very deeply indebted. So far as I know no special investigation has ever been published.

and to glance at some later pastorals which show how easily the shepherd dialogue became debate in the mediæval sense.

The original theme of the pastoral is a contest between shepherds for the prize of rustic song; but the question of who is the better singer naturally resolves itself into the question of who can give the better reasons. The amœbean as employed by Theocritus, Virgil, and Calpurnius is essentially a contest of wit,—in the broadest sense of the term, a debate. It differs from the mediæval debate in general, as represented, for example, by the Provençal *tenso*, in that the dispute does not concern a single issue, but is constantly shifting from one thing to another. But the fact that the argument is largely personal brings the amœbean still nearer to the particular type of debate we are discussing, in which the characters are themselves the embodiment of the question at issue. In so far as the shepherds are not giving exhibitions of their art, but matching their own persons, qualities, possessions, etc., they are using the method of the mediæval allegorical debate. The difference is that the shepherds are individuals and the material of their dispute personalities, whereas the figures in the debates represent general ideas. Now when the pastoral ceases to be of interest for its own sake,—when the purely artistic motive is given over for panegyric or didacticism, it is natural that the shepherd interlocutors should often come to be representatives of different points of view or of contrasting lots in life. In the classical amœbean this is not often the case, although one singer may for the moment be the defender of winter, the other of summer, or there may exist a character contrast as in Virgil VII, where the modesty and good taste of one singer is opposed to the conceit and extravagance of the other. Where the dialogue is informal there is more likely to be an explicit contrast. Thus in Virgil I Tityrus and Meliboeus are typical instances, the one of a contented freedman, whose holdings have been confirmed by Augustus, the other of a shepherd who has lost his farm.

In the pastoral of later times the tendency to make the characters embodiments of opposing ideas or principles is very marked. The eclogues of Boccaccio and Petrarch,¹⁰ who wrote in the main

¹⁰ Cf. especially Boccaccio VII, *Carmina Illustrum Poetarum Italarum*, vol. II, pp. 257 ff.; and Petrarch I, VII, *Francisci Petrarchoe Poemata Minora*, vol. I.

independently of the mediæval pastoral tradition, and of their English successor, Edmund Spenser, show a clear consciousness on the part of their authors of the debate idea. The seventh "Æglogue" of the *Shepheardes Calender*, for example, embodies a contrast between two types of ecclesiastical pastors. Thomalin is a denizen of the valley, Morrell of the heights; the two argue the relative merits of their different positions and ambitions, the eclogue being made, as we are told by the commentator, E.K., "in honor and commendation of good shepheardes, and to the shame of proude and ambitious pastours; such as Morrell is here imagined to be."¹¹ A striking example of the use of debate material in a formal amœbean contest is to be found in a Latin eclogue¹² by Nicoläus Parthenius Giannettasius, a Neapolitan Jesuit of the time of Leopold I. The poem is pure pastoral, closely modeled on Virgil and full of borrowed phrases. Amilcon, the fisherman, comes upon Tityrus, the shepherd, piping contentedly in the shade. The latter declares that the life of the fisher has no such joys as these. The other promptly replies, and the contest begins.

"Versibus hinc ambo incipiunt certare vicissim:
Tityrus et sylvas laudabat, littora Amilcon."

The single theme of the delights of land against the joys of the sea, in the varying seasons, is carried through the poem; in every other respect the dialogue conforms exactly to the form and spirit of the Virgilian amœbean. The presence of the debate element in this eclogue and in the others mentioned above, is, perhaps partly to be explained by their authors' familiarity with the mediæval debate itself, though Parthenius apparently derives his material from the Greek rhetoricians.¹³ In any case the poems serve to show how easily the pastoral dialogue might be adapted to the subject matter of the debate.

¹¹ Cf. also *Aeglogues* II and V.

¹² *Carmina Illustrum Poetarum Italorum*, vol. II, pp. 315 ff.

¹³ The title of the poem, "Epaeneteria," clearly suggests the *ἐπαίνοι*, of the rhetoricians. *ἐπαίνοι*, *ψόγοι*, and *συνκρίσεις* of sea and land are among the commonest of rhetorical themes. Cf. Waltz, *Rhetorici Graeci*, I, 365; this "synkrisis," curiously enough, was written by the rhetorician, Nikolaus. See also Alciphron, *Epist.*, I, 3 and 4, II, 4 and 13; and Moschus, *Idyl* V.

That the Carolingian writers should have made a similar use of the old bucolic form seems the more natural when we take account of the conception of the eclogue prevalent throughout this period. The eager desire of the court of Charles to revive the literary tradition of the Augustan age had led to a renaissance of the Virgilian pastoral, but there was little in the spirit of time to make the pastoral idea sought for its own sake. The dialogue form and the panegyric trend of the Virgilian pastoral were elements for which the Carolingian writers could find use, and they preserved and strengthened them. But the pastoral setting is with them a mere formality, without intrinsic interest and tending to disappear. The speakers are prone to enter upon disquisitions and forget that they are shepherds. The conventional imagery tends to fall away from the dialogue and leave the latter to go its own way, as a vehicle for the expression of any new ideas to which it may seem adapted.¹⁴

In this transfer of interest from the setting of the pastoral dialogue to its content, the debate elements of the Virgilian eclogue are, as might be expected, greatly emphasized. In the *Ecloga* of Naso,¹⁵ vaguely modeled on Virgil I, a "Puer" and a "Senex" (they have pastoral names as well) contend in lengthy harangues. The youth felicitates the old man on his happy condition under the royal favor as contrasted with his own wretchedness without it, and declares that he will seek patronage with his songs. The other is inclined at first to oppose the idea, but the boy convinces him that he will succeed, and the two engage in a duo of praise. More significant is the eclogue of Paschasius Radbertus,¹⁶ for here the singers, Galatea and Fillis, are avowedly allegorical, the one representing New Corvey, a monastery founded by Adalhard, and the other, the parent institution, over which he was abbot. The two lament alternately the death of Adalhard, in a kind of rivalry of grief, which is further suggestive of the debate.

"Non me tu lacrimis vinces aut fletibus umquam,
Non cantus resonare leves non pandere vota."

¹⁴ See below.

¹⁵ *Nasonis Ecloga; Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini*, vol. I, pp. 385 ff.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 45 ff.

The contrast between the old and new foundations is occasionally brought out.

I pass now to a consideration of the Carolingian poems, referred to above, in which the debate element is not incidental but explicit, whether obviously imported into the eclogue amœbean and retaining the pastoral setting, or existing independently of the pastoral imagery but, as I hope to show, not the less dependent on the eclogue for its dialogue framework. Among these Carolingian poems the one which lends the strongest support to the theory of a popular origin for the literary debate is the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*.¹⁷ This dialogue has been ascribed with some show of probability to Alcuin, and most authorities are agreed that the piece is a product of the literary activity of the little circle of Latin poets who were attached to the court and palace school of Charles the Great.¹⁸ If so, it is the earliest example in mediæval literature of a formal dispute in verse between allegorical figures who are themselves embodiments of the principles at issue.

The poem opens with a modification of the conventional narrative introduction of the eclogue. The shepherds have come down from the hills with their flocks to sing the praises of the cuckoo. Spring was there and Winter, and between these two there arose a great contest.

“His certamen erat cuculi de carmine grande.”

Without more ceremony Spring begins “in threefold verses,” praising the most welcome of the birds and bidding him come soon. Winter answers scoldingly, with reproaches for the cuckoo, bringer of hunger, labor and strife, disturber of land and sea with his harsh note. At length the quarrel becomes more personal, Spring turning against Winter and upbraiding him for indolence, and the latter boasting of his wealth and comforts. At last the old reprobate is put to shame. Palaemon, the judge, and the whole throng of shepherds clamor their assent to the words of Spring and hail the cuckoo with one accord.

The pastoral connections of this poem are obvious at first

¹⁷ Ed. Dümmler; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae Latini*, vol. I, p. 270 ff.

¹⁸ See *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, vol. XXII, p. 332 ff., and XXIII, 67 ff. Winterfeld assigns the poem to the omnipresent mime. *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. CXIV, p. 67.

glance. What is really significant, however, in the present discussion, is the fact that it is not so much the pastoral imagery of which the author of the *Conflictus* makes use, as the external form and framework of the eclogue. The model is such a poem as Virgil's seventh eclogue,¹⁹ opening, like the *Conflictus*, with a narrative introduction, passing quickly to the song contest, and ending with more narrative, in which judgment is pronounced and the winner duly praised. In length the *Conflictus* comes close to the average for the Virgilian eclogue. To the contest itself the technical term ("certamen"), used in the *Bucolics* of the formal amœbean,²⁰ is applied; and the rules of the game are followed with precision, the contestants carrying on their argument in alternate stanzas of three lines each. The verses themselves are frequently reminiscent of the classical pastoral.²¹

From this discussion it will be clear that the *Conflictus* follows the eclogue in everything but the characters of the dialogue and the nature of their contest. In view of the freedom with which, as we have seen, the Carolingians used the eclogue form as a mould for the expression of new ideas, such a change is not surprising. The question which now presents itself, concerning the source of this new material, raises at once the issue of the popular origin of the debate; for practically every scholar who has mentioned this conflictus since Grimm and Uhland,²² has referred it without hesitation to the Teutonic folk drama of the *renouveau*, in which figures representing spring and winter meet and chide each other, until at length they fall to blows and Winter is driven out of the room or forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Spring.

Against this theory, as applying to the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, I have little to urge. The traces of northern influence in the poem,—particularly the rôle played by the cuckoo,²³—are

¹⁹ Cf. also *Eclogue* III, where Palaemon is the judge.

²⁰ Cf. Virgil, *Bucolics*, *Ec.* VII, v. 16. "Et certamen erat, Corydon cum Thyrside, magnum."

²¹ In addition to the line just quoted, compare with the close of the *Conflictus*,—"Tunc respondit ovans," etc.—*Ec.* V, v. 19 and IX, v. 66; and with the opening lines Calpurnius, *Ec.* II.

²² The latest is Professor Philip Schuyler Allen, *Modern Philology*, vol. VIII, no. I, p. 27. See below, p. 29.

²³ See Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, Translated from the Fourth Edition by J. S. Stallybrass, p. 640 ff.; and Uhland, *loc. cit.*

unmistakable, and the resemblances between the dialogue and the modern versions of the folk drama,—the introduction into the Latin debate, for example, of the question of which is master and which is man,—are certainly striking. Still I believe that the certainty of such popular influence is not quite so great as has been made out. We know that the personification of the seasons and at least the conception of their great conflict, together with some ceremonies representing the death of the old year and the coming of spring, are deep rooted in Teutonic tradition;²⁴ that a mimic contest between the two formed a part of these ceremonies in very remote times seems highly probable. The folk drama as we now have it, cannot, on the other hand, be traced beyond the 16th century;²⁵ and it may owe much of its present form to the learned debate. Furthermore there is nothing in the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* which cannot be explained by purely classical and rhetorical traditions, touched here and there by popular mythology. The contrast and war of the two seasons and the glorious victory of spring is a universal idea. It appears, for example, in a Greek fable,²⁶ to which one might attribute an importance in connection with the present poem, if there were any evidence that the piece was ever translated into Latin. The praise of summer and the blame of winter were common themes with the rhetoricians. And finally the contrast appears, fleetingly, in one of the Virgilian amœbean contests, in a passage which is echoed in the *Conflictus*. Corydon prays for the protection of his flocks against the heat of summer, and Thyrsis replies with a defiance against winter, as follows:

"Hic focus et taedae pingues, hic plurimus ignis
Semper, et assidua postes fuligine nigri.

* See the passages from the German poets quoted by Grimm, also the following from the English Bestiary:

"Til it cumeth the time
That storm stireth al the se,
Thanne sumer and winter winnen."

The Latin has simply "Si sit tempestas, vel vadit estas."

* A version of the "Streit," given by Uhland (*Volkslieder*, No. 8) from a print of 1580, shows marked verbal resemblances to the modern version. The drama itself (apparently pantomime) is mentioned in Sebastian Franc's *Weltbuch* (1542), quoted by Uhland, III, 18.

²⁶ χειμῶν καὶ ἔαρ ed. Halm, no. 414.

Hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora quantum
Aut numerum lupus aut torrentia fulmina ripas."²⁷

Hiems, in the *Conflictus*, uses the same motive:

"Sunt mihi divitiae, sunt et convivia laeta,
Est requies dulcis, calidus est ignis in aede."

To personify the seasons was no less natural than to contrast them, and one need look no further than the classics for a precedent. It is, indeed, to a passage in Ovid²⁸ that the author of the *Conflictus* seems to have gone for the literary attributes, at least, of the two figures of his dialogue.

With this abundance of literary precedent in the writings with which the author of the *Conflictus* was most familiar, it would seem unnecessary to go to the hypothetical folk drama in order to explain the poem. I am prepared, however, to admit the possibility, even the strong probability (for all argument aside, the impression lingers with one on repeated reading of the piece), that the author of the *Conflictus* derived his fundamental conception from popular sources, the actual origin of the material in any particular poem being, as I have already suggested, of small account in the development of the form. If the idea was suggested by the folk drama, the process of putting the eternal opposition into debate form was already partly accomplished. But even so, the poem can owe few of its literary features to a popular source. Narrative introduction and conclusion the folk drama cannot have had. The presence of an official judge is not more likely to have been a popular feature. As for the substance of the debate, one motive, as we have seen, is clearly derived from Virgil; and the rest smacks more of the schoolroom than of the field. Even the argument about overlordship is developed with a subtlety which removes

²⁷ *Eclogue* VII, vv. 49 ff.

²⁸ *Metamorphoses* II, vv. 25 ff.:

"Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona,
Et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos."

Cf. *Conflictus*, vv. 6, 7:

"Ver quoque florigeri succinctus stemmate venit
Frigida venit Hiems, rigidis hirsuta capillis."

it far from popular speech into the atmosphere of mediæval dialectic.²⁹ It seems to me exceedingly unlikely that the author of the *Conflictus* knew the folk debate otherwise than as a mimic combat, or that he derived from the springtime festival anything more than the suggestion of substituting Summer and Winter for the conventional shepherds of the amœbean contest, and the idea of the shepherds congregating from the hills to hail the cuckoo, first messenger of Spring. The form in which this conception was embodied, and the manner in which it was developed,—the very idea of giving it literary form at all,—were due to the classical eclogue.

If the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* stood alone at the beginning of the mediæval debate tradition, or if the other debate poems of the period immediately under discussion showed equal evidence of popular connections, the importance of the folk dialogue and drama in the development of the type could by no means be denied. This, however, is not the case. There are but few poems in the entire corpus of Latin debates which readily connect themselves with popular material; and the examples of the type which immediately follow the *Conflictus* can be shown, I think, in every case to be purely academic in their elements. In the poem most nearly contemporary with the *Conflictus* and to which I now turn,³⁰ the debate is introduced in the course of a long panegyric; it forms, however, a practically independent unit and may be so considered. The piece is an address to King Pippin by Ermoldus Nigellus, then an exile, designed to gain the intercession of Pippin with the Emperor, Lewis, for his recall. Its date is fixed between 824, when Ermoldus was still in favor with Lewis, and 830, about the time of his return.³¹ The poet addresses his Muse, in elegiacs, bidding

* Spring: Who would heap up wealth for thee, lazy Winter, or gather thy treasure, if Spring and Summer did not work before thee?

Winter: Quite true; and since they work for me they are my very servants, subject to my rule. I am their master and they toil for me.

Spring: Thou art no master, but a poor and miserable beggar; thou couldst not so much as find food for thyself if the cuckoo did not come and lend thee alms.

* *Carmen Nigelli Ermoldi Exulis in Laudem Gloriosissimi Pippini Regis. Poetae Latini*, vol. II, pp. 79 ff.

* See Dümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-3; and Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 7th ed., vol. I, p. 288. My attention was first called to this important

her go quickly to the king with his greetings. The king will ask where the exile now is; and Thalia must reply with a description of Alsace, introducing, episodically, a dispute between the Rhine and the Vosges. The poet rehearses the words she is to use.

“Wasace, das silvas, Rhenus opimat humum.
Experiare libet iam nunc quid possit uterque,
Quis populo tribuat fertiliora suo.”

Without further introduction the dispute begins. The Rhine proclaims his usefulness as a highway of commerce and for fishing, while the wretched Vosges produces nothing better than firewood. Vosges, in reply, boasts that palaces and churches are made from his wood. Kings come to hunt in his valleys. The stricken deer flees to his springs to drink. And as for commerce, Rhine owes all that it has to the products of his fields. To this last argument Rhine replies with clever sophistry, and not without a fling at Alsatian habits. If the country used all its wine at home, its people would all lie drenched with it in the fields! His commerce brings wealth and comfort to citizen and foreigner alike. He clothes his people with garments of varied hues; for the wooden roofs of his rival he can boast golden sands; for the cut oak timber, lucid gems. And so the argument goes on. At last Thalia (or the poet, for the last lines of the debate are somewhat blind) puts an end to the contest by awarding equal honors:

“Parcite carminibus, sint vobis munera vestra.”

The poem concludes with more description, much humble flattery, and an imaginary reply from the king himself.

This debate, it will be observed at once, differs from the *Conflictus* in being without the pastoral setting; the dialogue, too, does not consist of the quick sharp alternation of speeches like the amœbean, but of extended arguments of irregular length, reflecting the dialectic of the schools. Notwithstanding these differences, however, it seems clear that Ermoldus, like the author of the *Conflictus*, associated his debate with the shepherd contests of the classical eclogue, and was consciously under the influence of the pastoral poem by Mr. H. E. Hillebrand, in an unpublished dissertation on the pastoral in the age of Charlemagne.

dialogue. The formula with which the dispute is introduced is obviously borrowed from Virgil;⁸² while the conclusion of the contest is modeled on that of the typical amœbean. The Muse refuses to pronounce judgment between the rivals and praises both, her words being again adapted from the *Bucolics*.⁸³

For the subject matter of this debate the Latin verse familiar to Ermoldus affords abundant precedent. One is naturally reminded first of all of Ausonius's famous poem in praise of the Moselle. More significant, however, as including a comparison of two neighboring rivers, the one tributary to the other, is a work by Venantius Fortunatus,⁸⁴ an author with whom Ermoldus was perfectly familiar, as is shown by frequent echoes in the poem we are discussing. It is quite possible that the opening lines of Fortunatus's elegy suggested to Ermoldus the idea of a rivalry between the Rhine and the Vosges.

"Laus tibi forte minor fuerat, generosa Garonna,
Si non exiguas alter haberet aquas:
Lubricat hic quoniam tenuato Egircius haustu,
Praefert divitias paupere fonte tuas.
Denique dissimilem si conparet ullus utrunque,
Hic ubi fit rivus, tu puto Nilus eris.
Te famulans intrat, sed hunc tua regna refrenant:
Gallicus Euphrates tu fluvis, iste latet.
Nam quantum Oceanum tumidis tu cursibus auges,
Iste tuas tantum crescere praestat aquas."

The rest of the poem describes the Gers in time of drought and flood, and the comparison with the Garonne is carried no further. The language of the passage quoted strongly suggests the idea of a rivalry between the two rivers; and the description which follows of the destructive effects of the Gers when it overflows its

⁸² *Eclogue* III, v. 29:

"Vis ergo inter nos quid possit uterque vicissim
Experiamur."

⁸³ *Eclogue* VIII, v. 109:

"Parcite, ab urbe venit, iam parcite carmina Daphnis."

⁸⁴ *De Egircio Flumine, Fortunati Opera*, Lib. I, Carm. xxi; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi*, vol. IV (2).

banks, reminds us of the answer made by the Vosges to the boast of the Rhine that the people wait for his rising as the inhabitants of Egypt do for that of the Nile.³⁵ The characteristic feature of Ermoldus's poem, viz., the fiction of an actual dispute, may possibly owe its existence to the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* or to some other debate poem now lost. On the other hand it may have occurred to the poet independently of any other composition of the kind. The fact that the poem as a whole employs the fiction so common with the Carolingians of a dialogue between the poet and his Muse,³⁶ made it easier to bring in an incidental discussion between two allegorical figures. The personification of the rivers was already present in Fortunatus's poem. But whether the conception of the poem was original or derived, two things are clear: first, that the piece belongs in every way to the rhetorical and panegyric literature with which it is surrounded, and contains nothing which can be called popular; and secondly, that its author thought of this dialogue as akin to the shepherd contests of the eclogue and looked to the *Bucolics* as his classical original.

In so doing he was, as has already been suggested, but following the custom of the Latin writers of his time, with whom the classical eclogue often served as a model for poems from which the pastoral setting had been entirely discarded. We have two excellent illustrations of this in Walafrid Strabo's *De Imagine Tetrici*³⁷ and in the so-called Saxo's romance of Apollonius of Tyre,³⁸ both of which clearly employ the eclogue method, though they have nothing pastoral either in setting or content. In the first poem Strabo urges Scintilla to take advantage of the present springtime and instruct him. The latter, after some demur, agrees. The dialogue fiction is kept up throughout the piece, although Strabo's part is limited to a few questions. In the other piece, which apparently is influenced in its method by the first, Strabo and Saxo, after the usual pastoral preliminaries of friendly exhor-

³⁵ The Vosges bids the Rhein keep his pestilent waters to himself; for in attempting to irrigate he only drowns.

³⁶ Ermoldus's model appears to have been the poem sent by Theodulfus in his exile to Moduinus. *Poetae Latini*, vol. I, p. 563. The poet sends his Muse and instructs her what to say.

³⁷ *Poetae Latini*, vol. II, pp. 370 ff.

³⁸ *Poetae Latini*, V, p. 486.

tation, begin to sing alternately of the deeds of Apollonius. A slighter and more uncertain trace of eclogue influence is furnished by the much discussed bit of dialogue in which the dramatist Terence is mocked and made to defend his art by a "delusor."³⁹ There is in the fragment a suggestion of the universal contrast between youth and age, between modernity and antiquity, which reminds us of the debate. The tradition to which the piece belongs is dramatic; still, the grouping of the lines into a kind of stanza suggests the eclogue in which "jurgia" of the kind were not uncommon,⁴⁰ and the use of one familiar Virgilian motive in Terence's reply,⁴¹ illustrates again the Carolingian tendency to associate verse dialogue, especially when it is of a contentious nature, with the pastoral.

(To be continued) ~ ♪ 129

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* *Terentius atque Delusor*, printed by Winterfeld in his edition of Hrothsvita, Proemium, XX ff.; discussed as a mime by the same author in *Herrig's Archiv*, CXIV, 68, and by Professor Allen in *Modern Philology*, vol. V, p. 160, and vol. VIII, p. 47. The significance of the piece in its relation to the debate and the pastoral was pointed out to me by Professor Rand.

* Cf. Virgil, *Ec.* III; and Calpurnius.

⁴¹ "O iuvenis, tumidae nimium ne crede iuventae
Saepe superba cadunt, et humillima saepe resurgunt."

Cf. Virgil, *Ec.* II, 17.

THE SYMBOLISM OF PETRARCH'S *CANZONE TO THE VIRGIN*: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

IT has, so far as the writer knows, never been pointed out that Petrarch's magnificent invocation to the Virgin,¹ in the high and solemn beauty of which the mystic and essentially mediaeval side of the poet's complex nature finds eloquent expression, contains the same symbolism as that on which the early Christian hymnists based their morning hymns;² which forms the nucleus of the tenth century bilingual *alba* discovered by Johann Schmidt in the Vatican Library in 1881;³ and which was utilized by Folquet de Marselha⁴ (if the attribution be reliable⁵) and his successors in this field, as a nucleus for the production of the psychologically interesting, and, to certain temperaments, aesthetically pleasing religious *albas* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Provence. This important fact, if it can be demonstrated, is a striking instance of what, for the dawn *genre* in general, may be stated as a species of universal law, by the operation of which the development of this form seems to have been largely conditioned. I refer to the attractive power which this theme, in all its aspects, has exerted, at different times and in different places, over minds of great and even transcendent poetic talent, in virtue of which there has formed around the *motif* a body of poetry which, both qualitatively and quantitatively, is altogether remarkable.

¹ *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca . . . commentate da Giosuè Carducci e Severino Ferrari, Firenze, 1899, pp. 512-521.*

² For a tabulation of the apposite pieces, see p. 3.

³ Cf. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. XII, pp. 333-341: especially p. 337.

⁴ See note 10.

⁵ Cf. Pratsch, *Biographie des Tr. Folquet von Marseille*, Berlin, 1878, pp. 39-40, where the attribution to Folquet de Marselha is denied: R. Zenker, *Zu Folquet von Romans und Folquet von Marseille*, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. XXI, p. 335 ff. Only three mss. contain the *alba*: C attributes it to Folquet de Marselha; R to Folquet de Romans; F to Folquet, without further specification. Crescini, in his *Manuale Provenzale* (2d improved edition), *Verona-Padova, 1905*, does not admit the necessity of rejecting the attribution to Folquet de Marselha.

It is at least a curious coincidence that beside the unique association of great names citable for the *genre* in general, may stand, each representative of a special phase, the names of three such creative geniuses as Petrarch, Shakespeare, and Richard Wagner. That Shakespeare used the *motif*, and in a form which Gaston Paris believed to be more primitive than that of the extant popular French manifestations,⁶ is now well known; and the dawn-scene of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, as a revival of the courtly mediaeval theme, is of course celebrated.⁷ That Petrarch, however, may claim the distinction of having crystallised, in a poetic production of consummate creative artistry, the religious symbolism which forms the basis both of the Latin hymnology of the early Christian centuries and of the religious *albas* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, has, apparently, never been observed.

Petrarch's *canzone* to the Virgin, to be specific, seems to me to represent, from the aspect at least of genius, the culminating point in the long and complex development of the religious symbol.

I cannot enter here into the question of origins. Of this whole subject of religious symbolism, as contained in the Latin hymnists of the early centuries;⁸ in the tenth century bilingual piece;⁹ in the five extant *albas* of specific religious intention;¹⁰ in a short piece, perhaps fragmentary, in French, which has been supposed to represent the first strophe of a lost Crusade song;¹¹ in the *Reis*

⁶ Cf. *Journal des Savants*, 1892, p. 163.

⁷ Wagner, influenced, as Roethe, not very convincingly, surmises (in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, vol. XXXIV, N. F. 22 = *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, vol. XVI, 1890, pp. 75-97. See especially p. 80), by the later *tagelied* production of Oswald von Wolkenstein, and certainly by the *tagelied* tradition represented by the Middle High German poets of renown (with whom Gottfried von Strassburg may, as a possibility, be included) has, if I am not mistaken, seen, above all, in his adaptation of the theme to his *Tristan und Isolde*, the dawn-symbolism which, undoubtedly, attracted many of his predecessors. The evocational effectiveness of that dramatic scene, with its insistent *leit-motif*, needs no description here; but I am far from certain that the connection of the symbolism referred to, with the mediaeval German tradition, has always been, by scholars, correctly gauged.

⁸ Cf. in general, Ebert, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters; erster Band*: Leipzig, 1874, p. 165 ff., 171 ff.

⁹ Cf. note 3.

¹⁰ Bartsch, *Grundriss*, p. 131, no. 26; p. 171, no. 342, 1; p. 141, no. 206, 1; p. 114, no. 71, 2; p. 153, no. 248, 70.

¹¹ Bartsch, *Chrest. fr.*, columns 243-246.

glorios of Guiraut de Borneil;¹² in the clearly fusional piece of the later Raimon de las Salas, the *Deus aidatz*, which may, at least in part, be an imitation of Guiraut;¹³ in sporadic instances in Germany between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in rich development thereafter,¹⁴—I have made a special investigation which has led me far, presenting, as it does, many complex problems of influences and inter-relations peculiarly delicate in nature and recalcitrant to all attempt at off-hand and obvious solution. I may state here, however, my strong belief that the view which holds to the dependence of the profane upon the religious *alba*, expounded somewhat vaguely by Wilhelm Scherer¹⁵ and more definitely by Gustav Roethe,¹⁶ is quite erroneous. The courtly manifestation of the *alba* must, it seems to me clear, be at least in essence dissociated from the religious form, which harks back to a tradition of great antiquity. One of the latest investigators of the theme, Mr. Georg Schlaeger,¹⁷ who also holds this view, goes, in my opinion, altogether too far in his peremptory denial of all inter-relation: it would, it seems to me, be impossible for two such manifestations of the theme to co-exist under similar circumstances, and retain at the same time entire independence; tho each had its own tradition and its own laws, and was, at least originally, independent of the other, secondary influence of greater or less degree was inevitable, as seen, e. g., in the *alba* of Guiraut de Borneil, in that of Raimon de las Salas, and in the clear religious ‘parodies’ (in the Greek sense) of the fifteenth and sixteenth, perhaps, also, of the preceding centuries in Germany.

Starting in the ancient dualism of light and darkness, as typifying moral antitheses;¹⁸ perpetuated in this symbolic application

¹² Bartsch, *Grundriss*, p. 150, no. 64.

¹³ Bartsch, *Grundriss*, p. 188, no. 409, 2.

¹⁴ Cf. in general, for the German religious development, Bartsch, in *Album des litterarischen Vereins in Nürnberg*=*Gesammelte Vorträge und Aufsätze*, Freiburg, 1883, pp. 250–317; W. de Gruyter, *Das deutsche Tagelied*, Leipzig, 1887.

¹⁵ Cf. *Deutsche Studien*, II, = *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, vol. LXXVII, Wien, 1874, pp. 437–516; see especially p. 491 ff.

¹⁶ *L. c.*, p. 86 ff.

¹⁷ *Studien über das Tagelied*, Jena, 1895, p. 57; cf. Jeanroy, in *Romania*, vol. XXIV, 1895, pp. 287–289.

¹⁸ Cf. de Gruyter, *l. c.*, p. 128 ff.

to Christ and the Virgin in the New Testament;¹⁹ reflected in the morning hymns of the early Christians, who met, *ante lucem*, to usher in the dawn with pious hymn and prayer;²⁰ made the basis of the Latin hymnology of the first centuries (here St. Ambrose and Prudentius, from whom I shall shortly have occasion to quote, deserve especial mention);²¹ interrupted for six centuries, as the result possibly,—if one accept de Gruyter's plausible hypothesis²²—of a transition from lyrical song to epic souvenir (a transition based on the development of a mystical significance which paralleled the hours to the stages of Christ's sufferings, and in the course of which the symbolic conflict of light and darkness would tend to be supplanted),—the old symbolism, which certain evidences indicate was throughout the intervening centuries never in the tradition completely lost,²³ reappears intact in the tenth century Latin piece (with Provençal refrain),²⁴ and developed contemporaneously with our courtly *albas* in the form of a fixed *genre*, one of the most interesting and aesthetically pleasing manifestations of the theme which we possess.

The symbolism on which this religious form, perpetuating its old tradition, is based, falls, much condensed and briefly stated, as follows:

¹⁹ The most thorough study of biblical analogies which I have found is that of Schlaeger, *l. c.*, p. 46 ff.; cf. also de Gruyter, *l. c.*, p. 127 ff.

²⁰ Cf. *e. g.*, Gaston Paris, *l. c.*, p. 164; Ebert, *l. c.*, is not explicit here.

²¹ See notes 28, 29, 36, 43, etc.

²² de Gruyter, *l. c.*, p. 129.

²³ Cf. Schlaeger, *l. c.*, p. 46, note 1; p. 50, note 1; p. 51; p. 52; *ibid.*, note 1; p. 53; p. 57, note 1.

²⁴ Cf. note 3; also p. 40. This enigmatic Provençal refrain, of which only the words *L'alba par . . . tenebras*, falling respectively at beginning and end, can be admitted as beyond dispute, I have studied exhaustively in my dissertation, *Alba, Aube and Tagelied in the Light of the History of Culture*, shortly to appear in print; the conclusions there reached are briefly as follows: (1) The refrain originally rhymed by series of three syllables. (2) It consists of two distinct divisions, lines 1-4 representing the first, lines 4-7 the second. (3) The first division is, in all probability, the poetic reproduction of a castle-watchman's auroral cry. (4) The second division is a special religious application drawn from division 1, and adapted to the body of the Latin text. (5) The meaning, with some reconstruction of the text, I believe to be the following: "*The dawn appears; it lights the sea; beyond these hills it passes. Awake! Do vigil! See clearly what Night's darkness means!*" From conclusions three and four it will be seen that I do not admit the refrain to be evidential for the theory of a presumptive tenth century dawn *genre*, of either courtly or popular basis.

1. *God*: the great Universal Light.
2. *Mary*: light in general; specifically, Dawn:
sometimes, (a) Lucifer; (b) Stella Maris.
3. *Christ*: the Day:
by confusion, (a) Lucifer; (b) Dawn; (c) the
Sun itself.
4. *Satan*: Sin; Night; Sleep.

It is this symbolism which forms the nucleus of our religious hymns and *albas*.²⁵

Of the twenty-six morning hymns published by Jacob Grimm in 1830,²⁶ a rather considerable proportion seem to me citable as examples of at least three of the symbolic elements listed above, viz., nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 15, 16, 18, 20, 25:

1. *Mediae noctis tempore*. . . .
2. *Deus qui coeli lumen es*. . . .
3. *Splendor paternae gloriae*. . . .
4. *Aeternae lucis conditor*. . . .
5. *Fulgentis auctor aetheris*. . . .
6. *Deus aeterni luminis*. . . .
8. *Diei luce reddita*. . . .
15. *Deus qui certis legibus*. . . .
16. *Christi qui lux es et die*. . . .
18. *Sic ter quaternis trahitur*. . . .
20. *Hic est dies verus Dei*. . . .
25. *Aeterne rerum conditor*. . . .

To this list may be added, from the monumental collection of Wackernagel,²⁷ analogous passages from nos. 6, 9, 27, 29, 31, 35, 85, 118, 235, 245.

²⁵ In the latter, however, it is combined with the figure of the Watchman, or, at least, of the poet who assumes the functions of Watchman (and warner) in his exhortation to sinners to arise from sleep (= night = darkness = sin); all these elements may be traced back thro the hymnology of the early Christian centuries to biblical analoga.

²⁶ *Ad auspicia Professionis Philosophiae ordinariae In academia Georgia Augusta Rite capienda invitat Jacobus Grimm. Inest Hymnorum veteris Ecclesiae XXVI. Interpretatio Theotisca nunc primum edita Gottingae MDCCCXXX: p. 16 ff.*

²⁷ *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts. Mit Berücksichtigung der lateinischen (sc. Liederdichtung) von*

I have but little space here for citation. *God*, as in Ambrosius, is "*auctor*" of the resplendent aether, ruler over sun and moon:²⁸ His own splendor is the splendor of paternal glory, from its own light light-streaming:²⁹ He is light of light and source of light:²⁹ day illuminating day:²⁹ true sun shining with perpetual splendor:³⁰ creator of eternal radiance;³¹ light Himself and day, knowing no night:³²—*candor* indescribable:³³ His day is the true day;³⁴ of the coming day He is judge.³⁵ Hence is, in Prudentius, the cockcrow heard just before dawn the symbol of our judgment.³⁶ . . .

So, on the same analogy, is *Christ* refulgence. He is light and He is day:³⁷ He is Lucifer, the Morning Star,³⁸ disperser of Night, and cloud, and darkness:³⁹ arouser of the drowsy day:⁴⁰ expeller from high heaven of Night's shadows:⁴¹ radiant light, interraying human sense:⁴² breaker of Night's bonds:⁴³ bringer of new light.⁴⁴ This light is the light of Faith in His salvation:⁴⁵ He is true light of the faithful:⁴⁶ light of light, He shall be believed in his prophecies of light to the elect:⁴⁷ the dawning of the day brings with it deep

Hilarius . . . etc., Leipzig, 1864. The Latin hymns, vol. I, under numbers indicated.

²⁸ Wackernagel, *l. c.*, no. 3, strophe I (all).

²⁹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 4, strophe I (all).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, strophe II, lines 1-2.

³¹ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 4 = *Aeterne lucis conditor*; cf. also no. VI.

³² *Ibid.*, strophe I, lines 2-3.

³³ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 6, strophe I, line 2 = *candor inenarrabilis*.

³⁴ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 20 = *Hic est dies verus Dei*.

³⁵ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 6, strophe I, line 3.

³⁶ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 27 = *Hymnus ad galli cantum*, strophe IV, *Vox ista . . . nostri figura est iudicis*.

³⁷ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 4, strophe I, line 2.

³⁸ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 2, strophe 4, line 3 = *Typusque Christi Lucifer*.

³⁹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 29, strophe I.

⁴⁰ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 2, strophe IV, line 4.

⁴¹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 3, strophe II, line 1; *ibid.*, no. 11, strophe III, lines 1-2; *ibid.*, no. 29, strophe I, line 4; Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 2, strophe IV, lines 1-2; *ibid.*, no. 4, strophe II.

⁴² Wack., *l. c.*, no. 11, strophe VIII, line 1.

⁴³ Wack., *l. c.*, Prudentius, no. 27, strophe XXV.

⁴⁴ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 35, strophe III, lines 1-2; cf. strophes VII and VIII. In general throughout.

⁴⁵ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 15, strophe II, line 4.

⁴⁶ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 8, strophe III, line 1.

⁴⁷ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 16, strophe I, lines 3-4.

faith : hope of the promised boon ;⁴⁸ Faith in Him shall be as Noon-day ; and the twilight of unfaith and sin shall be avoided.⁴⁹ As dawn-symbol of salvation the dawn of the real day shall induce first prayer.⁵⁰

As God and Christ symbolise resplendent light, so are Night and darkness symbolical of Satan and his evil powers, by whose pollution⁵¹ the believer is during sleep most susceptible, when the *consciousness* of his faith is weakened. Hence is the Divinity prayed to lend its aid, above all, when sleep weighs down the weary mind,⁵² to ray down the light of glory⁵² that the *enemy*, full of wile,⁵² may have no play, may not, profiting by heavy slumbers,⁵³ catch the defenceless mortal unawares ;⁵³ that he, the *serpens calidus*,⁵⁴ may not attempt to force his entrance into the slumbering soul,⁵⁵ and by fraud,⁵⁶ or violence,⁵⁷ commit sacrilege upon the glorified spirit.⁵⁸

He is the Enemy,⁵⁹ he is the thief,⁶⁰ who believes himself immune before the light ;⁶¹ but whose wiles are set at naught by the light of Christ.⁶² That Light is strength against his evil acts.⁶³ when it dawns, the whole chorus of dark errors flee incontinent from their evil way.⁶⁴ So Sleep, given over to these evil forces, symbolises eternal death,⁶⁵ and only with its dispersal,⁶⁶ and that

⁴⁸ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 3, strophe V, lines 3-4.

⁴⁹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 4, strophe VII, lines 3-4.

⁵⁰ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 11, strophe VIII, lines 3-4.

⁵¹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 9, strophe II, line 4.

⁵² Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 15, strophe II.

⁵³ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 16, strophe III, lines 1-2.

⁵⁴ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 18, strophe II, line 3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, line 4.

⁵⁶ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 6, strophe III, Quo fraude quicquid daemonum in noctibus deliquimus, Abstergat illud caelitus tuae potestas gloriae.

⁵⁷ Grimm, *l. c.*, no. 18, strophe IV, line 3.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, line 4.

⁵⁹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 9, strophe II, line 3.

⁶⁰ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 29, strophe V, line 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, line 2.

⁶² *Ibid.*, lines 3-4: Prudentius, Wackernagel, *l. c.*, no. 27, strophe VIII, strophes X and XXV.

⁶³ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 29, strophe V, line 3.

⁶⁴ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 11, strophe III, lines 3-4.

⁶⁵ Wack., *l. c.*, Prudentius, no. 27, strophe VII, lines 1-2.

⁶⁶ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 9, strophe II, lines 1-2.

of the "wandering demons"⁶⁷ frightened by the symbolic cock-crow,⁶⁸ is the soul again free to draw to itself that eternal life which the white dawn heralds.⁶⁹

So, in the main, the symbolism of the early Latin hymns.

The essence of this symbolism appears again intact in the tenth century bilingual poem, which, because of its Provençal refrain, may, with some ground of reason, be classed as the first of our Provençal religious *albas*. Here, however, a new element is added to the symbolism which, in the hymn-passages, is lacking, that of the symbolic watchman. It is quite unnecessary, after the studies of de Gruyter⁷⁰ and G. Schlaeger,⁷⁰ to attempt to set forth here the many biblical analogies from which this allegorical figure is evidently, in the ultimate issue, drawn. What I should like to call especially to the reader's attention is the fact of its existence in the Latin hymns and in one of the specific pieces which contain the dawn and darkness symbols. I refer to Wackernagel, No. 31, especially strophes III and IV:—

Lux, ecce, surgit aurea,
pallens facessat caecitas,
Quae nosmet in praeceps diu
errore traxit devio.

Speculator adstat desuper,
qui nos diebus omnibus
Actusque nostros prospicit
a luce prima in vesperum.

A close search would, undoubtedly, reveal other examples of this use, which is derived directly from the Bible. The bilingual *alba*, at any rate, combines the watchman in this allegorical application with the symbolic dualism synthesised above; the dawn description, as in a number of our hymns (especially in Prudentius), quite outweighs however the Watchman element, which is limited to two lines (strophes I–II, line 3): the daemonic obsession

⁶⁷ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 27, strophe X, line 4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, line 3.

⁶⁹ Wack., *l. c.*, no. 3, strophe V; no. 11, strophe VIII, etc.

⁷⁰ *L. c.*

of sleep, on the contrary, comes out strongly, especially in strophe II. The shortness of the text justifies its citation here entire:

1. Phebi claro nondum orto iubare
Fert Aurora lumen terris tenue.
Speculator pigris clamat surgite.
2. En incautos ostium insidie,
Torpentesque gliscunt intercipere,
Quos suadet preco clamat (?) surgere.
3. Ab arcturo disgregatur aquilo
Poli suos condunt astra radios
Orienti tenditur septemtrio.

Refrain (recurrent after each third line),—

*L'alba par umet mar atra sol
Poypas abigil miraclar tenebras.*

The closeness of the body of the Latin text to the symbolic idea of the Latin Christian hymns of the 4th and 5th centuries is so clear and obvious that a direct connection must be admitted. Here, as there, the dawn-theme forms the inception (1-2); here, also, the exhortation to arise (combined, it is true, with the figure of the watchman, but that, as we have seen, was also in the hymnology): the *ostium insidie*: the *pigris* and *torpentes*, the idea of catching unaware in *intercipere*, all corresponds exactly to the basic idea of the "symbolistic" already analysed.

Passing over two centuries, we find, in the handful of Provençal religious *albas*, the same or similar elements, with, also in this progression, the introduction of a new symbolic element. This new element, on which much stress is laid, is that of the Virgin.

Yet just as, in the case of the Watchman, we found already in the hymnal of the early centuries an exact prototype, so also, for the rôle of the Virgin played in our religious *albas*, we are not left without analogy.

In *Mediae noctis tempore* (Grimm, I), occurs the allusion to the famous parable of the wise and the foolish virgins,

Occurrunt sanctae virgines
obviam tunc adventui
gestantes claras lampadas
magno laetantes gaudio . . .

here, if I am not mistaken, allegorical of the coming day, and hence comparable with Grimm, IV, strophe 2 :

Jam cedet pallens proximo
diei nox adventui
obtundens lumen siderum
adest et clarus lucifer.

(Lucifer playing here the Virgins' part.)

This parable of the wise virgins and their symbolic lamps is highly important, because of its intimate association with the whole religious symbol;⁷¹ Petrarch, as we shall soon see, uses the *motif* in his *canzone*.⁷² Tho, of course, the confusion of the wise virgins with Mary, as highest and wisest of all, was the effect of an obvious association, it is not they who appear before us in the Provençal *albas*, but the Virgin, Mother of Christ, Herself.

For Her also, in the Latin hymns, analogies may be found.

In the *Ave maris stella*, attributed to the fifth century Venantius Fortunatus (Wackernagel, l. c., no. 85), the functions usually attributed to Christ, the Saviour, are here applied to Her; *felix caeli porta mutans Evae nomen*, She is thus implored,—

Solve vincla reis,
profer lumen caecis,
Mala nostra pelle,
bona cuncta posce.

In this short excerpt we find the Virgin, then, conceived as a source of resplendent light, figuring Christ's salvation and hence breaking the bonds by which the sinful are encompassed; above all as *Mediatrix*, who, by Her intercession, may obtain for the sinner all good gifts, (by which, undoubtedly, freedom from sin, peaceful death, and the resurrection are signified). Moreover, as we see in the title, the identification of Mary with the star of the sea is here already consummated. The specific light-symbolism inherent in this *epitheton* comes out much more plainly in a seventh century hymn (Wackernagel, no. 118) which begins,

O stella maris fulgida
absolve plebis crimina

⁷¹ See Schlaeger, l. c., p. 50, note 2.

⁷² See pp. 48-50.

Gemitusque supplicium
immutando in gaudium.⁷³

Here, as in the passage cited above, Mary, as vicarious light of salvation, stands between eternal damnation and eternal joy, and either issue will depend on Her.

Coming now to the Provençal religious *albas* falling chronologically from the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century on (I cannot here concern myself with the symbolism of the German material), we find a complete and harmoniously effected fusion of these elements already existent (eliminating here deliberately biblical analogies from our consideration) in the Christian Latin hymnology from the fourth century on.

The symbolism is first clearly apparent in the opening prayer of Guiraut de Borneil's *alba*;⁷⁴ it is in the solemn invocation,

Reis glorios, verais lums e clardatz,
Deus poderos, senher, si a vos platz,
. siatz fizels aiuda,
. pois la noitz fon venguda
Et ades sera l'alba;

the repeated exhortation to arise, the fear of an attack (II, 4); the prayer to God, son of Saint Mary (III, 3); the exhortation to the sleeper to go to the window and behold the signs of the sky (IV, 1-2), under penalty of disaster (ib., line 4), all, in my opinion to be dissociated from the worldly situation, in view of the Star of the East mentioned in stanza II, lines 4-5,

qu'en orien vei l'estela creguda
qu'amena'l iorn, qu'eu l'ai ben coneguda
(Et ades sera l'alba).

and, of course, of the clear and specific prayer at the beginning of the piece.

So, also, it appears in the fourteenth-century profane *alba* attrib-

⁷³It was, if I am not in error, a cumulative development: two thirteenth century pieces (Wackernagel, *l. c.*, nos. 235 and 245: Ave Maris, gratia plena; Ave praeclara maris stella), show, in this direction, some progression.

⁷⁴See above, note 10.

uted to Raimon de las Salas,⁷⁵ which, like Guiraut's piece, begins with a prayer:

Dieus, aidatz
S'a vos platz,
Senher cars,
(E) dous e verais
E vulhatz
Que ab patz
Lo jorns clars
E bels c'ades mais
nos abratz . . .

the clear symbolic purpose of which is supplemented by the seven-line refrain,—

L'alb'e'l jorns
Clars et adorns
Ven, dieus, aidatz!
L'alba par
E'l jorn vei clar
De lonc la mar
E l'alb'e'l jorns par.

In neither Guiraut nor Raimon de las Salas, however, is the symbolic figure of the Virgin at hand; the symbolism here is restricted to supplication to God for help, evidently against the powers of evil; and the dawning day is taken as symbolic of His, and Christ's, salvation.

In the *alba* attributed to Folquet de Marselha, however (the first specifically religious *alba* which we possess in Provençal),⁷⁶ the star of the day (=Star of the East) undoubtedly symbolises Mary. Mindful, perchance, of the dark blots upon his memory, Folquet prays God, as he, like Petrarch, feels the approach of that day which Mary, star of the East, has heralded, to take him in great pity; to let not the devil injure him or cast about him his deceptions,—

. . . . Que'l jorn es apropchatz
E la nueg ten sa via.
E prec senher que us prenda

⁷⁵ See note 13.

⁷⁶ Cf. for this, and the following references to the Provençal *albas*, note 10.

Gran pietat de me
 Que no'm truep ni'm malme
 Diables, ni'm surprenda . . .

this, combined with an exhortation to others to rise from the sleep of sin, and the symbolic refrain,

La nueg vai e'l jorns ve
 Ab clar temps e sere,
 E l'alba no's rete,
 Ans ve belh e complia.

and a closing appeal, after expression of repentance, for resurrection and salvation,

Josta los sieus nos me
 laysus on si capte,
 E ns meta dins sa tenda.

Even more strongly comes out the symbolic figure of the Virgin in Peire Espanhol, who, in a fervent allocution, exhorts all those in whom the darkness of sin still lingers, to rise up and cast it out; and receive, in lieu thereof, the glorious light that is God, which the Queen, Mother of pity, Blessed Dawn, has heralded—"O rich is he, who joyfully may serve such lady!" The symbolism of this piece is especially explicit; in strophe II we are told that

Lo jorns es dieus, loiautz omnipotens
 Qui venc en charn don al mon allumnat,
 Et alba es, don cist jorns fo naissenz,
 La reina maire de pietat:

it is near the day which has this dawn; no harm may come to those who believe on Her, when this dawn is near them; the darkness of sin must be cast off and the divine light must enter before Death takes away (eternally) all brightness, for Hell is filled with darkness, where *li chaitiv mal fadat, Non auran mais lum ni clartat ni alba*. Yet no one need despair, despite his sins, if he become transrayed by this divine light, tho before he was wandering in the darkness of sin; he will be, apparently (the text is here defective), better received *quan ac son sen camjat*.

I have already, I fear, taxed the reader's patience with over-much citation, and must, for the rest of the development, be somewhat brief.

In the *alba* of Bernard de Venzac (or Venzenac), the whole Trinity is invoked, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, against the *mal fuec ifernal*,—"that we may come,

joyos e resplandens
El sieu regne, aissi cum resplen l'alba . . .":

archangels, angels and all the saints are prayed for intercession with Christ, *lo filh reyna pia*, i. e., of Mary, who is obviously signified in the close (*Belh estela d'orien*), as in Folquet and elsewhere. Yet here the dawn, by one of the numerous confusions inherent in the very nature of the symbolism, is symbolically applied to Christ and not to Mary, who, as star of the East, merely heralds the dawning day of Christ's salvation.

For the Virgin, Guilhem d'Autpol, in his richly sonorous invocation to Christ's Mother, cannot, in the intensity of his mystic rapture, find enough laudation; she is fountain of pleasure; source of all true mercy; cloister of God and consolation and haven of safety; Joy with no alloy of sadness, and "light and clarity and dawn of Paradise": Her he prays for intercession with Her Son, "of face resplendent bright."

In Guiraut Riquier, lastly, the curious, universally interested, talented Guiraut, notable reviver of old poetic themes, we have, in a piece which is one of the subsidiary forms of the theme (it combines a worldly theme, for which in my dissertation on the *Alba* genre, I have proposed the nomenclature "*Nuech*"), a direct appeal, from the personal standpoint, to the Virgin. After long vigil in the darkness whence, having great desire of true light, he fain would issue, the sinner calls on Mary, thro whose aid alone he may obtain this light: (*She who to sinners, deeply penitent, is as Dawn*). "*For no man may do aught good in life without prayer to Her the Virgin, Mother of all wisdom. Let us, therefore, pray Her gratefully that she grant us true aid to escape the assailments of our enemies (= Sin): to Her who, to sinners, is as Dawn.*"

We may now turn our attention to Petrarch.

It is indeed strange, to one who has studied the religious hymns and *albas* closely, not to find, either in the studies of those scholars who have concerned themselves with the symbolism involved, or in any of the commentators of Petrarch's *canzone*, from the older expounders to Carducci and Ferrari, a word about the close and intimate relation in which especially the first six, and the final stanzas of this poem stand, not only to the symbolic elements in St. Ambrose and in Prudentius (taking their hymns as representative), but to the half dozen or so religious *albas*, starting with the tenth century bilingual piece already considered, and continuing with the Provençal religious *albas*, from Folquet de Marselha on.

One might on the contrary have supposed that any expounder of the *canzone*, before citing scores of analogies from the Bible and the Church Fathers which it is extremely unlikely that Petrarch utilized in the aggregate for the composition of his *canzone* (even tho these analogies constituted for the whole tradition a common fund), would have cited, above all, poems chronologically close to Petrarch, of directly similar purpose to the *canzone*; poems found, moreover, in a literature which had become in Italy, as elsewhere, quasi-canonical, and with which we know Petrarch was well acquainted. Whatever conclusion we may draw, the fact at least stands out—hitherto, apparently, by some strange oversight overlooked—that the Provençal religious *albas*, which as we have seen stand in a relation of close dependence to the Latin hymns, combine, similarly to the Petrarchan *canzone*, the same expression of repentance of a sinful life with the light-symbolism of the Divinity; the same supplication before the thought of Death and its theological consequences, with the specific hope of the rapidly approaching symbolic day; what is most significant, *with direct invocation of the Virgin, who personifies, above all, the light of Christ's salvation.*

The only explanation that I can find for the curious neglect to bring Petrarch and at least the Provençal *albas* into direct connection is, that the beautiful invocation of Petrarch represents a composite of two distinct poetic tendencies, one of which, in the commentators' mind, has obscured the other. It is, on the one hand, hymn and *lauda*; on the other, elegy and *canzone*. As the

former, it is objective, and sings the praise of the Virgin; as the latter, it is subjective, and exposes the soul-states of the poet himself. It is specifically hymn in the first six stanzas (vv. 1-78): verses 1-8 contain the invocation plus the exposition; then begin both prayer and praise, the latter in vv. 1-8 of each stanza, the former in the five following verses, beginning from the second apostrophe. Part two, as said, is elegy, yet even here the prayer reappears; and at the close of the poem the direct point and intention of the whole symbol stands clearly forth.

A brief general synopsis of the symbolism may be given here, before reproduction of the apposite portion of the whole *canzone* for subsequent detailed analysis.⁷⁷

Mary is the *Vergine bella*,—*di sol vestita*, who so pleased the *Summo sole* that He hid his light within Her (here, of course, Christ and Christ's salvation are signified): She is the *regina del ciel*; most significant, She is *Vergine saggia, e del bel numero una*,⁷⁸ *De le beate vergini prudenti; anzi la prima e con più chiara lampà*: clearly here, as in the Latin hymn cited above, an allusion to the parable of the wise and the foolish virgins. She is both the daughter, and the Mother who, a lofty, lucent window of Heaven, lights this life (*ch'allumi questa vita; finestra del ciel lucente, altera*); who came to save us *in su gli estremi giorni*; who brought forth the Sun of Justice, which lights anew the world, teeming with dark errors (*che partoristi . . . di giustizia il Sol, che rasserena Il secol pien d'errori scuri*—i. e. the Night of Sin); She is *Vergine chiara . . . di questo tempestoso mare stella*; She is *d'ogni fidel nocchier fidata guida* in the *terribile procella* in which the poet finds himself *senza governo*; that this storm, which has brought darkness, is sin, the words *Ma pur in te l'anima mia si fida . . . PECCATRICE* sufficiently indicate; the closing lines show this conclusively, and the symbolism of Ambrosius and Prudentius, on the one hand, of the Provençal religious *albas*, on the other, is complete with the significant allusion, . . . *Ma ti prego, Che'l tuo NEMICO del mio mal non rida*.—The rest of the *canzone* is taken up with the poet's entreaties to be freed from the torments of his love for Laura, and his promise to devote to Her,

⁷⁷ The basis of this, and the following analyses is the text of the Carducci-Ferrari edition of Petrarch, see note 1; and pp. 48-50 for the text itself.

⁷⁸ In the special sense of "highest." Cf. the Greek *μᾶ ὑψικώδῳ* (Gesualdo).

the Virgin, in exchange for this boon, all his life and service. The *chiusa*, however, again reverts to the symbolism:

Il dí s'appressa, e non pòte esser lunge,
 Sì corre il tempo e vola,
 Vergine unica e sola.

Though Death is here evidently meant, the Day of Salvation is uppermost in the poet's mind, for he ends with the entreaty:

Raccomandami al tuo Figliuol, verace
 Homo e verace Dio,
 Ch'accolga'l mio spirto ultimo in pace.

With this brief running analysis of the symbolic purpose to guide the reader, I cite, for collation and verification, the corresponding portion of the *Canzone* itself, with the significant passages italicised:

CANZONE (*abridged*)

- Lines 1. *Vergine bella, che di sol vestita,*
 Coronata di stelle, al sommo Sole
 Piacesti sì che'n te sua luce ascosse;
 7. . . . Invoco lei⁷⁹ che ben sempre rispose
 Chi la chiamò con fede.
 11. . . *al mio prego t'inchina;*
 Soccorri alla mia guerra,
 13. Bench' i' sia terra, e tu del ciel regina.
 Vergine saggia, e del bel numero una
 De le beate vergini prudenti,
 Anzi la prima e con più chiara lampa;
 O saldo scudo de l'afflitte genti
 Contr' a' colpi di Morte e di Fortuna,
 Sotto 'l qual si triunfa, non pur scampa;
 O refrigerio al cieco ardor ch'avampa
 Qui fra i mortali sciocchi;
 22. *Vergine, que' belli occhi . .*
 Volgi al mio dubio stato,
 26. Che sconsigliato a te vèn per consiglio.
 Vergine pura, d'ogni parte intera,

⁷⁹ I take *lei* as referring to Vergine of line 1 and not as applying to "*aita*" of line 5.

- Del tuo parto gentil figliuola e madre,
 Ch' allumi questa vita e l'altra adorni;
 Per te il tuo figlio e quel del sommo Padre,
 O fenestra del ciel lucente, altera,
32. Venne a salvarne in su li estremi giorni;
 E fra tutt' i terreni altri soggiorni
 Sola tu fosti eletta,
 Vergine benedetta,
 Che 'l pianto d'Eva in allegrezza torni.
 Fammi, ché puoi, de la sua grazia degno,
 Senza fine o beata,
39. Già coronata nel superno regno.
 Vergine santa, d'ogni grazia piena,
 Che per vera et altissima umiltate
 Salisti al ciel, onde miei preghi ascolti;
 Tu partoristi il fonte di pietate,
 E di giustizia il sol, che rasserena
45. Il secol pien d'errori oscuri e folti:
 Tre dolci e cari nomi ha' in te raccolti,
 Madre, figliuola e sposa;
 Vergine gloriosa,
 Donna del Re che nostri lacci ha sciolti
 E fatto 'l mondo libero e felice:
 Ne le cui sante piaghe
52. Prego ch' appaghe il cor, vera beatrice.
 Vergine sola al mondo, senza essemplio,
 Che 'l ciel di tue bellezze innamorasti,
 Cui né prima fu, simil, né seconda;
 Santi pensieri, atti pietosi e casti
 Al vero Dio sacrato e vivo tempio
58. Fecero in tua verginità feconda.
 Per te po la mia vita esser joconda,
 S' a' tuoi preghi, a Maria,
 Vergine dolce e pia,
62. Ove 'l fallo abondò la grazia abonda.
 Con le ginocchia de la mente inchine
 Prego che sia mia scorta,
 E la mia torta via drizzi a buon fine.
 Vergine chiara e stabile in eterno,⁸⁰
 Di questo tempestoso mare stella,

⁸⁰ I take *in eterno* as referring to both *chiara* and *stabile*.

- D'ogni fedel nocchier fidata guida;
Pon' mente in che terribile procella
I' mi ritrovo, sol, senza governo,
 71. *Et ho già da vicin l'ultime strida.*
 Ma pur in te l'anima mia si fida;
Peccatrice, i' no 'l nego,
Vergine; ma ti prego
Che 'l tuo nemico del mio mal non rida.
 Ricorditi che fece il peccar nostro
 Prender Dio, per scamparne,
 78. Umana carne al tuo virginal chiostro.
 87. . . *Vergine sacra et alma,*
Non tardar, ch' i' son forse a l'ultimo anno.
 91. *e sol Morte n'aspetta.*
 105. *Vergine, in cui ho tutta mia speranza*
Che possi e vogli al gran bisogno aitar me,
Non mi lasciare in su l'estremo passo:
 Non guardar me, ma chi degnò crearme;
 No 'l mio valor, ma l'alta sua sembianza
 110. Ch' è in me ti mova a curar d'uom sì basso.
 124. . . *Se. . . .*
 125. *Per le tue man resurgo.*
 129. Scorgimi al miglior guado,
E prendi in grado i cangiati desiri.
Il dì s'appressa, e non pòte esser lunge,
Sì corre il tempo e vola,
Vergine unica e sola;
E 'l cor or conscienza or morte punge.⁸¹
Raccomandami al tuo Figliuol, verace
Omo e verace Dio,
 137. Ch' accolga 'l mio spirto ultimo in pace.

Judged in the light of the Latin morning hymns, of which the tenth century piece is evidently a late manifestation, and of the Provençal religious *albas*, the logical sequence of Petrarch's symbolic purpose seems, with some synthesis, to fall as follows:

1. *Light* = in general, the Divinity.

(a) God = the Sun.

(b) Mary = the Sun;

⁸¹ A period omitted in the C-F. edition is supplied.

the stars (in general) ;
 the star of the sea, hence
 the Morning star, hence
 the symbolic Dawn ;
 the wisest Virgin (with the brightest
 lamp) ;
 the window thro which Heaven transrays
 its light.

(c) Christ = the Sun ;
 the symbolic Day (of salvation).

2. *Darkness* = in general, Evil = Sin = Satan.

- (a) the world, as darkened by multiple moral errors ;
- (b) the sea (of life), dark with "storm of sin" ;
- (c) the Virgin's enemy, Satan, leader of the hosts of darkness.

3. *The Virgin* = mediatrix (between the sin-shadowed suppliant and the light of Christ's salvation).

On the basis of the above analysis, the elements of what is in effect a religious *alba*, could be here associated: these elements would in detail fall as follows:

Mary is resplendent light: vested Herself with sunlight, crowned with stars, She bore within Her, also, the radiance of Christ's salvation, with which radiance God, the Sun supreme, transrayed Her (lines 1-3), and which She, a sun of justice, gave forth again (line 44). She is first (16) and highest (*una* 14) of the Wise Virgins (15), bearing a lamp more resplendent-bright than they (16): over human life She casts this radiance (29). She is window of high and lucent heaven (31); eternally refulgent, Her light eternally constant (69).

As light Herself, reflecting the glory of God the Father, and engendrant of the light of Christ, the Saviour, She is invoked (11-12) to succor him (12) in the conflict (12) of a world full of multiple dark errors (45) and personal sin (73) which She (29), and Christ, the Sun of Justice (44) illuminate anew (*rasserena*, ib.). As radiant star over the storm-dark sea, i. e., of Sin (70),—She is implored (69) to take heed of the frightful tempest (69) to which the suppliant is exposed. Eliminating the fusion with the worldly

and elegiac *motif*, who is the author of this conflict waged upon him? the source of the dark errors by which he is encompassed? the hurler down upon Life's sea of the sombre storm? The conclusion is imperative that it is Mary's enemy (75), Satan, who has encompassed the world in bonds of sin thro the sin of Eve (36), and whose exultation over his evil work the poet prays the Virgin (74) to forestall.

Thro Her can come Resurrection (124-5): under Her shield one may not only escape Death, but may even triumph in this Resurrection (19); She can turn Eve's weeping (the world's heritage of sin) into gladness, i. e., salvation (36): remembering only that he is fashioned in God's image (109), She is interceder (60) for the sinner, tho he is of the earth, She queen of heaven (13). She has engendered Christ, the Fount of Mercy (43) and the Sun of Justice (44); Her prayers can obtain grace proportionate to the transgression (60-62). Always has She responded (7) to him who called on Her with faith (8). Her, then, he invokes (7), praying Her to bend down from Heaven to hear his prayer (11), beseeching Her to turn Her beauteous eyes to his dubious state (22-3), to console him (26) and make him worthy of Her grace (37), to appease his heart in the holy wounds of Christ, Her Son (52); bending on the 'knees of his mind,' he begs Her to be his escort to salvation (63-64), and bring his sin-diverted way to a good end (65); he prays that thro Her intercession for his sinful soul (73) Satan, the Arch-enemy, may not triumph (74-75).

But the Night of Sin draws to its end; the last days are come; (88) Death only waits (89), and he exhorts Her not to delay Her intercession (ib.). In Her he has all his hope (105), hope that She can and will aid him in his great need (106). "Leave me not *in su l'estremo passo* (107), for I have repented of all my sins (130): let me find resuscitation thro Thy hand (124-5).

The symbolic day approaches. The day, so swift is life, approaches and cannot be far; conscience torments my soul; death penetrates my heart (131-134).

The *Commeatus*: Recommend me to Thy Son, true Man, true God; and pray Him bring me after Death into the Peace of His Salvation (135-137).

In the absence of certain knowledge, it is at least not circum-spect to attempt conclusions; if, in the present case, such an attempt be at all permissible, the conclusion would resolve itself as follows: Petrarch, having thoroughly assimilated, from his wide knowledge of its different sources and manifestations, the whole symbolism studied in the present article, deliberately fused what is in essence a religious *alba* with an elegiac expression of his purely worldly grief arising from his love for Laura. In the formation of this synthetically remarkable *canzone*, Bible, Apocalypse, the homelies and comments of the Fathers of the Latin Church; the early Latin hymnal; the Provençal religious *albas*, have all, in ratios not certainly determinable, had their share.

The first three of these five sources have by the commentators of Petrarch's text, been abundantly expounded: the last two, however, have never, either by the *canzone's* commentators, from the oldest to the most modern, or by special investigators of the religious symbolism *per se*, received the recognition which is their due.

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INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIAEVAL CHRISTIAN VISIONS ON JEAN DE MEUN'S NOTIONS OF HELL

WE have many guarantees of the popularity of Christian vision literature in the Middle Ages. It was a product of the Church, without doubt the best medium of publicity in that period. Visions are incorporated in the works of the most popular church writers, such, for example, as the Dialogues of Gregory the Great, and the Venerable Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Certain ones, appearing independently, have come down to us in many Latin manuscripts widely distributed as to place and date of origin. Such are, among others, the apocryphal Vision of Saint Paul and the Vision of Tundal. Twenty-two Latin manuscripts of the former were known to its editor, Brandes. Its form indicates that it was intended either as a sermon or as an epistle, in either case sure of coming to the notice of many persons. It begins: "Oportet vos, fratres karissimi, amare delicias paradisi et timere penas inferni, que ostense sunt Paulo apostolo, quando fuit in carcere in hoc mundo." And incorporated in the vision is another indication of the same sort: "Expavescite, fratres karissimi, et benefacite, quantum possitis, et timete deum et date gloriam et honorem deo et omnibus sanctis eius, ut vos exaltet in opere bono et perducatur in vitam eternam, ne intretis in infernum," etc. Of the Vision of Tundal fifty-four Latin manuscripts are known, and its popularity may be judged by the following statement made by the French monk Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, in his chronicle dating from the first half of the thirteenth century: "Facta est in Hibernia hoc anno (*i. e.*, 1149) quedam mirabilis visio de penis inferni et gaudiis paradisi, que Tugdali visio appellatur. Hanc si quis plane scire desiderat, in multis abbatiis poterat reperire."¹ With such testimony before us, it is safe to postulate that Jean de Meun, who seems to have been an omnivorous reader, knew some at least of the Christian visions, and an examination of his portion of the

¹ Cf. *Visio Tnugdali*, hgg. von A. Wagner, Erlangen, 1882, p. xiv.

Roman de la Rose confirms our suspicions, as will presently be shown.²

The most flourishing period of the production of the Christian visions, the time at which they were longest and most detailed, lies between the middle of the twelfth century and the first decade of the thirteenth century. Significantly enough, the flourishing period of these visions immediately precedes in point of time the flourishing period of French allegory. The most cursory examination of the two phenomena discloses similarities of structure and content which may hardly be considered fortuitous. Such are the dream form, common to both, and the correspondence of the typical features of the Paradise of the Christian visions with those of the Garden of Love in the lay allegories. Here, however, we are upon debatable ground, for Love's Paradise is as old as Tibullus. Demonstrable proof of interrelationship between the Christian visions and French allegory is more readily found in the references to Hell and Purgatory than in the comparison of paradises divine and erotic.

In the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun has little to say about Paradise. On the other hand, he gives us occasional glimpses of his notion of Hell, and it is in these passages that he betrays his indebtedness to the Christian visions. The first of them is perhaps unconscious. Compare the following lines from the *Anticlaudianus* of Alanus de Insulis, *distinctio septima*, cap. ix:³

Multus in hunc amnem populus descendit, et altis
Consepelitur aquis, tumidoque impellitur amne,

with their adaptation by Jean de Meun (*Rose*, vv. 6787-6790, edition of Francisque Michel):

Plusor en cest flueve s'en entre,
Non pas solement jusqu'au ventre,
Ains i sunt tuit enseveli,
Tant se plurgent ès flos de li.

² Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*, Paris, 1891, p. 55, refers to the mediaeval Christian visions and to their share in the impulse that brought Guillaume de Lorris to use the dream form for his love allegory, but he does not suggest the possibility of any influence upon the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*.

³ *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, by Thomas Wright, vol. ii, London, 1872, p. 268 ff. Cf. Langlois, *op cit.*, p. 149.

The difference is important. What did Jean de Meun know about partial immersion as a punishment? The lines would have no meaning did we not refer them to the descriptions of the streams and pools of the Hell of the Christian visions in which the damned are submerged to various degrees according to their sins. For instance, the Vision of Saint Paul:⁴

Et vidit ibi multos homines dimersos in flumine ignito; alii usque ad genua, alii usque ad umbilicum, alii usque ad labia, alii usque ad supercilia erant mersi. Tunc flevit Paulus et suspiravit et interrogavit angelum, qui essent dimersi usque ad genua. Et dixit angelus: 'Hi sunt, qui furtum fecerunt et rapinam et luxuriam et inde penitenciam non egerunt et ad ecclesiam non venerunt.' 'Domine, qui sunt hi, qui usque ad umbilicum?' Respondit angelus: 'Hi sunt, qui fornicantur, postquam assumpserunt corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi, et non sunt reversi ad penitenciam usque ad mortem.' 'Domine, qui sunt hi, qui usque ad labia?' 'Hi sunt detractores et falsi testes et qui murmuraverunt in ecclesia et non audiverunt verbum domini.' 'Qui usque ad supercilia?' 'Hi sunt, qui fictum animum habent in corde et annuunt male proximis suis, dum fidem habent ad illos. Et unusquisque homo, qui hoc peccatum facit, si non penitebit, cadit in infernum, sicut illi fecerunt.

The Vision of Charles the Fat⁵ (A. D. 885):

Ubi reperi innumeras animas hominum et principum patris mei et fratrum meorum et meorum praecipitatas, alias usque ad capillos, alias usque ad mentum, alias usque ad umbilicum.

The Vision of Thurcill (A. D. 1206):⁶

Quarum quaedam usque ad verticem, quaedam usque ad collum, quaedam usque ad pectus et brachia, aliae ad umbilicum et renes, quaedam ad genus, et nonnullae vix usque cavillam pedum immersae fuerunt.

Jean de Meun mentions twice the "marsh of Hell." *Rose*, vv. 11602-3 and 14072-4:

Encor vous en jure et tesmoing
La palu d'enfer à tesmoing.

⁴ *Visio S. Pauli, Ein Beitrag zur Visionsliteratur*, von Herman Brandes, Halle, 1885.

⁵ *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, Rolls Series, 2 vols., London, 1887; vol. II, § 111.

⁶ *Rogeri de Wendover Flores Historiarum*, Rolls Series, 3 vols., London; vol. II (1887), p. 20.

.
 Quant Jupiter asséuroit
 Junon sa fame, il li juroit
 Le palu d'enfer hautement.⁷

The "marsh" is a constantly recurring feature of the places of punishment in the mediaeval visions; *e. g.*, the Vision of Charles the Fat: "Sicque ascendimus super montes altissimos igneos, de quibus oriebantur paludes et flumina ferventia." The Vision of the Monk of Evesham⁸ (A. D. 1196): "Pervenimus in regionem quandam nimis spatiosam, visu horrendam, palustri situ et luto in duritiem inspissato deformem."

The "pit of Hell" is mentioned in vv. 13186-7:

Vous en irés ou puis d'enfer,
 Se vous ne vous en repentés.

There are several vague Biblical allusions to the pit as a place of punishment,⁹ and many precise ones in the mediaeval visions; *e. g.*, the Vision of Drihthelm¹⁰ (A. D. 696): "Porro puteus ille flammivomus ac putidus, quem vidisti, ipsum est os gehennae." Vision of Charles the Fat: "Duxitque me in profundissimas valles et igneas, quae erant plenae puteis ardentibus pice, et sulphure, plumboque, et cera, et adipe." Vision of Tundal¹¹ (A. D. 1149): "Vidit fossam quadrangulam quasi cisternam, qui puteus putridam flamme et fumi emittit columpnam."

Jean de Meun's reference to the stench of Hell is distinctly mediaeval, and shows how far he was drawn from the Biblical picture of the other world by the doctrines current in his day.¹² *Rose*, vv. 15543-5:

Ce faus traître, ce truant,
 Aut s'ame ou feu d'enfer puant
 Qui la puist ardoir et destruire!

⁷ Vv. 14072-4 are a paraphrase of vv. 635-6 of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, book I, with the substitution of the marsh of Hell for the river Styx. Cf. Langlois, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁸ *Rogeri de Wendover Flores Historiarum*, vol. I (1886), p. 255.

⁹ Numbers xvi 30; Job xxxiii 24; Isaiah xxxviii 17, 18.

¹⁰ *Venerabilis Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, liber V, caput xii.

¹¹ *Visio Tnugdali*, hgg. von A. Wagner, Erlangen, 1882, p. 33.

¹² Cf. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol.

Compare the above citations from the Visions of Drihthelm and Tundal. Vision of St. Paul: "Et tulit eum ad septentrionem super puteum sigillatum sigillis, vii. Et dixit angelus: 'Vade longe, si non possis sustinere fetorem loci.' Et apertum est os putei, et surrexit quidam fetor super has omnes penas."

In v. 18, 810 ff. Jean de Meun describes the effects of great storms, stating that it is the common belief that the resulting destruction is the work of devils (vv. 18840-2):

Si dist-l'en que ce font déables
A lor croz et à lor chaables,
A lor ongles, a lor havez.

The enumeration of instruments used by devils is a feature of the visions of the 12th century and later,¹³ though single instruments of torture are mentioned in earlier visions; *e. g.*, the Vision of Charles the Fat: "Et dum haec tremibundus auscultarem, ecce, nigerrimi daemones advolantes cum uncis igneis volebant apprehendere filum glomeris quem in manu tenebam, et ad se attrahere."

The gibbet of Hell, from which the damned are suspended, is mentioned in vv. 20201-6:

Quel guerredon puet-il atendre
Fors la hart à li mener pendre
Au dolereus gibet d'enfer,
Ou sera pris et mis en fer,
Rivés en aniaus pardurables,
Devant le prince des déables?

This form of punishment is a feature of the mediaeval visions. Vision of St. Paul: "Vidit vero Paulus ante portas inferni arbores igneas et peccatores cruciatos et suspensos in eis. Alii pendebant pedibus, alii manibus, alii capillis, alii auribus, alii linguis, alii brachiis." St. Patrick's Purgatory¹⁴ (A. D. 1153): "Alii ibi pen-
XXV, pp. 292-293. Isaiah xxxviii 17 is only apparently an exception. The word "corruption" of King James's version is a translation of the Hebrew substantive *beli*, whose literal meaning is "a wearing out." Hence the original contains no suggestion of putrefaction. The Vulgate makes no mention of the pit: "Tu autem eruisti animam meam, ut non periret."

¹³ Cf. *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, vol. XXV, pp. 287-8.

¹⁴ *Matthei Parisiensis Chronica Majora*, Rolls Series, London, 1874; vol. II, pp. 192-203.

debant in flammis sulphureis, igneis cathenis per pedes et tibias, capitibus ad ima demissis, alii per manus et brachia, alii per capillos et capita; alii pendebant in flammis igneis in uncis ferreis et ignitis per oculos et nares, alii per aures et fauces, alii per testiculos et mamillas."

In vv. 20771-4, Jean de Meun enumerates the punishments which will be administered in Hell by the three provosts, "Alecto," "Thesiphoné," and "Megera":

Ces trois en enfer vous atendent ;
Ceus lient, batent, fustent, pendent,
Hurtent, hercent, escorchent, foulent,
Noient, ardent, greillent et boulent.

These are all forms of punishment described in the Christian visions, some of them repeatedly.

Lient, ardent. Vision of St. Paul: "Sicut dicit dominus en ewangelio: 'Ligate eos per fasciculos ad comburendum.'" Vision of Tundal: "Descendebat enim super illam laminam miserrimarum multitudo animarum et illic cremebantur, donec ad modum cremii in sartagine concremati omnino liquescerent, et, quod est gravius, ita colabantur per predictam laminam, sicut colari solet cera per pannum, et iterum in carbonibus ignis ardentibus renovabantur ad tormentum."

Batent, fustent, hurtent, foulent. St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Campus ille hominibus utriusque sexus et aetatis diversae, nudis et in terra jacentibus ventribus deorsum versis, plenus erat . . . Daemones etiam super miseros currentes, gravibus eos flagris caedebant."

Pendent. See, above, the discussion of vv. 20201-6 of the *Rose*.

Hercent. Vision of Tundal: "Habebant vero ipse, que pariebantur, bestie capita ardentia ferrea et rostra acutissima, quibus ipsa, unde exibant, dilaniabant corpora."¹⁵

Escorchent. Vision of Tundal: "Et cum propius accederent, viderunt carnifices cum securibus et culturis et sarmentis et bisacutis cum dolabris et terebris et falcibus acutissimis, cum wangiis et fossoriis et cum ceteris instrumentis, quibus animas excoiare vel decollare vel findere vel truncare poterant."

¹⁵ This is the closest parallel I have noted in the Latin visions to the French *herser*, "to harrow." The word is doubtless to be taken in a figurative sense here, as in *Aliscans*, vv. 5813-4: Si l'ont point et hersé, En trente lieus li ont le corps navré.

Noient. St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Et ecce subito ventus turbinis vehementis, ab aquilone veniens, ipsos omnes et cum eis militem arripuit, et in aliam montis partem, in flumen frigidum et foetidum, flentes et vociferantes projecit. Et cum de aqua frigidissima surgere conarentur, daemones super aquam currentes in ipso omnes flumine summerserunt."

Greillent. Vision of Thurcill: "Sedes autem candentibus circulis ferreis et ex omni parte clavatis, superius et inferius, a dextris et a sinistris, exstructae erant, atque homines in eis diversae conditionis et sexus mirabiliter residebant."

Boulent. St. Patrick's Purgatory: "Vidit praeterea miles . . . domum innumeris caldariis plenam, quae piceis sulphureisque liquaminibus ac diversis repleta bullientibus metallis, homines utriusque sexus omnis conditionis et aetatis continebant." Vision of Thurcill: "Prima innumeras fornaces habebat et caldarias amplas et latas, pice ferventi et aliis liquaminibus ad summum usque repletas; in singulis autem animae congestae acriter bulliebant, quarum capita velut nigrorum piscium in ferventi liquamine, ex vi ebullitionis, nunc sursum praeminebant, nunc deorsum ruebant."

It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that Jean de Meun, in the passages cited, has laid under contribution his reminiscences of the mediaeval Christian visions. Not all the phenomena to which he refers are contained, to the writer's knowledge, in any one vision. Certainly it is true that not even the most detailed of all, the Vision of Tundal, contains every one. Therefore we are justified in concluding that Jean de Meun was acquainted with a number of them, as we must indeed have suspected from our already extensive information as to his knowledge of the Latin lore extant in his day.

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THE CARMEN DE PRODICIONE GUENONIS
TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, WITH TEXTUAL NOTES

THE second edition of the *Carmen de Prodicione Guenonis* was published by Gaston Paris in the *Romania* of 1882. The text, which appears with notable imperfection in the previous transcription by Francisque Michel, was to a considerable extent restored by Professor Paris and accompanied by a running commentary of great value; but no special emphasis was laid on the mere interpretation of the Latin, and on many of the difficulties which he himself noted his ultimate judgment was not expressed.—By way of preface, it may be stated that exception has here been taken to one or two corrections which M. Paris made in the text itself: *pene* to *fine* in v. 346; the alteration of *haec*, v. 371; *hos tres* to *nostres*, v. 243; and *nunc* to *non*, v. 236. In a few other cases it seems that the corrections suggested are at least debatable. In view of the general stylistic contortion of the poem as a whole, we may justly accept vv. 291 and 322 as they stand, though I have nothing but the wildly subjective to offer for vv. 253–4. Cruces are however so persistently frequent in the poem that a translation of it entire will possibly not be out of place.

HERE BEGINNETH THE PROLOGUE IN THE BATTLE OF
RUNCEVALLE

Herein is made manifest the trickery of Gueno, which he set about for the sake of gifts, and whereby he deceived the Gauls when the gifts he had received.

Here begin verses concerning the battle

King Charles was the shield of the Empire, the defence of the loyal, the disdainer of baseness, the guaranty of justice,—fierce in battle, unequalled in lineage, preeminent in physique, scrupulous in disposition, favored in riches, mighty in credit. Such a man was exalted by the greatest renown, so great a

man by a proper reputation, so wondrous a man by a seemly dignity.¹ Let this be the measure of his merit and his reputation, that his reputation was greater than his merit and his merit than his reputation² (v. 10). In threat against the Spanish he advanced on their dominions. The same he laid waste with his soldiery.³ Destroying the kingdom, the people of the kingdom the king destroyed by massacre, its camps by battle, its homes by fire.⁴ In seven years the king subjected to himself the kingdoms of the kingdom⁵ and there with many he endured many hardships. Hard on this overthrow, whether by the force or the strategy of the king, Morindia was possessed.

Until the king departed from the city acquired by the might of the king, it was his anxious longing to return to his own kingdoms (v. 20). Roland in anger restrained him, and said: "Will not to return. Will to change your will. Why are you preparing to return? What are you doing—since nothing has been done? Is not Caesar Augusta still standing? This still King Marsilius holds, managing all things wrongfully, lawfully nothing. Is he not full worthy to be destroyed, since, under him, wars destroy peace, pillage private rights, treachery loyalty? Delegate a legate whom you shall tell to tell him that to you he shall submit himself, his kingdom and his people 30 (v. 30). Or, if you prefer, despatch a despatch by your legate, that the better he be able to be able to believe you."⁶ So the king orders a brief to be made: soon the brief is made. Brief is the sum of the brief: for this is the sum of the brief: "Give your kingdom to Charles. Say "I will": then perhaps you will be able to remain alive; but say "I refuse"—you will be nobody. You will not be exactly nobody because you will be not only nobody but rather less than nobody, if less you can be."

¹ Vv. 7-8: The three accusatives balance the three nouns and adjectives.

² V. 10: *mage* is the alternate form for *magis*; *sit* is attracted to the preceding subjunctive.

³ V. 12: it is remotely possible to render 'despoiled of its soldiery'; or further, on the analogy of the *Armenia vacua* of Tacitus, *evacuare* may have meant 'to subvert the government,' 'make vacant the fief.'

⁴ V. 14: *vi* 'irregular warfare' contrasted with *bello* 'pitched battle,' 'regular warfare.' It is possible to construe *regnum regni* like *regni regna* in v. 15.

⁵ V. 15: *regna*: 'fiefs,' 'dependent duchies': Du Cange, '*corona regalis*.'

⁶ V. 32: *possit posse*: discussed in note to v. 120.

On the nomination of Roland, soon Count Gueno is bidden to bear the brief of the king,⁷ himself therewith a messenger (v. 40). Not on account of hatred did Roland do this, but through a love of love,⁸ but to Gueno this love of love seemed hatred. Heaping threat on threat, Gueno threatens him with many threats, vowing to repay him as he deserves. By so many threats Roland is provoked; by so much insult he is filled with gloom. Under the insults he rages, under the threats he swells with anger.⁹ In vexation he endures the threats and the threatener, and makes ready to annihilate the threats with the threatener. But the king exhorts, and at his prayer the fury, at his admonition the fierceness, at his constraint the wrath, of Roland subside (v. 50). Roland himself makes ready to go as the messenger, ready to bear the brief of the king. His very fury impels him to make his requests.¹⁰ As Gueno sees this, he seems to grow mad, and in his fury one would think him furious Fury himself,—such fury besets him, so much resentment inflames him, such violent malice impels him to violence.¹¹ Fury urges him to go, Minerva urges him to remain: under the influence of him he cannot heed her. When Fury conquers him, his Minerva is conquered by Fury, for she cannot bend his will with her own (v. 60). Ready to obey the king, the king he addresses. Thus he addresses him: he wishes that the brief be given him. He receives the brief and with the brief he is charged with brief words. He departs in obedience to the king, making ready to execute the things demanded of him.

Hastily the warrior departs, for he is under orders to hasten. Charles's companion is Uprightness, and Gueno has no companion. As the king commands, Gueno rapidly crosses

⁷ V. 39: *consul*: the emperor's counsellor; v. Du Cange, *s. v. Judice*: cf. *Roland*, 204; also 282: "Sur vus Ganelon le jugent Franc."

⁸ Vv. 41-2: *amoris amore* (—*amor*): perhaps 'through a desire for Gueno's affection'; the suggestion of Gaston Paris 'out of love' would require for v. 42 a use of the *causa* construction in the nominative, of which, moreover, we have an interesting example in v. 382, where *causa* is 'desire.'

⁹ V. 46: *hinc* refers to *convicia*, *inde* to *mine*; cf. v. 72.

¹⁰ V. 52: *ut sua vota ferat*: perhaps 'to vote for himself,' as *judex* (v. 39).

¹¹ V. 55: *gravis*: a fine example of *ἀνὰ κούρην* from *talīs* and *tanta*.

the kingdom of Charles. Leaving these kingdoms, he sets out for distant kingdoms. Led hither by Folly he strays through the deserts of Siria. Not Intelligence but dire Folly guides
 70 him (v. 70). Fear and Folly together lead him this way and that: from Folly he advances with hesitation; from Fear with terror. As he sees the camps of Siria, he fears the traps of the Sirians,¹² and because he fears everything, everything is a fear to him. Meanwhile Gueno sees the city of Marsilius afar off. He prepares to approach, but Terror is in his way. Before now he seems safe;¹³ he is no longer as safe as before—safe at first because far away; no longer safe because near. His fear is strengthened with a new fear, and he fears, and
 80 both fears make him fearful (v. 80). The city and whatever is seen in the city terrifies him. In hesitation he considers whether to proceed or recede. However, uprightness, boldness, manliness, prompt the bold man to go forward. At their prompting he advances; he advances incessantly, for he never ceases advancing.¹⁴ His wrath is a vexation to him, but more so his advancing. He goes up to the city and enters the palace of the king. The king he does not find. He goes out; then goes back again. Then he sees the king idling under a wide-spread-
 90 ing pine. Under its boughs there is a delightful shade (v. 90). To the left of Marsilius he sees the consort whose name was Bramimunda. Her figure shines more than Phoebus when he shines in the morning. She is exalted by virtue and adorned with comeliness. Beautiful enough! This is not enough! But add an enough to this enough; yet this is not enough, nor is every enough enough. The royal consort is robed in a purple robe; and she adorns her robe and her robe her. They are exchanging embraces, exchanging many kisses. And the em-
 100 braces are delightful;—more so the many kisses (v. 100). And he sees twice ten kings celebrating the general court of

¹² V. 73: *castra*: perhaps 'villages'; v. Du C. *Siria* for *Soria*?

¹³ V. 77: the correction *parum* for *paret* is not absolutely necessary. *Paret*, while the tense would be strained and not entirely in accord with Gueno's previous terrors, forms a better connection with *namque procul*, 'he seems safe hitherto because far off.'

¹⁴ Vv. 84-5: *abire*: v. Du C., in just this sense.

the king.¹⁵ These things seen, he is amazed to see the scene. Ten times two thousand¹⁶ of the Saracens are seen. The scene of so many thousands gives him a thousand fears. He marvels, because he sees marvels; for that spectacle was marvelous; marveling he advances and approaches Marsilius.¹⁷ Then he wishes welfare to him who he is unwilling should have welfare. When he has wished the king welfare, he says, having pondered:¹⁸ "Why such honor to you, since you are not worthy
110 of honor. Not such a king do such kingdoms become! (v. 110). In nothing are you honorable but worthy of repudiation for your dishonorableness; and your dishonorableness affirms that you are dishonorable. Thus Charles to you: "Give to Charles your realms to be ruled!": and if perchance you decline, you will give them with your life as well. Neither armies, nor valor, nor camps, nor fighting can keep you that he destroy not you and your kingdoms.¹⁹ He will level your cities, plunder your towns, burn your houses. Upon you with many, he will bring many calamities. For who is so able or to whom is such ability given that it is possible for his men to be able
120 to destroy him²⁰ (v. 120)? To him most kings, to him most kingdoms yield: kings, kingdoms, cities pay tribute to him. The king with these kings will at once advance on your kingdoms. As their companions will come a thousand thousands

¹⁵ V. 101: *festum*: Du C. s. v., 2: "Curia generalis quae . . . cum conviviis publicis celebrari solebat."

¹⁶ V. 103: cf. *Roland*, v. 410: 'Tut entur lui vint milie Sarrazin.'

¹⁷ V. 106: a balanced alliteration even here: m-p, m-p.

¹⁸ V. 108: cf. *Roland*, v. 425: "Guenes se fut bien pourpensez."

¹⁹ V. 115: *gens* 'forces'; *probitas* 'prouesse' (Du C.). *Castra* possibly in a medieval acceptance: 'towns.' In v. 117 there is an apparent contrast between *oppida* 'walled towns' and *castra* 'unprotected villages.'

²⁰ V. 120: *possit posse*: G. Paris observes: "Notez ici et au v. 32 la singulière réunion de *possit* et *posse*." There is another in v. 172: "Credere ne possit posse latere dolum," but here *posse* does not depend on *possit*. Is this the situation in the other two cases also, or have we indeed the bizarre not to say stupid succession of "to be able to be able"? Pure redundancies are not lacking in the poem: vv. 74 and 85; in vv. 64 and 244 we have the juxtaposition and interdependence of two forms of *parare*: *jussa parare parans*; *arma parare parant*; but the first *parare* may have a special shade of meaning: "to make ready the things commanded," hence, "to carry out," "to execute"; the second may mean "to parry," or even "to prepare" referring to a stage of the preparation

of knights;²¹ and they will lay waste your lands with soldiery, burn your cities with fire, torment your city-men with starvation. Unless you see about complying, the king will spare you in nothing: if he spare you not now, you will be no one to spare. In a brief time the king your kingdoms is able to
 130 abbreviate: if you refuse to believe this, read the brief (v. 130). Unseal the brief that has been sent; read what is written; read to the end,²² and lest you do worse, do what it com-

already prepared for. The sense of v. 32 is repeated apparently in v. 130: "Huic tu si non vis credere, crede brevi"; in the *Roland* also (MS. de Venise), as a verification of the message, Charles says: "Tenez cest brief ki est ensellez." If therefore we accept *credere tibi* as "to believe you," we must recognize the dependence of *posse* on *possit*. It is conceivable that here the *possit* is felt as a sort of potential auxiliary: 'may (be able).'—If we admit this, there is no longer any hesitation about v. 120; except that here we have *possit impersonal*, followed by an accusative infinitive (—unless we resort to ellipses, as G. Paris seems to do).

It is possible however to reason along an entirely different line. The use of infinitives as indeclinable nouns in the cases of the singular is frequent in Medieval Latin (v. Du C. s. v. *posse*): and no less so in this poem: v. 22: *flectere velle velis*; (*velle* in the accusative); v. 60: *nequit illa suum flectere velle suo* (*velle* acc. or abl.); v. 164: *jurat-se pro posse suo vota replere sua*; v. 308: *vincere demit ei*; v. 455: *vivere*. The sense is good if we substitute *posse* 'power' in v. 32; 'believe power to you,' 'credit you with power'; this assumes the ellipsis of *esse*, and varies from the sense of the other reading in that it is no longer a question of the accuracy and authenticity of Gueno's message, but of the rhetorical effect of the written threat.—The reading of v. 120 is much simplified as to meaning; but we must either admit a plural declension in the masculine for *posse*, its character influenced, that is, by *homines* or *exercitus*, which I am unable to prove with other citations; or correct the text from *suos* to *suo*: the alternatives here would be then: "Who is so able as to be able to destroy him and his forces"; and "Who is so able as to be able with his forces to destroy him."

I adopt as more conservative the traditional rendering of *posse* in both cases; but we must admit that there is no other such violent grouping of homonyms or synonyms in the poem; and while the balance of evidence in the context favors this in v. 32, the balance of evidence in v. 120 seems to point to *posse* 'forces' with the correction of *suos* to *suo*.

²¹ V. 124: *ducum*: I interpret here as in vv. 208-9. Du C. observes s. v. *Dux*: "eodem titulo—vulgo leguntur Parisienses comites, aut qui regiones vel comitis vel ducis titulo regebant, quod ii praecipuam in regum aula auctoritatem possiderent." Here then almost 'courtier.' It is not clear whether G. Paris distinguishes between the words in vv. 124 and 208-9. At any rate he does not note the analogy between the passages.

²² Vv. 131-3: cf. *Roland* vv. 486-7: "Freint le seel, getet en ad la cire,—Guardet a'l brief, vit la raisun escrite."

mands." He looks into it; he reads the contents, and fears death in consequence; and he is astonished that he can fear to die. He attributes the cause of his wrath to Gueno,²³ and has a wish to kill the messenger in the presence of all. But Gueno, half beast in fury, trusting in his sword, draws his sword²⁴ and it is the desire of this furious one to smite the furious Marsilius. But neither his fury, nor his vociferous railing, nor his
140 might save him: he is saved by his good looks alone (v. 140). For the queen, when she saw him such and so comely, by his comeliness moved, moved the heart of the king. She thus: "Is not this a gallant man? Ought not his gallantry be approved? By this gallantry he proves what gallantry is his." Thus the king: "If you were dear and beloved to Charles, he had not permitted you to wander through our valleys. Perhaps you were sent at the motion of Roland. Bear deeply in mind what value this same Charles puts upon you." The king comes nearer and gives Gueno to drink, that he may catch him
150 unawares and beguile him (v. 150). The king urges him to ambush Roland; and he feeds his mind with flattery and his hand with money. With the gift of many gifts, he vows he will give more, and vows to the furious Gueno almost any gift whatever. He gives him gifts, for golden vessels, beautiful garments, swift horses are given him. Now respectful where before violent, now courteous where before uncivil; where full of threats before Gueno ceases to be threatening. Now he increases his gifts more and more, and by so many
160 mores is his mind more moved (v. 160). Either the king, or his own malice, or the reward, or his avarice, overcomes him; and so there is no glory of merit for him. Gueno, forsworn, thus wrongfully swears to him, in the measure of his powers to fulfil his vows. O wickedness! O malice! O treachery! O avarice blind! Are these things which move all things not to move this man? Gueno explains to the king

²³ V. 135: a condensed line. The author had in mind the idiom: *convertere iram in*, by metonymy, however, making *causas* the object of the verb: "He turns his rage against Gueno as the cause of his anger."

²⁴ V. 137: cf. *Roland*, vv. 443-4: "Quand le vit Guenes, mist la main à l'espee, cuntre dous deiz l'ad de fuerre getee."

the tricks of the ambush, nor does he, though explaining betrayal, betray the king. In his heart he is amazed that he thus dares what he dares. He is amazed that he has been able
 170 to commit such an impious deed (v. 170). The king advises that the riches be hidden, lest King Charles be able to believe that treachery lie hidden in them. He hands him the keys of his realm that he may deliver them to Charles, and under this crime he cloaks the whole crime. So the gifts obtained through his deceit and not through his uprightness, delight the ambassador. Gueno goes and leaves Marsilius, receives the treasures, departs from the city and approaches the pavilions of the king. King Charles is amazed at his return,—amazed
 180 at him returning²⁵ as he did not think he could return (v. 180). The messenger approaches him, enters the tents, and holds out the keys, invents trumpery, and thus speaks: "Marsilius to you:²⁶ May you go in safety; may the whole road be safe to you. Nothing will he do against your will; nothing without your command. He wishes you health, you who are worthy of being wished health. He likewise commands you to command him in all things. He remits to you the keys of all his realms to be held by you; and he commits²⁷ all his realms to be ruled by you." The high, the low, the whole army rejoice; for they
 190 think true all that he reports (v. 190).

The king, in ignorance of the crime, sets out for his kingdom, lowers his tents, orders the troops to go back. Now the companion counts and their companions accompany him, the greater part returning with the king returning. At the sight of so many Gauls, Gaul seems to be seen there. Gaul? But Gaul seemed smaller than those there seen. However he orders that a lookout be kept for traps of Marsilius: the trusty king is loath to put trust in an untrustworthy foe. The king is not yet secure for he is not free from care. And bringing his knights together he advises that the knights should go back
 200 (v. 200), and as the army is without guard, he asks who would

²⁵ *I. e.*, first at the news, then at the actual sight of Gueno himself.

²⁶ V. 183: In the text, insert a colon after *tibi*.

²⁷ V. 188: *committit*, plays on the *con*: 'and with the keys.'

like to go as guard to the army and who to be his own²⁸ corps. Gueno, swelling with rage, nominates Roland to go, for he does not cease being mindful of Roland's nomination. So the king accosts Roland and commands him to take charge of keeping watch. At the command of the king he takes charge. Twice six paladins are his companions. Each of these leads or makes ready to lead a thousand knights with him. And thus a great part of the knights under the leadership of Roland are led back. Part follow the line on horseback, and part on
210 foot (v. 210). Part lay ambushes, part occupy the narrow passes, part scale the cliffs, lest anyone should be able to pass through. The precipitous ridges distress them all, the terrible valleys terrify, and terrible terror holds them back.

Meantime the king is fearing that the knights with their leader Roland have been entrapped in a trap of Gueno.

While Roland is going along and ranging on every hand, he discovers Marsilius and the hosts of Marsilius: he knows he has been entrapped in a trap of Gueno, who had promised
220 to pay him as he deserved (v. 220). As he proceeds, as he sees the strange spectacle, the valley crowded with men seems to pour out men upon him from every hand. Everywhere the enemy is in view. He goes forward and fears not the enemy, for he does not consider the enemy able to harm him. Oliver urges him to blow on his horn that the king should come up

²⁸ Vv. 200-3: The translation of G. Paris seems difficult owing to the wide separation of *tutela phalangis* from *sue* over the conjunction *vel* and the verb *ire* with which *tutela phalangis* would naturally go: this would mean the placing of a noun and its modifying possessive in different clauses. It is not necessarily a question of an advance and a rear guard, but of those who will go with the rear guard and of those who will stay with the army. "He calls a council and advises that the knights go as a rear guard. But this would leave the van without any of the knights. So he asks those who prefer to go as rear guard and those who wish to stay with him," *esse suae (phalangis)*. *Dum—tutela* may also be: 'and as no rear guard has already been appointed.' In the *Roland*, to be sure, v. 748, it is a question of the advance guard; but it had already been told (v. 561) that the function of *éclairreur* was specifically Roland's. The division into advance and rear guard is referred to in the Venetian MS. after v. 814. The position of *tutela phalangis* is due not only to a desire to juxtapose the two *tutela* but also to bring the phrase closer to the first *ire* of which in idea it is the complement. *Vel* at any rate involves an ellipsis.

against the enemy and give aid to him. In reply to this: "Is not this cowardice that you are saying? Is it not baseness? And if not baseness, lo, the shame! What should make me afraid? Not fighting, not wounds, not death, not a hundred
 230 thousands of men, for nothing can" (v. 230). Before he has finished these words, he desires to execute his desires and makes ready, and lo, he hastens before all. He seizes his weapons, brings the troops together, and threatens battle, and himself threatening, he sees everything full of threats. Thus he shouts to all his men: "Victory awaits us all! Now²⁹ there is need of prowess. Nothing but arms is in place. Our best manliness will give us victory not defeat. Is it not a disgrace to be conquered? Is it not a glory to conquer?" And he shows that by far it is preferable and more fitting to be able
 240 to die pursuing than to die pursued (v. 240).³⁰ His companions among the first are Oliver, Gero and Gerinus and the other peers whose names I do not mention. His courage giving courage impelled these three to arms.³¹ They prepare to prepare their weapons³² lest from weapons they perish. That none may go unarmed, each head a helmet protects, each shoulder a shield, each side a sword, each hand a spear.

On the other side, the hiding king in hiding girds on his weapons, thinking to vanquish the hostile forces in hostile battle. The rulers ruling realms under him are girded with
 250 arms. The rulers armed, the army puts on its arms (v. 250), and the nephew of Marsilius vows he will go first . . . He as one

²⁹ V. 236: the correction of G. Paris, *nunc* to *non* seems to me untenable. These words are addressed not to Oliver but to *omnes*: it is improbable that he should continue the justification of his rashness before the whole army, which had nothing to do with Oliver's suggestion and may not have heard it. These are words of pure exhortation. In the desire to display his own courage and begin the fight, Roland scarcely dwells on Oliver's idea.

³⁰ V. 240: for *mori—mori*, cf. *esse—esse* in the preceding verse.

³¹ V. 243: If, as seems probable, the *animus* is Roland's there are not four as G. Paris' note asserts, but three. Although *reliqui* are referred to, the fact that the three names are given, shows that the author was trying to center attention upon them, after the general exhortation to *omnes*.

³² V. 244: *arma parare parant*: cf. Roland, 343: "De guarnemenz se prent a cunreer." *Parare* may mean 'parry.'

of the eleven takes oath against the peers⁸³ but he is obliged by the king to go as one of twelve. A troop of cavalry and a horde of footmen follow him; but the band of kings remains with the king remaining. The boy, in the first line, rushed first upon Roland, and thinking to conquer him, he is first conquered by Roland.⁸⁴ Already he lies like a trunk, felled by Roland in arms; already as he dies his threats die with him
260 (v. 260). Others rush up, but in vain; for he forces them likewise to die in like condition. As he strikes these impetuous men, the surviving throng strikes him, and the furious throng renews the fight against the furious Roland. The whole force of Roland rushes against the whole of the pagan forces. At its onslaught they fall; at its approach they fear. Samson, Turpinus, Oliverus, Gero, Gerinus lay low five men, each his own. Then another five lay low five. So the horde, smaller
270 in number, wages battle less vigorously (v. 270). Then the French, joyful, press forward more; but a vast division assaults and harasses them, presses on them and blocks their path. As usual, five are soon pursuing and five pursued. Impetuous Mars makes both impetuous in battle. The horror of the calamity compels the surviving pagans to be afraid; impels them to begin their flight. They flee but in vain; for as they flee they fall, either from the might of Roland or from their fear. But Margaretus, fleeing with difficulty, and with difficulty keep-
280 ing alive, swift and fearful and in danger, departs (v. 280). He is hurried along by the savage enemy, the thought of death, the hacked bodies, and the blood flowing on all sides. The hurrying horse himself snorts, the rider himself is terrified. Soon, out of his mind, he stands in the presence of the king.

⁸³ Vv. 253-4: *Tercius*, vv. 419-20 means 'one of three'; possibly so *undecimus* here. These verses are doubtless an echo of the scene where the pagan paladins are selected to match the twelve of Charles. In the Roland Aelrot, "li nies Marsilie," is followed by Falsaron his uncle, who is later to attempt revenge for his nephew's death. A likely hypothesis for the missing line seems to be, that Aelrot begs his uncle not to enter the battle, but to remain with the king himself, as one of the eleven leaders can vanquish the French peers (*patricios*); but he is forced by the king to go as one of twelve (*ire duodecimus*); that is, Falsaron is commanded by the king to accompany the division led by their nephew.

⁸⁴ V. 258: *hysteron proteron*.

Thus he began: "Wondrous things you see, eh! Where is that wondrous power of the army you sent? Where is all that army? Just tell me! See what your army is! Now your army is nothing except not an army! What is your army? What is your nephew? It is nothing! He is nothing!" The king but now threatening greater things grieves and shudders, 290 rages and burns for his army and for his nephew³⁵ (v. 290). The whole army³⁶ divides as a whole into two divisions. The king sends ten brigades ahead and ten he holds in reserve. There is heard the sound of arms and the blast of trumpets, the neighing of horses, almost the whole army in uproar. Although before this attack, the division of Turpin had been safe, it all now begins to be frightened. He begins thus: "Now recall your strength, my men! The first victory is given first to us,³⁷ and the second awaits us! What profit to call back fear? what to tolerate terror?³⁸ what to turn our 300 backs in flight? or what to fear death (v. 300)? Let us press on the enemy!" As they hear these words, they press on. Led up to the enemy they begin marvelous combats; and the men exercise their manly might in battle, and their might grants men victory over men in war. A certain impetuous warrior puts Engelier to flight and strikes him. The wound hinders the wounded man: hurled headlong he dies. Oliver dashes upon the victor and plunges a sword in his side; thus dashing upon him he robs him of victory. Soon another selects Samson for death and soon this horseman has endured 310 the last pangs and is hurled from his horse (v. 310). Is not³⁹ this a crushing loss because he is crushed in battle? Is not the mourning sore crushing because he has perished from this crushing enemy? The cause of his death was Mars and the

³⁵ Vv. 289-90: the *-que* implies that the verbs are not balanced with their objects in pairs, as in vv. 177-78.

³⁶ V. 291-2: *exercitus* is translatable in the nominative; note also the position of *rex* after the conjunction.

³⁷ Vv. 297-8: in the *Roland*, Turpin cries: "Ferez, Franceis: nuls de vus ne s'ublīt!—*Cist premiers colps est nostre*, Deu mercit!

³⁸ V. 299: *dolorem*: metonymy, the result for the cause, i. e., *metum*: a usage already classic.

³⁹ V. 311: *Num* is used in the poem generally with the sense of *nonne*.

wound, and the sword, and crushing Fortune and the crushing enemy. With the death and fall of Samson before his eyes, the conqueror falls conquered by the avenging Roland.⁴⁰ See! An impetuous soldier impetuously harasses Anseus with his blows, and forces him to pay the debts of the flesh. Turpin crushes the victor, and Roland crushes Gradonius, on
 320 account of whom Gero had fled before (v. 320). Bodies, covered with many wounds before they fall, are laid low on all sides. The land of the slaughter loads the merest step with slaughter.⁴¹ Swelling with rage in his heart, inflamed with wrath, bloody with carnage, Roland is more fierce than he was before. He annihilates the officers and then the troops he annihilates. Now that whole army might be called nothing. Few are fleeing and few are fighting, because there are only a few to flee and to fight. In a word, if perchance anyone survives, he flees.

And so Marsilius enters the battle, and he storms with wrath, and because he has lost his army he becomes like one
 330 who has lost his mind (v. 330). The king is astounded that so many and such strong divisions can have been vanquished so easily and that, in so short a time, so many have been able to die. Invisible to the enemy, he comes up to the enemy visible to him. Abismus goes first, bearing the royal standards. What is Turpin doing? He is equipping and arming his horse with mail, that safe may be the horse, the horseman safer. If anyone praises the horse, who can praise the horse's whole appearance, who the separate details? In his praise, the separate details are sufficient. His head was shaggy:⁴² his ear was short, his neck loftily arched; and his sides were
 340 sweeping, his legs straight (v. 340); massive the shank, hollow the foot and expansive the breast. Without the 'hardly,'

⁴⁰ V. 315: the subject of *viso* and *visa* is perhaps Roland: 'when Roland sees the death,' etc.

⁴¹ V. 322: It is impossible to take a single step without encountering a corpse. *Cedis—humus* is the *loca cede referta* of v. 453; *solum*: 'even a single.'

⁴² V. 339: *horridus aspectus*: probably 'shaggy forehead,' thus one the *singula*; possibly however a general summary for introduction: 'his appearance was dreadful.' For *ardua cervix*, cf. the classic *sopracilia ardua*.

it is hardly enough to say: "He is excellent."⁴³ Turpin urges and loosens the reins for him. He, the leading horseman, equals the speedy horses in their speed. As in anger, as one might expect of an enemy, he goes to meet Abismus and without any almost⁴⁴ he inflicts the pain of death upon him. Next to him, Roland enters upon the beginning of the battle:⁴⁵ on all sides he strikes and puts even the fiercest to flight. Not sparing his own life, he refuses to spare anyone. He alone lays
 350 a thousand bodies low on the ground (v. 350). Not like to Mars, but Mars himself in the fight he seems; Mars, grudgingly as an enemy, admits that he should be called Mars. Here, cut off by him and heavily fallen, lie a head, an ear, a foot, a shoulder, arms, shins, hands.

Meantime the French suffer severely, for numerous wounds, unsightly damages, terrible slaughter, they are seen to receive. May not Gaul mourn the loss, and, bereft of so many heroes, for so many heroes weep? Those still alive and attempting to fight are scarcely sixty, and these the fighting, the wounds,
 360 the exertion, equally harass (v. 360).

In the meantime, fear, dread, and fever come over Roland: one oppresses, one disturbs, one burns him. Then first he stands in awe of Mars, then first of Death; but more than at either he is sad at being overcome by fighting.⁴⁶ Now he starts to blow on his horn: thus Oliver to him: "Stop, for shame! Stop, for it is a shame! Will it not be to you and your people an intolerable ignominy, a perpetual dishonor, the greatest shame?" Nevertheless, at the oft-repeated request of Turpin, he blows. Wrath suggests and forces this: at the
 370 same time it is necessary⁴⁷ (v. 370). At the sound, wonder

⁴³ V. 342: *sine vix*: "dici, 'vix satis est' sine vix, vix satis est"; just as in v. 446, *sc.*, *sedet* after *haut*.

⁴⁴ V. 346: I retain the *pene* of the MS., which is quite in the spirit of vv. 95-6, 159-60, especially 342 and 446, and does not affect the metre. As the negro said: "It wa'n't no near killin' neither!" We have the current hyperbole: "It almost killed him" of which this is the negation.

⁴⁵ V. 347: *Primordia*: perhaps etymologizing: 'first ranks.'

⁴⁶ V. 364: *Marte vinci*: possibly 'at being surpassed by Mars,' harking back to v. 352.

⁴⁷ V. 370: it is very probable that the author meant to balance the phrases: "*Hoc monet ira; hoc cogit necesse simul*," but this substantive use of *necesse* is new to me.

and astonishment fill all these things:⁴⁸ the mountains, the fields, the forests, the valleys, the waters, the land, the sky. At such great effort the veins of his head are broken, and blood flows simultaneously from each nostril. The king, as he leads, returning to his kingdoms, hears and recognizes the sound, and the cause is known to him. The crime revealed, revealed the trap, Gueno, at the king's command, is loaded with chains. The king storms, rages, faints, and goes back; and his army grieves with the fainting king, returns with the king returning
 380 (v. 380). As they proceed, all fury is in all against all. The desire to know about the matter urges them to go quickly.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the King Marsilius presses his enemies in battle, for he gives them first wounds and then death; and against these heroes he urges his men to use their strength, and his own he uses inciting his own men. Recognizing Roland from his limbs, his weapons, and his movements, he is astonished that he is able to sustain so many combats. Roland, perceived, perceives Marsilius and his son; he rushes upon them both, puts both to flight, and driving them in flight, fills both with
 390 terror (v. 390). In the sight of the father, to the son he gives wounds, gives blows: the man who before was killing his comrades, is killed on his sword. Coming up with the king, he cuts off the king's right hand. The smitten man groans at his wounds, avoids death and begins flight. Now the king, who did not dare remain, is less daring. The army of the king, fleeing, flees with the fugitives. Oliver, striking sidewise, checks, harasses. Agalifus terrifies with his blows, his sword,

⁴⁸ V. 371: *hec* is perfectly admissible, inasmuch as the appositives are so numerous.

⁴⁹ V. 382: *Causa rei scire*: this is of course a parody of the Latin *causa rei sciendi*; but here *causa* is in the nominative, and becomes equivalent to 'desire': we have seen *amor* used almost in the sense of *causa* in vv. 41-2. These passages are an interesting contribution to the semantics of the two words. With *rei* normally in the genitive, *scire* is to be explained like the *parcere* depending on *nullus* in v. 128: 'the cause of the thing to be known.' It is highly improbable that *scire* depends directly upon *causa* used for *amor*, with *rei* a learned *forme à rebours* for *de re*, on the model of *de la causa (chose)* for *causae*. Whatever the medieval twist of construction resorted to by this poet, whose Latin grammar is occasionally elastic enough, the alteration of the gerundive is of course due to the demands of metre.

his threats: Oliver is wounded, and himself first wounded, he wounds his wonder: the man last wounded suffers the first death (v. 400). Full of wounds after so many wounds received, Oliver wounds numberless men in dying. Now as a madman, now as one bereft of sight,⁵⁰ he rushes upon the enemy. His sight grows weak, and his strength is taken from him. Unwittingly he strikes Roland, but hurts him very little;⁵¹ and the blow does not occasion any wound. Struck thus while he stands and fights, he is astonished at the blow. He looks around, and Oliver's face is scarcely known to him. He exclaims: "You are not wounding an enemy as an enemy, as an enemy does an enemy. Nay rather, am I not your friend 410 to you (v. 410)?⁵² Know your Roland, know him! Perhaps you do not know him, to judge from your blows: this the whole matter, this your sword, this your actions prove." At the sound of the voice he is grieved and then asks pardon. Roland pardons, for he sees it is a pardonable act. Soon Oliver has fallen from his horse, prostrate beneath the feet of the horses. Alas, the shame! See! He has fallen! Alas, the grief! See! He perishes! Dreadful the fact; more dreadful the fall; the death more dreadful than either:⁵³ That grief is a grief, and a grief greater than a grief.

Roland now harasses the enemy as one of only three: one of 420 three he attacks, one of three he opposes them (v. 420). Turpin is his companion on the one side; Walterus his companion on the other. The one is ferocious, the other fierce; the one is brave, the other also. They advance on the footmen,⁵⁴ their breasts pierced with darts, and while they are wounding others,

⁵⁰ V. 403: *orbis*: in its late Latin sense, though the classic usually specified with *visu*, etc.

⁵¹ V. 405: *illi* or else *sibi*: cf. vv. 43-4.

⁵² V. 410: better as a question in view of the following imperative: the other alternative would be: "In your eyes I am not your friend," said of course in reproach; but this would repeat vv. 411-412.

⁵³ V. 417: It is difficult to feel the contrast between *res* and the following words (cf. v. 412): perhaps the feeling is: "The general situation is horrible, but it is more so as one sees the details."

⁵⁴ V. 423: *pedites*, possibly nominative: 'they advance on foot,' i. e. 'as foot soldiers.' However, Oliver and Roland were apparently still mounted; we have no direct implication of dismounting till vv. 443-50.

javelins are hurled upon them. The javelins give wounds to Walterus; the wounds pain, the pain fear of death,—fears of being cut off from the light.⁵⁵ Still Roland stands and still with his sword he decapitates, with his spear he wounds, keeps off the warriors by fighting.⁵⁶

The pagan host dreads the approach of Charles. It prepares to retreat lest it incur greater loss (v. 430). Fleet-footed they flee as though spurred on in competition.⁵⁷ If anyone there is first, he thinks he is the last.⁵⁸ Perhaps they fear not the king, nor the king's lines,⁵⁹ nor the combats of his warriors. What then?—Death. Whether they flee or not, they go without exception. This alone is the desire of all: to keep up their flight.

So with Turpin, Roland finishes the fighting. With these thus ended, the end of each one is near. A heavy drowsiness then lays a heavy hold on Turpin. He nods and his strength fails with him (v. 440); and at the sight of the dying man, Roland almost dies. He grows faint, and wishes to die with his dying friend. Now pale as death himself, he places Turpin, as it were death-pale, on the grass. And first he cleans the unclean wounds for him. As he lies on the grass, the grass gives coolness to him. He can hardly sit with head erect; not so without the hardly.⁶⁰ Roland, on foot, up to his ankles in gore, goes here and there, once and again turning the bodies. And gathering from all sides, he brings the bodies of the peers,

⁵⁵ V. 426: *metus*, accusative plural, object of *pena* [dat], coordinate with *metum*.

⁵⁶ Vv. 427-8: grammatically one could render, 'protects the heroes from the fighting'; but Walter is dead; and Turpin fights till the end of the battle (v. 437).

⁵⁷ V. 431: *in certamine* seems to modify not *diffugiunt* but *ducti*: we may freely render the three words by *à l'envi*, but *in certamine* is literal. Figurative meanings of *ducere* are not wanting even in Classic Latin. The semantics here are: "*in certamine præmiis ducti*," or something of the sort. That the author felt the simile is proved by *velut*.

⁵⁸ V. 432: *si*, 'even if.' Cf. this sentence with the familiar French paradox: "Quand il n'y en a plus, il y en a encore."

⁵⁹ Vv. 433-4: *agmina*, 'line operations,' contrasted with *bella*, 'individual fighting.'

⁶⁰ V. 446: see note to v. 342.

450 whose death he laments more than his own fate (v. 450). First Turpin, with his soul about to leave his body, shrives them, then signs them with the cross. Roland views the slaughter, utters groans, leaves the places strewn with dead and goes to die. While, as he dies, he yearned to die more than to live, to die seemed to him sweet, to live seemed sad. Leaning on a rock, he seeks rest after the hardship he has endured, and as a suppliant, with suppliant voice, he asks for the remission of his sins. One and another pagan believes he
 460 is dead, and they both try to seize his horn (v. 460). He sees them, and striking sidewise with his horn, to each dying man he gives death at his own side. While in death agony he is praying, death finishes the time of his life. Now as nobody's, now as no one he lies.⁶¹ Alas! For you were the hope of the Franks, you their glory, their courage, their leader, their ornament, all at once! France lies bereft of you! For of yore, when you were, what was she? The glory of the world! What now? All nothing! Valor is astounded that you are thus killed,—Death herself, that through her you have been
 470 able to die (v. 470). What shall I say? What not? Enough it is to say this alone: "He alone was the glory of the Frank-born race."

Him, the peers, the troops, the foot-soldiers, the king, as he comes along the way, see lying killed in battle. Not for the ones, nor for the others only, but for all at the same time, does the king together with his army weep and at the same time mourn. With what grief does the army mourn for the greatest? With the greatest! With what for the lesser? With a lesser! With what for the least? With the least!

Gueno is brought forward to suffer punishment for his

⁶¹ V. 464: *nullius*, a legal term, "without an owner": for the better intelligence of the passage, may we cite Guerazzi's *Asino* (Guigoni, Milano, 1881, vol. I, p. 15): "I vermini vantano giusto titolo, dacchè i cadaveri sieno cose *nullius*, e di ragione caschino in proprietà del primo occupante." The reference is in both cases to that principle of Roman law which held corpses and tombs outside property rights. They could neither be bought nor sold. The question came up most often in cases of desecration for the sake of valuable marble in tombs. We have such a case in Venice so late as 1610.

treachery. At once he is torn from his horse, and torn to
480 pieces with horses (v. 480). His life is finished as befitted the
discovered treachery.

The matter thus concluded is thus affirmed.

Here it endeth concerning the treachery of Gueno

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ON THE TEXT OF *RICHEUT*

THE Old French poem *Richeut* was published by Méon in 1823 in the first volume of his *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux et Contes*, pp. 38–79. The manuscript of the poem (Bern 354, fol. 124^b–135^b) is evidently incorrect in many places, but Méon is often at fault in his reading of the manuscript. At the end of his article *Le fabliau de Richeut*, published in *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris*, Paris, 1891, Professor Bédier gives somewhat more than a page of conjectured and corrected readings from a collation of the manuscript. Professor Bédier makes no claim to completeness, saying frankly, “Sans prétendre aucunement lever même la moitié des difficultés du texte, je crois utile de proposer ici les quelques corrections qui suivent.” In his review of the volume which contains Professor Bédier’s article (*Romania*, XXII, p. 137 ff.) Gaston Paris, without seeing the manuscript, adds another page of probable corrections, many of which I find supported by the manuscript, which Professor Bédier seems to have examined rather hastily.

Through the kindness of Mr. Jean Acher I have obtained an excellent photograph of the manuscript of the *Richeut*, of which I expect to publish an edition in the near future. It may be of value to some who may have occasion to use Méon’s edition of this important poem, before the appearance of a more accurate edition, to know the exact MS. reading in cases where the sense may be affected. Mere differences of orthography, where Méon often disregards the manuscript, are not mentioned here.

V. 7, Méon, *tot a sa guise*; MS., *tot as guise*. The rhyme is in *-iē* and the reading is suspicious.—20, Méon, *rayet*; MS., *raget*. Méon has *raget* in the glossary.—49, Méon, *Richaut a fait riche maudis*; MS., *mandis*, as G. Paris suggests.—

Verses 51–57, Méon reads:

Dou preste ot-el bien son escot,
Et si refist tenir por sot
Lo chevalier:
(Nes dan Guillaume definir

Qui ere atornez a Deu proier)
Refit-el boivre lo destrier
Et lo hernois.

G. Paris: "Suppr. les () aux vv. 54-55 et l. dans *Guillaume de Simier* (ou quelque nom pareil) pour *definer*." In the ms. v. 54 reads, *Nes dan Guillaume ler definir*, which seems to me a misreading of *Nes dan Guillaume fet desvier*. The passage would then read, correcting *qui ere* of v. 55 to *qu'ert*,

Dou preste ot el bien son escot,
Et si refist tenir por sot
Lo chevalier.
Nes dan Guillaume fet desvier,
Qu'ert atornez a Deu proier,
Refist el boivre lo destrier
Et lo hernois.

V. 68, Méon, *Et si ne lairai pas por honte*; Bédier, "Le ms. donne exactement, *Et si e ne lairai por honte*." The ms. reads, *Et si ne lairai pas por honte*.—99, Méon, *Ainz n'ai*, ms. *ainz noi*.—135, Bédier, "Lire avec le ms., Il i perdra ainz que s'an tort." The ms. reads *ainz qui san tort*, to be corrected to *ainz qu'il s'an tort*, cf. v. 823.—147, *ot* not in the ms.—273, ms. *aussiez*.—319, ms. *voldroie*.—445, ms. *Ri.*, corrected by Méon to *Herselot*.—469, ms. *messe*, as suggested by G. Paris.—507, Méon, *taelice*; G. Paris, *jaelice*; ms. *jaelice*.—565-7, Méon,

Tant a fait vers
qu'il en set faire de divers:
n'ot en l'escole si.

Bédier, "*Sic dans le ms.; Lire si sachant*." Paris, "M. B. propose de lire *n'ot en l'escole si sachant*, mais la rime doit être en *-ers*; je ne vois pas le mot a suppléer, *porvers* n'irait pas bien." The ms. reads clearly *si porvers*.—572, Méon, *qu'il la grisset au col*; ms. *grisset mantel*.—636, Méon, *Sor soi les fait estre enragiees*; Bédier, ms., *soz soi*. The ms. has *sor soi*.—691, Méon, *les fames*; ms., *les homes*.—777, Méon, *Car del lechors ne puet partir*; Bédier, *des lechois*; Paris, *de lechois*; ms., *del lechois*.—779, ms. *qu'il voit*.—784, ms. *ne trove si lonc ne si cort*.—787, ms., *veigne*.—801, ms., *plus que nus hom*.—812-14, Méon:

Onques rien ne perdi en quernes

N'a enbesa n'a deus en ternes,
Totjorz a quines.

Bédier, *ne en besa*. Méon follows the ms., where *enbesa* is evidently for *ambesas*. Cf. F. Semrau, *Würfel und Würfelspiel im alten Frankreich*, Halle, 1910 (no. 23 of *Beihefte zur Z. f. r. P.*) p. 63, note.—820, ms., *qui mis i est*.—848, ms., *Sil les fames*.—907, ms., *despersant*.—949, ms., *a bachet*.—960, ms., *nen ot*.—973, ms., *a lanjornee*.—974, ms., *trovoil soi nue*, as suggested by G. Paris.—1001, Méon, *Les chastieix voit en chant a ome*; Bédier, ms., *en chant a orne* (?); Paris, *cerchant à orne* (très clair, voy. Godefroy). The ms. has *cerchant a orne*.—1009, ms., *citeains*, as G. Paris suggests.—1015, ms., *Il li rant*.—1024, ms., *car mout semes*.—1027, Méon, *en cel carrage*; Paris, *carroge*; ms., *carroge*.—1039, Méon, *povoil*; ms. *poroïl*.—1045, ms. *Hersanz pert bele mais nestoit*.—1070, ms., *ni tarda plus*.—1075-6, Méon,

Tint soi mout simple
qu'il ne saunte mist sa guimpe;

ms., *quil ne saverte mist sa guimpe*.—1117-20, Méon:

Voiz quel cors et quel vis ele a.
Où? dist Richaut, ce n'a mestier,
C'est la fille à un chevalier
Prou et cortois.

Paris, "Lacune après 1118." The *lacune* is in Méon and seems not to have been noticed by Bédier. The ms. reads:

Voiz quel cors et quel vis ele a.
Ou? dist .Ri. Il li moustra.
En cel solier
A! dist .Ri. ce na mestier.
Cest la fille a un chevalier
Preu et cortois.

—1296, Méon, *Li uns respont, Florie*; Paris, *Li uns respont: Taisiez, Florie*; ms. *Li uns respont Dame Florie*.

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NOTES ON THE RUMANIAN NUMERALS

IN the second number of the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, Mr. F. Vexler criticizes my notes on Rumanian published in the seventh volume of *Modern Philology*. I am sorry to find that he has misunderstood my views about the numerals, and should like to explain them here.

I. THE Tens

In Albanian, 20 is expressed as 'one score,' while 40 is 'two score' in some regions and 'four tens' in others; see Pekmezi, *Grammatik der albanesischen Sprache*, § 62, Wien, 1908. Therefore I am justified in saying, in regard to the Rumanian multiples of ten, as I did in *Modern Philology*, that Albanian does not furnish a complete parallel for their formation. In Old Bulgarian the even tens, as well as the odd, are counted as such: two tens, four tens, six tens, eight tens; see Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen Sprache*, § 74, Weimar, 1898, and Vondrák, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik*, II, 80, Göttingen, 1908. Since this is also the regular Rumanian method of counting, it seems reasonable to suppose it derived from Slavonic rather than from Albanian influence.

II. *Sută* 'HUNDRED'

In Old Bulgarian, *o* interchanges with *ŭ*, as *e* does with *ĭ*; but this *o* stands for an earlier *u*-sound, Slavonic *ŭ* being the regular representative of Indo-European short *u*. Rumanian *o* is the usual stressed derivative of Slavonic *ŭ*, as *dobitoc* < *dobyťukŭ*, *sol* < *sŭlŭ*. To explain such cases of *o* < *ŭ*, beside *sută* with *u* < *ŭ*, we need only to suppose that this word was borrowed earlier than the others, at a time when Slavonic *ŭ* was a real *u*-sound, or more *u*-like than *o*-like. I have never assumed such a form as **sotă*; the honor of inventing it belongs to Mr. Vexler alone.

If Slavonic *ŭ* made *u* in *sută*, we might expect to find such a treatment of *ŭ* in other words. Tiktin thinks that *cŭmătru* < *kŭmotrŭ* is a case of the same kind. Mr. Vexler objects to *cumătru* on two grounds: it may have been modified by some other word;

and the *ă* is now stress. The first objection is valid, but the second is not. Early Rumanian texts make use of stress marks, and Tiktin is careful to say that the older stress was *cúmătru* (*Rumänisches Elementarbuch*, §§ 32, 76, Heidelberg, 1905).

Mr. Vexler thinks that from the *o* of *sũto* we should expect *ău*, because Rumanian *ău* corresponds to present Hungarian final long *o*. But this theory is hardly tenable, even if we assume that short *o* and long *o* were treated alike. Hungarian final long *o* is a regular contraction of *ou*; see Simonyi, *Die ungarische Sprache*, 322, Strassburg, 1907. In some cases *ou* stands for an older *au* or *av* (*ava*, *avo*) cognate with Finnish *ava*; see Szinnyi, *Finnisch-ungarische Sprachwissenschaft*, 102, Leipzig, 1910. Modern Hungarian shows traces of this contraction, as in *tó* 'teich,' which has the dativ *tónak*, but the accusativ *tavat*, the plural *tavak*, and the personated forms *tavam* 'mein teich,' *tavad* 'dein teich' (Nagy, *Ungarische Sprachlehre*, 24, 37, Heidelberg, 1897). A few dialects still keep difthongs, as *ao*, *au*, *ou*, corresponding to literary long *o*; see Simonyi, *Die ung. Sprache*, 138. It is thus rather unlikely that Rumanian *ău* came from long *o* in words of Hungarian origin; it is probably derived from an old difthong.

Rumanian stressless *ă* comes from Latin *o* in a few words, as *că* < *quod*, *nă* < *nos*; also from medial Slavonic *o*, as *cúmătru* < *kŭmotrŭ*, *stăpin* < *stopanŭ*. It is therefore possible that final *ă* is derived from *o* in the vocativ adjectiv *dragă* (Tiktin, *R. Elementarbuch*, § 197) and in the nouns *ciudă*, *pravilă*, *sticlă*, *sută* (Gartner, *Darstellung der rumänischen Sprache*, § 42, Halle, 1904), corresponding to Slavonic *drago*, *čudo*, *pravilo*, *stŭklo*, *sũto*. If the *ă* of *sută* is not directly derived from *o*, it may be analogic, like *ă* in *soră* for *sor* < *soror*; or it may come from *a* in the Slavonic plural *sũta*. Hence there is no reason for doubting that *sută* may be of Slavonic origin.

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MISCELLANEOUS

DANTE AND AQUINAS

ONE of the recurrent problems in the *Divina Commedia* has been the system that underlies Dante's treatment of sins and sinners in the *Purgatorio*, and especially in the *Inferno*. Dante himself, to be sure, explained very clearly that love is the foundation principle of his whole poem. But in the punishment of the various sins which transgress or destroy this principle many difficulties of interpretation arise. The arrangement of Purgatory offers little trouble by itself, for it is based on the seven deadly sins or capital vices dealt with in various ways by the fathers of the church from Cassian down. But the arrangement of the *Inferno* is not so easy to understand. Some similarities between it and the *Purgatorio*, such as that each is conical in shape with the sinners grouped on ledges or cornices, have led commentators to expect that the same sins would be punished in each region. Four of the seven sins for which penance is done in Purgatory were indeed easily discovered in Hell, but pride, envy, and sloth appeared to have no place in Dante's scheme of the *Inferno*. As the commentators held that Dante was not only a poet but a philosopher, they felt obliged to rescue him from his seeming inconsistency.

Accordingly, numerous solutions have been offered, especially in the last fifty years. The most obvious method was to place the three missing vices somewhere in Hell. Pride was located in the seventh circle with Capaneus, envy in the fifth circle with Filippo Argenti, and sloth beneath the marsh which the poets crossed in approaching the city of Dis. When it was observed that the treacherous evil in the lower circles of Hell simply could not be forced into Purgatory, some Germans explained that the seven deadly sins were the mothers of all sorts of vices, and that pride and envy were particularly prolific. The last four circles of the *Inferno* were immediately taken to correspond to these two vices in the *Purgatorio*.

All such makeshifts Witte rejected *in toto*, declaring that Purgatory and Hell were constructed on different principles, and that any correspondences were fortuitous. For sins to be punished in Hell they must issue in acts. Minos took account not of inward purpose but of overt deeds, just like the judge of a police court. If, however, the culprit repented before death, he would make atonement, not for the overt deed but for the inward purpose. If envy led a man to commit murder, Minos would condemn him to the seventh circle. But if the envious murderer repented, he would make atonement, not for murder, but for the capital vice of envy, in the second circle of Purgatory. The explanation was so simple and brilliant that it dazzled the majority of Italian commentators and English students into acceptance, the references to it sometimes implying that only those guilty of the densest ignorance could take any other view of the matter.

But now Mr. Reade, an English student of the middle ages, refuses to be dazzled. He contends not only that Witte's theory is utterly inadmissible but that it absolutely ignores the whole doctrine of capital vices as Dante would have learned it. He maintains this contention thru some four hundred and fifty crown-octavo pages of closely reasoned argument.¹ He examines the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas with the greatest fairness, cites passages from the schoolman in support of his statements, and shows that according to medieval doctrine guilt resides solely in the interior purpose, and that absence of an overt act never prevents a sinner from being cast into Hell.

The method of attack illustrates the method of explaining Dante. Mr. Reade does not forget that Dante read many books besides St. Thomas, but he maintains that in philosophical matters "St. Thomas is the best criterion of what Dante is likely to have taught in the *Inferno*." So far as Aristotle is concerned he is right. Contrary to the usual assumption, Aristotle was a relatively new authority in the thirteenth century. St. Thomas's master, Albertus Magnus, had thru his Latin paraphrase virtually established the medieval conception of the Greek thinker, and St. Thomas himself contributed no little to advance the Stagirite's reputation. It is

¹ *The Moral System of Dante's Inferno*, by W. H. V. Reade. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1909.

therefore quite natural that the twentieth century interpretation of Aristotle differs in several particulars from that familiar to Dante. But Mr. Reade's assumption results in underestimating, sometimes in entirely neglecting, other sources of Dante's thought. That is, Dante was more of an eclectic than he is in this book given credit for being. There are traces of influence from Averroës and currents of mysticism altogether left out of account in this treatment of his moral system. But to re-create the intellectual atmosphere in which Dante lived would at this date be impossible, and in the task which Mr. Reade has set himself—that of expounding Aquinas so far as he may have influenced the great poet of the middle ages—the success is noteworthy.

The chief result of this exposition is to establish a difference between the seven deadly sins as a class and the sins of malice or *malitia*. The capital vices are all produced by passion; they emanate from no habitual bent or disease of the will; in technical language, they are committed *ex infirmitate*. The sins of malice, on the contrary, are produced by a desire to harm others; they emanate from a will vitiated by habit so as to delight in committing injustice; in technical language, they are *injuriae*, sins against justice. These conclusions are imbedded in a mass of minute and at times scholastic discussion of the bases for classifying sins, of the sources in Aristotle, of the relations with the theological virtues; and the whole argument is supported by such abundant quotation in the original Latin that the distinction itself is established beyond cavil. This fact is important, for on this distinction rests Mr. Reade's explanation of Dante.

The explanation itself requires little over fifty thousand words, about half the space devoted to the exposition of St. Thomas. The theory in brief is this: Dante based the *Purgatorio* on the doctrine of the seven capital vices as treated in Aquinas, with variation to suit his particular purpose; but the *Inferno* he based on Aristotle, so that the capital vices have nothing to do with the scheme of Hell. The reason four of the vices happen to appear is that they appear in Aristotle and in other systems as well. There are consequently two classes of sins in Hell—sins of incontinence and sins of malice. The sins of incontinence are punished in the upper circles. The

sins of malice are punished in the three lowest circles only. The fact that the latter sins consist in violations of justice proceeding from a vitiated will explains their non-appearance in Purgatory. So long as the condition of the heart known as *malitia* persists, the soul is doomed to eternal punishment in Hell. It may gain admission to Purgatory thru repentance, but the penance and purification which it must then undergo are not in expiation of malice, which no longer exists, but in expiation of those sins which led to malice. Thus the medieval doctrine of sin as found in St. Thomas underlies the treatment of moral problems in both the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*.

The superiority of Mr. Reade's theory to Witte's is that it is based on medieval and ancient philosophy, not as it is expounded today, but as it was understood by Dante. What is perhaps more important, the theory fits in perfectly with the principle of love which rules the poem and from which derives to so large an extent its loftiness and perennial significance. Yet to students of Dante objections will at once occur. They will say that according to the poet's own explanation of his system in the seventeenth canto of the *Purgatorio* the sins there result from the very love of evil to one's neighbor which, according to Mr. Reade, shuts out a soul from Purgatory forever. The objection proves to be ill-founded, since a comparison with the language of Aquinas makes it certain that Dante was not there using technical phraseology and consequently was not confusing the seven capital vices with sins of malice. It is nevertheless a little damaging to the contention that Dante was following St. Thomas in detail to find in the poet's own explanation language that at first seems to contradict St. Thomas's doctrine. Objectors will find another difficulty in the scheme of the *Inferno*, which many commentators have supposed to be based on Cicero rather than on Aristotle. As a matter of fact, however, Dante appears to have read his Latin translation of Aristotle more carefully than his commentators have. He was not departing from "the master of them that know" when in the seventh circle of Hell he treated sins of violence or brutishness under the general head of malice, for in the version which the poet used Aristotle was made to speak of sins of bestial malice. Cicero

may have afforded a suggestion for the scheme, but recourse to Cicero is not necessary to explain the peculiarities of the plan.

The main contention of Mr. Reade is therefore well founded. The doctrine of *malitia* appears to be so obvious and fundamental in the philosophy of Aquinas that it is highly improbable that Dante would have overlooked or disregarded it. But the author of this new theory, in applying it to the various minor problems of the *Inferno*, makes the mistake of assuming that Dante was a thoroughgoing schoolman who would feel constrained to carry out or elaborate in detail a metaphysical system. Consequently few will agree with everything in these sections, as when Dante is called dishonest for not explaining the seventh circle in accordance with Aquinas and Cicero. Such defects are perhaps the inevitable result of the author's exceptional qualifications for his self-imposed task. He has so saturated himself with St. Thomas that he has adopted something of the scholastic attitude. He has set forth, with clearer comprehension than any previous investigator has displayed, the medieval philosophy of sin which after all was the major influence in the formation of Dante's moral system. For this reason it seems fairly certain that Dante students will adopt the broad general features of his exposition.

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AN ITALIAN COMPLAINT FOR THE DEATH OF PIERRE DE LUSIGNAN

THE death of Pierre I^{er} de Lusignan, King of Cyprus and Jerusalem, on the 16th of January, 1369, aroused the fear and horror of Christendom as few assassinations have done. The poem of Nicolò di Scacchi which is here printed, I believe for the first time, is one of several efforts to portray in literature the genuine consternation roused not only in Italy, but in France and England as well, by the loss to the Christian powers of so staunch a defender of the faith. Froissart indignantly tells us:¹

Ce fut bien ennemie chose et mauvais sang de occire et murdrir
si vaillant homme comme le bon roy Piettre de Chyppe, qui ne

¹ *Œuvres, Chroniques*, 1870, tome XI, p. 231.

tendoit, ne ymaginoit, nuit, ne jour, autre chose fors que il peust acquitter la Sainte-Terre et mettre hors des mains des mescroians.

So Chaucer² too voices the feeling:

“O worthy Petro, king of Cypre also,
That Alisaundre wan by heigh maistrye,
Ful many hethen wroghtestow ful wo,
Of which thyn owene liges hadde envye,
And, for no thing but for thy chivalrye,
They in thy bedde han slayn thee by the morwe.
Thus can fortune his wheel governe and guye,
And out of loye bringe men to sorwe.”

Froissart accuses the Turks of hiring Pierre's brother Jacques to murder him,³ and thus explains the complaint against fratricidal war in the first stanza of our poem.

But it is reserved for another poet, Guillaume de Machaut, to relate in detail, in *La Prise d'Alexandrie*,⁴ the story of the pitiable murder. There it may well be left, an unhappy story, telling in bare, cruel minuteness the inevitable sequel of the king's unbridled cruelty during his later years. Guillaume does not extenuate his faults, but nevertheless he exclaims with the rest of the poets:

8739 “Bien doit estre la main dolante
Qui est telle ne si hardie
Qu'elle son droit signeur occie.
Et n'i avoit que mortels plaies.
Hé, biaux Dieux, se tu ne les paies,
Que dira on de ta justice
Qui chascun justement justice?”

So far as I am aware, the poem of Nicolò di Scacchi is the only Italian effusion upon the fall of Pierre. Written by a Veronese, and contemporary with the event, the poem obviously is of the Venetian dialect with affectations of the Tuscan. There is, however,

² *Works*, Skeat, *Canterbury Tales*, B3581-3588, L., 1894.

³ *Loc. cit.* . . . “Et pour ce pour le destruire marchandèrent ils (sc. les Turcs) à son frère qui se nommoit Jacquet, de luy occire et murdrir, et fist occire devant lui le gentil roy son frère gisant en son lit.”

⁴ *Société de l'Orient latin*, vol. I, Genève, 1877, p. 270.

nothing in the poem requiring elucidation or textual comment. Certain words may be of interest to the etymologist.⁵

The manuscript, Egerton 1865 in the British Museum, is of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. It contains Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*. Our poem appears on folio 12, both sides an extra leaf. It is there written as prose, the initials of the poetic lines being indicated by capitals with a red line drawn through. The handwriting is, for the most part, beautifully clear.

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CANTILENA EXTENSA NICOLAI DE SCACHIS DE MORTE ILLUSTRIS-
SIMI REGIS CYPRI AC YRL'M

Prima

O Summo prince del eterno regno,
Chi movi i cieli in fermeza eternale,
E conservi natura in via diversa,
Che non profundi questo mundo pregno
D'ogni nequitia e de venen mortale,
Sol per la humanita seva e perversa,
Non vedi tu dispersa
La fede christiana in ogni parte,
Ne par ch'altrui che Marte
Mostre poder algun de sopra in terra?
Qual e piu crudel guera
Che padre cum fizolo cum fraude e scaltro,
E l'un fratel cum l'altro
Darse la morte tanto iniqua mente?
Poscia de l'altra giente
Chi potrebe contar i lor defecti
Ch'a mal far non se pente
Ma pur chi pegio faccia meglio aspecti?

Secunda

No dico sol per l'excelso e illustre
Re de Ierusalem degno e verace

⁵I am indebted to Professors McKenzie of Yale University and Livingston of Cornell University for kind assistance in deciphering some knotty lines in the manuscript. The ordinary abbreviations have been resolved, without indication, in the printed text.

Pietro di Cypro regno, che mo langue
 Ch'e morto acio ch'el mundo non allustre
 De novo da giente invida e fallace;
 Dico del suo carnal e proprio sangue
 Unde l'infernal Angue
 Ch'indusse al fallo grave el primer homo,
 Mostrando un altro pomo
 A condenato el cristianesimo tuto,
 Perche fioriva el fructo
 In questo campion vero de cristo,
 In far el gra[n]de aquisto
 Ch'era redemption de nostra fede.
 Or forse non se crede,
 Ma la sua morte non e de luy solo,
 Che molti anchor ne lede,
 E sera comun danno e grave dolo.

Tercia

O Creator nostro, per ch'ay tolto al mondo
 Coluy che sol spandea suprema voce
 De cortesia de presio e de vertude,
 El qual s'avea asscripto tuto el pondo
 Imponer zugo agli hosti de la croce
 E nuy guidar a porto de salute?
 Carlo cum molte aiute
 Non fe tanto per ti, se'l vero tracto,
 Quanto questo haveria facto
 Cum sua persona essendo luy seguito.
 Qual vive tanto ardito
 Ch'in Babilonia exalte suo vesillo
 Cum seguito pusilo
 Como luy fece, e gli infedeli scaccie?
 Ma porte gli ay le braccie
 Per tragier luy d'affani e de moleste,
 E cio credo che faccie
 Perch'el voy teco nel regno celeste.

Quarta

Ay, morte cruda e terribil iactura,
 La cui sevicia gia del secol tolse

Tanto lume vitale e ben perfectò,
Perche odi tanto e nemiche natura
Che del suo danno grave no ti dolse?
Ch'ay tolto a quella el figlio suo dilecto,
E qual s'havea concepto
De probita, de senno, e pregio armato.
E tu gli ay furato
Ne par ch'a quel che fay ragion ti morda.
Ay quanto ti fay sorda
Aquelli chi preganti cum magior brama
Finir lor vita grama,
Et a quellori che sono in bona essenza
Mandi la toa sentenza,
Come de spietata e de crudel volere,
Contra la cui potenza
Non val ragion ne forza ne sapere.

Quinta

O Region de Cipro ysola altera,
Defesa sotto el studio de coluy
Che ti exaltava sopra gly altri regni,
Or piangni, or ti contrista, or ti despera,
Che serva te vedray vegnir d'altrui
Lui ti non fallan gli apparenti segni,
Or Cytherea se desdegni
Vedendo in ti commesso tanto scelo,
Che pria che fosse in cielo
Volle habitar ti per mostrar suo nume;
Che spinto e el vivo lume,
Ch'in questa vita non lascio el parechio
El qual era tuo spechio
In cui speciata gloriavi tanto.
Sen poy sperar alquanto
In un rimaso ch'e de la sua prole,
Che trara ti de pianto,
Se fortuna non obvia como sole.

Sexta

E tu, Yerusalem, terra detempta
In servitu como sugieta e sciava,

Da giente inimicabil e crudelle,
 Da cui speri piu may esser redempta?
 Poy che l'autor e morto ch'a ti dava
 Speranza cum cagion desser fidelle,
 Simelle a quele Michelle
 Chi descacio de la corte divina
 Cum subita ruina
 Collor ch'al suo creator foro ribelli.
 Ma voglio che cancelli
 La toa speranza omay, per che non vive
 Homo da cui derive
 Tua liberation per quel ch'io cerna.
 Ma par che ogni hom to sperna
 E piu collor che piu ti son tenuti,
 Vero e se dio governa
 Quel ch'e lasciato, spero che ti agiuti.

Septima

Mille e trecento, cum sexanta nove
 Anni currendo del carnato verbo,
 Tributo al mondo cum virgineo parto,
 Del mese che piu gielo in terra piove,
 Marte sdegnato cum furor acerbo,
 De quel un giorno duodecimo quarto,
 Fu el nobel sangue sparto
 Del prince degno ch'in cielo s'anida.
 Ay, fol e chi se fida
 In questa vita fragille e caduca!
 Che piu tosto trabuca
 Ch'altrui non pensa e piu tosto se perde.
 Pero nel tempo verde
 Sia ciascun a ben far constante e forte,
 Si che dopo la morte
 Non solamente in cielo aquiste merto,
 Ma lascie in questa corte
 Fama perpetual et honor certo.

Octava & ultima

Cancion dolgliosa, or prendi tuo camino
 E cerchi l'asya, l'africa, e l'europa,

La dove giente sia che Cristo adore,
E di che dex mortal fatto e divino
El prince per la morte cui sinopa
El mondo tuto de presio et honore,
E no aggye timore
In provar luy meglior hom che vivesse;
Ma contradicesse
Risponde, l'opera loldara el maestro,
Poy mostraray registro
De l'opre sue laudabile e solenne,
Cum l'imprenesse che ottenne
Per suo valor e cum affani asay.
E se chiesta seray
Chi sia coluy ch'in questo dir ti amona,
Responder gli potrai,
"Vn Nicolo di Scachi de Verona."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

El Romancero Español, conferencias dadas en la Columbia University de New York, los días 5 y 7 de Abril de 1909, bajo los auspicios de The Hispanic Society of America, por Ramón Menéndez Pidal. The Hispanic Society of America, 1910. Large 8vo, pp. 131.

The title, as quoted above, practically tells the story of the origin of the work under examination. In the attractive form to which the Hispanic Society has accustomed us in its publications, the volume reproduces the lectures just as they were originally delivered. Those who were fortunate enough to hear them will rejoice that such is the case, for in reading them now they will be able to hear again the ringing voice of the lecturer as he swings through his sonorous periods.

The spirit of these lectures is admirable, the form slightly oratorical, as the circumstances required, but the content as accurate and scholarly as the strictest methodologist could wish. These are real works of scientific vulgarization and prove the groundlessness of the author's fear, expressed in the prefatory note, that he may not have been able to harmonize the scientific interest of the Hispanic Society with the more general and popular interest of its public. By these two lectures Professor Menéndez Pidal demonstrates that Spain has in turn produced her Friedrich Diez—her Gaston Paris: a thoroughly trained linguist with a fine sense of literary values—a philologist in the broadest meaning of that much abused word.

The first of these lectures bears the subtitle: *El Romancero: sus origenes y carácter*. Its object is set forth in the following words (pp. 4-5):

Para orientar una lectura del romancero y guiar en la apreciación histórica y estética de sus bellezas, debemos examinar en qué tiempos tan diversos y con qué tendencias tan diferentes se fueron elaborando los varios géneros de romances.

After calling attention to the difference between the popular epic, as represented by the *Iliad*, the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Nibelungenlied*, and the *Poema del Cid*, and the learned epic, as represented by the *Aeneid*, the *Jerusalemme liberata*, the *Henriade*, and the *Araucana*, the author proceeds to the Germanic origin of most modern epics, and calls attention to the fact that, once transplanted, the epic took deep root and flourished, although intensely localized: in Spain, for example, being strictly limited to Old Castile. Consequently, although in spirit originally Germanic, the Spanish epic is in its concrete form originally Castilian, as are all its primitive heroes; and the poems that sang these heroes were originally composed in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and later were renewed and worked over down to the fifteenth century. During this long period the heroic poetry of course had to follow the march of events and go beyond the confines of Castile. Hence it naturally began to sing other heroes who, while not Castilian, were of interest to all Spain, as witness

the last Visigothic king, Don Rodrigo; the Leonese Bernardo del Carpio; and Charlemagne with his twelve peers.

These *cantares de gesta* (of irregular meter, but with a preponderance of 14-syllable, and, still later, of 16-syllable verses) were originally composed for an aristocratic audience. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as a result of important changes in the social structure of Spain, the Castilian epic, which, as has been said, had already enlarged the field from which it drew its heroes, now enlarged the field of its listeners and addressed itself to a more numerous and heterogeneous public. The new element, not having the leisure nor the antecedents of the older element, could not endure the longer songs in which there was practically nothing but the great deeds of a military aristocracy. The bards, in order to hold the new audience, began to introduce novelistic and amorous adventures. It is due to this change that the epic bard in Spain was able to hold his audience long after his companion in France had ceased to attract any general interest.

This state of affairs and the consequent interruptions that were likely to occur when some particular incident had been especially pleasing and the audience desired its repetition, led directly and inevitably to the *romance* (p. 10):

Los oyentes de una larga recitación epica se encariñaban con algún episodio más feliz, haciéndolo repetir á fuerza de aplausos, y luego que el juglar acababa su largo canto, se dispersaban llevando en su memoria aquellos versos repetidos, que luego ellos propagaban por todas partes. Pues bien, esos breves fragmentos, desgajados de un antiguo Cantar de Gesta, y hechos así famosos y populares, son, ni más ni menos, los romances mas viejos que existieron.

These short selected passages were for years repeated to audiences that were perfectly familiar with the general setting. As in the course of time this naturally ceased to be the case, the bard, who still knew his originals, used to sketch in the scene dextrously and with fidelity to the original. But there are other cases where the bard, instead of taking one of these passages that attained popularity by their own merits, seems to have chosen at random an incident and then to have fitted it out with introduction and epilogue at his own caprice.

These oldest ballads inherited from the *Cantares de Gesta* not only their content and spirit but their verse structure; and on this point the author's statement is detailed and luminous (p. 17):

Por lo que á su forma se refiere, herederos tambien estos romances de la métrica de las Gestas, están compuestos en versos largos, de diez y seis sílabas, asonantados entre sí con un asonante uniforme, si el romance ofrece restos de una sola serie ó copla épica, que es lo más común; pero á veces conserva restos de dos, mas rara vez de tres series, y entonces las asonancias del romance son dos ó tres distintas. Los romances posteriores, de que hablaremos después, están versificados á imitación de los más viejos, asimismo en versos de diez y seis sílabas, con un asonante único y cuanto más tardías son estas composiciones, menos admiten el cambio de dos ó más asonantes.

This statement is of prime importance, for not only does it give a clear definition of the metrical form of the *romance*, but it also sets forth anew, and in convincing fashion, the historical development of this particular form of verse. This theory, although enounced by Grimm and supported, among others, by Diez, the Marqués de Pidal, Milá y Fontanals, and Menéndez y Pelayo, was sturdily opposed by such scholars as Durán and Wolf, the latter

of whom closed his analysis of the question with the following words (*Primavera y Flor de Romances, Introducción*, pp xviii-xix of the reprint by Menéndez y Pelayo: *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos, tomo VIII*):

La opinión de los últimos [those who favor the theory of the octosyllable ballad, with assonance in the even verses] está, en efecto, corroborada por la analogía de toda poesía popular, por la índole de la lengua castellana y por el carácter lírico-épico de los romances; al paso que la opinión contraria [that of the sixteen syllable ballad, with assonance in all verses] carece de tales argumentos, fundados en la naturaleza de las cosas; que le hacen falta á ella los documentos, y—lo que es bien de notar—que faltan ejemplos de versos de diez y seis sílabas no solo en la poesía popular, sino tambien en la artística castellana; pues los versos largos del poema y de la Crónica rimada del Cid no son más que imitaciones harto informes de muestras extranjeras (francesas), y los alexandrinos, tomados tambien de los franceses, son de catorce sílabas; y sobre todo con haberse admitido y probado: que la poesía castellana no tenía y no pudo tener poemas épicos populares, pierde esta opinión su principal argumento y su única razón suficiente; pues cesando la causa, cesa el efecto; no teniendo los castellanos tales poemas, no hubieron menester ni ocasión de producir versos épicos largos.

But it is precisely these poems, *that did not and could not exist in Castilian poetry*, that have since been shown to have had a very flourishing existence in this same Castilian poetry; and the scholar who proved it most effectively was the author of the work now under examination, in his epoch-making study of the *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the author, despite his own definition and demonstration, and despite the theory and practice of Grimm, Milá y Fontanals, and Menéndez y Pelayo, prints all his *romances* in short lines, giving them thus the printed form they have generally had. This form led to the erroneous definition mentioned above: that the *romance* is a poem of intermediate length, composed of verses of eight syllables, with a single assonance in the even verses. It is true that the author calls attention to the method of printing, in a phrase on page 13; but it seems to me that he allowed to pass a fine opportunity to drive home the correct definition by exhibiting the verse in a form corresponding thereto. What should we gain, for instance, by printing in two lines the long verses of the Poem of the Cid or of Berceo's works, or of any other two-hemistich form of verse? Would such a practice not tend inevitably to produce confusion? In response to a private inquiry as to his reason for printing as he did, the author kindly replied at once, as follows:

Imprimí los romances en verso partido porque había deseado que el libro tuviese la forma alargada de los romances antiguos.

No obstante tambien en los romances artísticos de Lope, etc. creo debe conservarse la forma corta que le daban los autores. ¿A qué cambiarla?

In this there seems to me to be a slight confusion of terms. The authors of the old *romances* were the authors of the *cantares de gesta*, who composed their poems in long verses; and according to Professor Menéndez Pidal's own demonstration it is sections of these same poems in long verses that constituted our oldest *romances*. Therefore these oldest *romances*, despite the form in which they may happen first to have been set down in writing or in printing, should be reproduced by us in the form given to them by their authors: i. e. the long verse in its entirety.

Concerning the later artistic *romances*, I agree with Professor Menéndez Pidal. Their authors had long since ceased to recognize the real structure of the *romance*, and with the erroneous definition in mind they really meant to write the kind of verse-form they did write. These artistic *romances*, then, should be reproduced by us (as Professor Menéndez Pidal does reproduce them) in the form given them by their authors, i. e., the short lines.

A minor detail, but one not entirely devoid of importance, is that if modern scholars used these two forms for reproducing the earlier and later *romances*, they would thereby aid the uninitiated the more easily to distinguish, in the first instance, the two forms; and it is conceivable that some even of the initiated would find this aid welcome.

Throughout the rest of this first lecture we are led from an analysis of the juglaresque ballads, and the old ballads derived therefrom, especially those of the Carolingian cycle, to the frontier ballads and the new ideas and customs reflected therein; and then to the death of the heroic inspiration of the *Romancero*, which followed the definite formation of the nation, with the fall of Granada and the union of the kingdoms of Spain in the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella. The mission of Spain's heroico-popular poetry—whether in its first form, the epic, or in its second form, the ballad—had been to inspire the nation to the heroic enterprises it had so successfully carried out. That mission once fulfilled, the heroico-popular poetry in its second form ceased to inspire new songs. There at once arose, however, numberless imitations, semi-popular, learned, and artistic, and the great vogue that the *romance* in these forms enjoyed brought about the total ruin of the *genre*.

In the second lecture, which bears the sub-title: *El Romancero: su transmisión á la época moderna*, after a brief survey of the various *Romanceros* that have been made and the studies thereon, closing with the masterly work of that genial humanist Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, our author proceeds to examine what remains to us of the old *romances* outside the early collections, to wit in broadsides, chap-books, manuscripts and the drama. Then follows a study of the propagation of the *Romancero* in modern oral tradition among the Spanish Jews of Africa and Turkey; in Cataluña, Portugal, the Azores and Madeira, and America, North and South; in the rest of Spain, and in Castile itself. The present state and value of the oral tradition is then examined and we find that the modern oral tradition preserves by itself many old *romances*, hitherto unknown. The history of some of the most interesting of these is given, as for instance the finding of the *romance* of the *Muerte del Príncipe Don Juan* (1497), which was discovered in 1900 and first published in 1904 (in the proper long-verse form, together with the music) by Mrs. Menéndez Pidal.

The lecture closes with a plea for the restoration of the *Romancero* in all its esthetic, chronological and geographical value by a fusion of the riches of the old collections with those of the modern tradition, and a thorough working over of the whole material.

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L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole par Ramon Menéndez Pidal de l'Académie Espagnole. Traduction de Henri Mérimée. Avec une préface de Ernest Mérimée. Paris, Armand Colin, 1910. Pp. xxvi + 306.

This fine book and the author's *Romancero español* belong together in more respects than one. The *Épopée castillane* contains a chapter on a subject that is more fully treated in the later work, the *Romancero español*, wherein the author gives us the results of his most recent investigations on that particular aspect of the question. The two books taken together represent the author's product as a lecturer during his recent visit to the United States, and each book is printed in the language and form in which its contents were presented to its American audiences. The form is therefore slightly oratorical, as befitted the circumstances; but let no one imagine that in deference to this phase of the situation the subject matter is not handled with all due regard for scholarly accuracy and method. The general statement made concerning the excellence of the *Romancero español* can be made concerning the *Épopée castillane*, except that we have not the latter work in the author's own stately Castilian. When a man handles so noble a language as the Castilian with the perfection shown by Menéndez Pidal in his *Romancero español*, one can but regret that a work of art like the *Épopée castillane* should not be accessible in the author's original. Perhaps he may be moved to satisfy our desire in this respect.

I would not be understood as criticising the translation, which I consider admirable; for I am glad that the work is accessible to a wider public than it would be in Spanish. In fact I wish that both the *Épopée castillane* and the *Romancero español* were available in English, so that the average American of literary tastes might enjoy them in his own tongue and thereby have a more lively interest in, and a better understanding of, things Spanish.

The preface by M. Ernest Mérimée is a sympathetic and reliable account of Menéndez Pidal's life and work, and contains a delicate and just tribute to his scholarly help-mate.

How vast is the picture that Menéndez Pidal sketched for his American audiences is perhaps most easily shown by a rapid enumeration of the titles of the seven chapters or lectures. After outlining the *Origins of the Castilian Epic* (chap. I) and discussing the irreconcilable enmity existing between *Castile and Leon* (chap. II), together with the poems representative thereof, he proceeds to a detailed analysis of the problems that group themselves about the national masterpiece, the *Poem of My Cid* (chap. III). Nowhere has there been made a more convincing and succinct presentation of the value of this great epic for study concerning the literature, culture, institutions, and general history of early Spain. This he follows up with an examination of the poem naturally derived therefrom which treats of *The Cid and Chimène* (chap. IV) and the youthful prowess of the Cid. In an article entitled *The Primitive Prise d'Orange*, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. XVI (1901), pp. 368, 369, and in a more recent article completing his studies upon the poem of *Aliscans*, in the *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), pp. 1-43, and especially 41 ss., Professor Raymond Weeks suggests for several of the French epics the same general development that is here defended for *The Cid and Chimène*. It is interesting to reflect that Professor Menéndez Pidal may have developed independently the same theory as Professor Weeks. The deca-

Reviews of Books

dence of the epic naturally follows and we have a rapid sketch of the *Romancero* (chap. V), which has been more amply treated in the later set of lectures entitled *El Romancero español*. The rise of the *Classic Theater* (chap. VI) gives to this epic material a new lease of life, which lasts until the native Spanish theater falls before the invasion of Spain by the French theater. Although driven from Spain by this literary catastrophe, the Castilian epic material did not die. The Romantic movement in England, Germany, and France made much of it, and finally Spain herself opened her arms to welcome back her own; and this same material, centuries old, revived modern Spanish poetry (chap. VII). The headlong, breathless pace at which we are carried from one topic to another of the material dealt with in this last chapter gives a pleasurable sensation of surprise and exhilaration, and one lays the book aside with genuine regret.

The most important chapters in this work are doubtless the first two, wherein the author places before us succinctly the results of his long years of patient investigation concerning the beginnings of the Castilian epic. New facts which he has discovered and presented to the world with all the evidence relating thereto, and facts previously known, but misunderstood, are here marshalled and set in their proper relation one to another. So skilfully, and yet so justly, is this presentation made that to all but those with preconceived theories which must be supported at any cost the conclusions drawn must seem self-evident. The chief of these conclusions are: (1) that Spain had a native epic of much greater virility and much longer duration than Milá y Fontanals believed in 1874 when he first proved its existence, or even Menéndez Pidal imagined when in 1896 he produced his own monumental work on the Infantes de Lara; (2) that this native Castilian epic, instead of deriving from Germanic origins *through the French epic*, derived direct from the Germanic epic; and (3) that the metrical form of the Castilian epic, instead of being an imitation of the metrical form of the French epic, is in reality a natural product of Spain, with fundamental features that nowhere appear in French metrics.

An analytical table of contents and an index of proper names add to the usefulness of this highly interesting and thoroughly satisfying work.

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Crestien's von Troyes Contes del Graal (Percevaus li galois), Abdruck der Handschrift Paris, français, 794. Without date, place or name of editor. 8vo, pp. 123.

The present edition of the poem of Chrétien de Troyes is issued anonymously. It is ascribed by rumor to Professor G. Baist. The volume is evidently meant for students of Old French literature and filology. It is provided with an index of proper names and with a vocabulary of difficult and interesting words. A note on p. 123 states that the text is not absolutely that of the MS. indicated, until after line 6175. We infer that, beginning with this line, the text is rigorously what the title indicates, a reproduction of MS. 794. Pp. 105-09 offer, under the caption: *Hergestellte Lesung*, a number of attempted ameliorations of the manuscript readings.

It would be interesting to know the circumstances which determined the

manner of collation of the first 6175 lines. An idea of the correctness of the text for these lines may be obtained by a rapid comparison with the original. Such a comparison offers the following result for the first 1000 lines, which are a sample of this part of the publisht text.

The text commences on folio 361 r°. In l. 25, the MS. has *ainme*; in 61 and 62, *peinne*; in 72: *Dolcement chantent au matin* (not *latin*); 73, *anflame*; 75, *soutainne*; 76, *painne*; 91, *del* (not *de*); 98 and 99, *ore*; 106, *chasnes* (not *chaines*); 126, *einz*; 129, *haubers*; 133, *azur*; 134, *fu* (not *fit*); 162, *auroit*; 175, *fet* (not *fit*); 219, *praingne*; 264, *je*; 271, *danz*; 299, *terres*; 303, *mainne*; 305, *vaslez*; 308, *aveinnes*; 310, *tranblerent*; 316, *voldroit*; 322, *chevaliers*; 334, *Carduel*; 345 (second half of the line), *biax* (or of course *biaus*) *filz*; 345, *menoïr*; 351, *ainme*; 352, *clainme*; 363, the word *me* does not occur; 364, *dew*; 365, *Sont si tres bel*; 369, *ancores*; 375, *braz*; 378, *con*; 380, *ocient quan*; 389, *cuidoie si bien*; 394, *pere*; 401, *dechees*; 403, *Que je fui*; 405, *linage*; 407, *decheu*; 408, *an*; 409, *aviennent*; 410, *maintiennent*; 411, *A grant*; 423, *essillie*; 429, *poir*; 438, *anz*; 448 and 455, *andui*; 450, *E an*; 453, *nes*; 456, *duel*; 459, *lor* (instead of *li*); 471, *mangier*; 472, *Ne sai de coi*; 481, *ansanble*; 489, *an*; 501, *Malveisement*; 505, *voit*; 507, *bon antandre*; 513, *loing*; 519, *enor*; 524, *enuiez*; 540, *Que vous ne*; 542, *conuist*; 564, *sofri angoisse*; 573, *seignor*; 580, *prant*; 600, *esloigniez*; 603, *arriere*; 604, *Et jut*; 611, *Et chevalcha*; 617, *au chevalchier*; 625, *solaus*; 632, *Et loiges*; 634, *ainz*; 647, *au*; 649, *coste*; 657, *el tref antra*; 660, *esveilla*; 681, *anbrace*; 684, *deffandue*; 686, *deffansse*; 690, *cun* (= *c'un*); 695, *vuel*; 697, *saiches*; 703, *dit*; 708, *boiche*; 726, *lui*; 728, *an*; 731, *dit*; 734, *Asez*; 753, *Car il li*; 779, *toli*; 783, *angoisseus*; 799, *painne*; 800, *davainne*; 803, *desferrera*; 805, *suirois*; 815, *ansaigne*; 816, *mainnes*; 829, *combatuz*; 839, *antra*; 854, *ge*; 875, *Ceste*; 925, *ci*; 936, *devant*; 937, *solemant lan* (= *l'an*); 939, *plainne*; 940, *vilainne*; 941, *an est antree*; 948, *sa honte*; 968, *fetes*; 972, *criator*. In several cases, the indications with regard to rubrikt letters at the beginning of lines do not correspond to the facts; for example, line 439, begins with a rubrikt initial, as also lines 469, 615, 667, 709, 851, 979. On the other hand, the text as printed indicates rubrikt letters in the following lines where they do not exist: 613, 857, 881.

How about the text from line 6175 on, which is spoken of on p. 123 as a *genaue Widergabe* of the manuscript? An estimate of the fidelity of this part of the publisht text may be obtained by comparing 1000 lines, beginning at l. 6175, with the manuscript itself. A number of errors are to be found, which indicates the low state of paleographical knowledge in our editors of texts, many of whom, like Mascarille, appear never to have needed to study paleografy.

First, a minor criticism. In l. 6179, the editor has rendered the *Percevaux* of the MS. by *Percevaus*, which is well; but why did he not resolve the abbreviation also in *quex*, in lines 6226, 6227, and in scores of other words and proper names? Why, for instance, did he print this very name as *Percevaux* in lines 3574, 3649, 6277, 6295, 6310, and in other passages too numerous to mention?

In l. 6198, the MS. reads *Ensi*; 6208, *deschaucie*; 6213, *feisoient*; 6216, *areste*; 6220, *ne biens*; 6226, *donc*; 6248, *cel* rather than *tel*; 6263, *or*; 6275, *nus*; 6277, *Ce* (not *Se*); 6293, *antrecomandent*; 6336, *sainne*; 6349, this line begins with a rubrikt initial; 6370, *gite* (not *guite*); 6383, *lanproies* (not *lamproie*); 6397, the MS. has *P.*, which the anonymous editor renders *Percevaux* (as in 6442, 6475, etc.), but he has just rendered, as we have seen, *Percevaux* (6179) by

Percevaus; what method is there in this madness? In l. 6421, the MS. has *ainme*; 6424, *po* (instead of *pro*); 6425, *ainme*; 6472, *Que deus au vanredi* (instead of *Que deus au samedi*); 6476, *longument*; 6578, *Que ceste angarde a avaler* (not: *Que de ceste*, etc.); 6585, *de ci man* (= *m'an*); 6588, *Je*; 6632, *aceingnoit*; 6667, *dahe*; 6710, *le* is already in the MS.; 6726, *laproches* (= *l'aprockes*); 6727, *atocherois*; 6751, *orguel*; 6840, *afubler*; 6892, *alainne*; 6930, *grant*; 6952, *Les* (not *Ses*); 6953, *dreciez*; 6978, *quas* (= *qu'as*) *tu a faire* (not: *qu'as ta afaire*); 6980, *teingne*; 7061, *an mes deus*; 7094, *asise*; 7128, *tex* (not *dex*); 7129, the manuscript has: *lune* (= *l'une*).

It is evident that the number of errors (about one error to twenty-five lines) in the "genaue Wiedergabe" is smaller than the number of variations in the lines which precede. For a genaue Wiedergabe, however, the proportion of errors is rather large.

I have lookt over some of the proposd emendations (pp. 105-09). Many of them are unfortunat, some impossible.

R. W.

Bibliographie Hispanique. 1905. n. d., 12mo, pp. vi-161. 1906. n. d., 12mo, pp. 252. New York, The Hispanic Society of America.

"La présente Bibliographie est consacrée aux langues, aux littératures et à l'histoire des pays castillans, catalans et portugais, en Europe et hors d'Europe. —Les langues d'origine non latine . . . ne rentrent pas dans notre cadre.

"On a énuméré ici à la fois les travaux d'un caractère strictement scientifique ou de haute vulgarisation et les textes littéraires, exception faite de ceux dont les auteurs sont encore vivants. On a écarté les publications strictement pédagogiques: éditions de textes à l'usage des classes, méthodes, livres d'exercices, etc."

Thus the anonymous compiler sets forth the scope of these modest volumes, which appeared, bearing no date of issue, in 1909. The volume for 1905 contains 1339 titles alphabetically arranged, and numbered. The volume for 1906 contains 1602 titles, and an appendix with 473 additions to the bibliography of 1905, including reviews of works already enumerated. *Haute vulgarisation* is not interpreted too rigidly, and *l'histoire* is allowed most generously to include Art, Education, Ex-Libris, Folk-Lore, Geography, Philosophy, Travel, etc. Over 275 periodicals have been analyzed for the year 1905 alone.

In general the plan laid down has been faithfully carried out. The inconsistencies are slight. Several text-books have been listed (see Nos. 11, 60, 176, 278, etc.) and a uniform policy in the matter of titles has not been pursued (see Nos. 265, 309, 601, which are very full, while No. 808, Martinenche, *Propos d'Espagne*, is not nearly so complete as the title in *Bibliographie de la France* 1905, No. 8348). Some important reviews of works published anterior to 1905 have been included, properly enough (Würzbach's of Pérez Pastor's *Documentos Cervantinos*, *Zeitschrift f. R. Ph.*, XXIX, 365-375), while others, undeniable contributions, have been omitted (Würzbach's of Marden's *Poema de Fernan Gonçales*, *Zeitschrift f. R. Ph.*, XXX, 93-97). No rule of selection is laid down. Several studies of a comparative nature having to do largely with Spanish literature, have been overlooked. Such are:—

Jordan, Leo. *Die Sage von den vier Haimonskindern*. Erlangen, Junge 1905. 8vo, pp. x + 198. Cf. *Romania* 35. 466.

Marsan, Jules. *La pastorale dramatique en France à la fin du XVI^e et au commencement du XVII^e siècle*. Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1905. 8vo, pp. xii + 524. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, II, 83-85.

The editor has not always made the fullest use of some of the ordinary bibliographical aids. He may still glean titles from the *Bibliografía Española*, Año 1905 (see Nos. 723, 1057, 1222, 1836, 1546 and 1715, descriptive of Rodrigo Amador de los Ríos, *Monumentos arquitectónicos de España*; No. 1030, Fernando Soldevilla, *El año político 1904*, Madrid 1905, etc.), from the *English Catalogue of Books for 1905* (see under Hart, Prothero), from the *Annual American Catalog*, 1905 (see under De Long, Bates, Willoughby) and from the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (*Revista del Archivo y de la Biblioteca Nacional de Honduras*, vol. 2, 1905/1906, Tegucigalpa, Tip. Nac., 1906, etc.).

In the following periodicals will be found articles quite as worthy of being listed as many that are included in the *Bibliographie*: American Antiquary, American Catholic Quarterly, American Journal of Sociology, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Architectural Record, Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari, Arena, Atlantic Monthly, Bookman, Bulletin bibliographique et pédagogique du Musée Belge, Bulletin Hispanique (VII, 429, and elsewhere), Catholic World, Century, Contemporary Review, Current Literature, Der Kunstwart, Die Nation, Dublin Review, Fortnightly Review, Frankfurter Zeitung, Geographical Journal, Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux, International Quarterly, Journal of American Folk-Lore, Literarisches Centralblatt, Macmillan's Magazine, Modern Language Review, National Geographical Magazine, National Review, Nineteenth Century, North American Review, Nouveau Recueil général des traités, Poet Lore, Portugalia, Publications of the Southern Historical Association, Records of the Past, Review of Theology and Philosophy, Revista de instrucción primaria, Saturday Review, Scottish Geographical Society, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Vida Marina, Westminster Review.

The bibliography of 1905 is particularly interesting to Cervantists because of the large number of works inspired by the Tercentenary of the publication of the *Don Quixote* (See Morel-Fatio, *Archiv für d. Stud. d. Neueren Sprachen* 116, pp. 340-361). In the two volumes before us some 250 titles are enumerated. To this number may be added three items from *Revista de Archivos*, XII (3d series), pp. 403-410, and several from the *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, Supplementheft XXX, *Bibliographie* 1905 (see under Cervantes, Adolf Bartels, Theodor Barth, Benno Diederich, Emile Gebhart, Mariano Miguel del Val, Heinrich Morf, Manuel Saralegui y Medina and Eugenio Silvela). In this connection the following additional items may be of interest, although the intrinsic value of most of them is slight:

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Edición ilustrada con 316 dibujos de M. Angel, grabados por Carretero, Sampietro y Santamaría. Madrid, Saturnino Callejo, 1905. 8vo, 874 pp.

Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha*. Nueva edición, corregida y revisada. Londres, Hossfeld, 1905. 8vo.

- Catálogo da Exposição Cervantina realizada á 12 de Junio de 1905 por occasiaio do 3º Centenario do Don Quixote. Gabinete Portuguez de Leitura no Rio de Janeiro.* Rio de Janeiro, typ. do "Jornal do Commercio," 1905. 8vo, 156 pp.
- Ellis, Havelock. *The Tercentenary of "Don Quixote."* North Am. Rev., CLXXX, 670-680.
- Fernández Duro, Césare. *Cervantes Marino.* Vida Marina, 10 Mayo, 1905.
- Fernández de Valderrama, J. M. *Música del lenguaje del Quijote. Conferencia.* Madrid, Imp. Colonial, 1905. 4to, 42 pp.
- Fernández Guerra y Orbe, Aureliano. *Cervantes esclavo del Santísimo Sacramento.* Lámpara del Santuario, 1905.
- Lara, Justo de. *Cervantes y el Quijote. El hombre, el libro y la época.* Habana, Imp. "La moderna poesía," 1905. 8vo, 134 pp., 4 pl.
- Medinaveitia, Herminio. *Recuerdos de un Centenario (III de la publicación del Quijote).* Vitoria, Hijos de Iturbe, 1905. 8vo, 250 pp., 2 pl.
- Navarró y Monzó, J. *Cervantes e o seu tempo.* Lisboa, 1905. 8vo, 95 pp.
- Olóriz Aguilera, Federico. *Caracteres físicos de los personajes del Quijote.* Madrid, Imp. Hijos de J. A. García, 1905. 8vo, 20 pp.
- Prado y Palacio, José del. *Discurso sobre las "Novelas Ejemplares" del inmortal Cervantes.* Madrid, M. Romero, 1905. 8vo, 16 pp.
- Rodríguez García, José A. *Vida de Cervantes y juicio del Quijote.* Habana, 1905. 8vo, 135 pp.
- Béraud, Rodrigues. *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.* Lisboa, 1905. 8vo, 22 pp.
- Walsh, Jas. J. *Cervantes and his work.* Catholic Review, 81, pp. 344-352.
- Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos. Número extraordinario en conmemoración del Quijote.* Mayo, 1905. Pp. 309-412.

It is not intended to create the impression that the *Bibliographie Hispanique* is less nearly complete than is to be expected, given the very broad field covered. On the contrary, so far as the material is concerned, the work seems to have been done with unusual thoroughness. The form in which the material has been presented, calls, however, for criticism.

It is hard to imagine what advantages a bibliography by years, as opposed to a mere annual bibliography may have, that will outweigh its obvious disadvantages, among which appear, first and foremost, the inherent impossibility of approaching completeness in time for prompt publication (witness the supplement of the *Bib. Hisp.* for 1905, which contains over a third as many items as the original list for that year), and the necessary exclusion of valuable articles of more recent date. If the chief function of a working bibliography is to aid the producing scholar rather than the historian of a given field of intellectual endeavor, an annual bibliography, reasonably complete, and appearing promptly at a fixed date, will best serve his purpose.

The present work is an author catalogue. Apropos of this the editor says,—*"Quels que puissent être les inconvénients d'un classement unique, ils sont moindres que ceux qui résultent de nombreuses divisions et subdivisions. . . . Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas trop exiger d'un hispanisant que de lui demander de dépouiller un répertoire de proportions aussi modestes que celui-ci."* This innocent-looking paragraph really commits the scholar, whatever his special interest, to the substantial task of making his own index, or of looking through the volume not once, but many times. Is not some sort of classification, not

necessarily minute, made compulsory by the very breadth of the field? With or without such a classification, a complete subject index is very necessary, or may be inferred from the common practice of bibliographers.

By recognizing, in subsequent volumes of the *Bibliographie*, the reasonableness of making these changes, the Hispanic Society of America will make an indispensable tool out of what is, in its present form, a mere list of titles.

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C. P. WAGNER

Ronsard, poète lyrique, Etude historique et littéraire. By PAUL LAUMONIER, Docteur ès Lettres, Maître de Conférences de Langue et Littérature françaises à l'Université de Poitiers. Paris, Hachette, 1909.

It sometimes befalls a literary reputation to be shown so forcibly in one given aspect that every other would seem excluded even for the most independent of investigators. Such, as all know, was the case with that of Ronsard after Malherbe and Boileau had spoken their word; and such its fate once more, as has been less observed, since Romanticists and Parnassians set the great poet of the *Pléiade* upon his rightful throne. For, despite Sainte-Beuve's judicious connection of his name with that of Marot, Ronsard has remained for readers—and in general for critics—of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not merely a great poet come at last to his own, but a great innovator also, one who broke with national tradition and set the feet of poetry in paths entirely new. As this was the view of himself proclaimed with vigor by Ronsard at the beginning of his career, it is not surprising that it should have obtained in the revival no less than in the eclipse of his reputation.

To rectify this erroneous impression has been in part the task of M. Laumonier in his *Ronsard, Poète Lyrique*. In the course of his exhaustive study, he insists again and again upon the national inspiration of much that Ronsard wrote, upon his instinctive hold on native tradition, upon the ill-restrained Gallic temperament which constantly burst the bonds of self-imposed conventions and brought him back, through the classics, the neo-Latinists, the Italians, to the school of Marot no less than to the mediæval French tradition, broken in some sort by that of the previous century.

But if this conclusion emerges vividly enough for the reader of M. Laumonier's work, it results in fact only incidentally from the task set himself by the author. That task, strictly confined to the treatment of Ronsard's lyric utterance, is to mark the inception and evolution of that utterance, to trace it to its sources and to define its originality. In the course of this undertaking, M. Laumonier traces the growth and variation of Ronsard's taste from the light Gallicism of his early *Ode à Jacques Peletier, Des beautés qu'il voudroit en s'Amie*, to the stringent severities of the posthumous edition of the *Œuvres* of 1587. This survey follows the poet through his discipleship of Horace, his vain-glorious Pindaric flights, his recurring reversions toward the older French poetry, his epigrammatic imitations of Catullus, his draughts of inspiration from the Greek anthology and the neo-Latinists, his debt to Anacreon, his dalliance with, and his abandonment of, the Petrarchistic manner, to the gradual extinction of his lyric vein after the *Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* of 1556.

Every step in this account of Ronsard's lyric development, which constitutes Part I of the present volume, is marked by that scholarly thoroughness which readers of the author's contributions to the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* had a right to expect from M. Laumonier. The contents of each pub-

lished collection of the poet from the *Quatre premiers livres des Odes* of 1550 to the posthumous *Œuvres* of 1587 are in turn analysed, their variations of matter and arrangement from those of previous issues carefully noted, the dates of a great number of the additional poems by acute reasoning and painstaking observation properly established, and finally satisfying bibliographical details provided. A peculiarly felicitous example of this procedure is the treatment of the first collected edition of Ronsard's works put forth by himself in 1560 as a corrective to the versions of his poems issued by careless publishers. Here Ronsard's first attempt towards classification of *genres* is well brought out, as also the early indications of that severe taste which culminated in the exclusions of the 1587 volume.

Part II of M. Laumonier's work is concerned with the sources and originality of Ronsard, and here exact and compendious erudition plays an even larger part than elsewhere in the volume. While, in treating of Ronsard's debts to the classics, he makes good use of his predecessors' contributions to the subject, all that M. Laumonier adduces has the fresh air quality of personal research and verification. But he does not content himself with tracing Ronsard to his classics; he notes, and offers proof of the poet's obligations to the neo-Latin poets of the generation before him or of his own day, calling attention to his borrowings from Pontanus, Jean Second, Navagero, Bembo, the Pseudo-Gallus, Marullus and Macrin. Nor does he neglect to mark Ronsard's use of current ideas, the property of no single poet, but common coin used by countless singers. In a singularly happy passage, for example, he traces the history of that ancient commonplace among the poets, which, under Ronsard's touch, took shape as the immortal *odelette*, "*Mignonne, Allon voir si la rose.*" Here, as throughout M. Laumonier's pages on the sources of Ronsard, the reader must needs be struck by the freedom from parade with which the results of painstaking investigation are set forth and new discoveries introduced. Nor does the author fall into a common error and lose sight of the poet's person; his contribution while pointing out his debt to others, his response to external stimuli. Again and again he dwells upon the individual quality of Ronsard's genius: the charm whose real source lay in his temperament and his experience, especially when he celebrated nature, love, or wine.

In Part III of his volume, concerned with the metric of ode and chanson, the critic sets himself to elucidate such questions as the true share of Ronsard in the invention of the ode, rhythmically considered; the poet's debt, in this regard, to his predecessors, to the ancients, to contemporary musicians; the nature of his modifications of the Marotic ode; the essentials of his reform, his methods, and his results. The treatment of this matter is greatly helped by a well devised list of lyric metres used by Ronsard's predecessors and contemporaries, and by a searching analysis, from a rhythmic point of view, of works by Cretin, Bouchet, Lemaire des Belges, and above all Marot, the Marot especially of the Psalms, whose metrical contributions are illustrated by an admirable table. To Marot M. Laumonier gives the credit of a real advance, and points out the effect of his example upon the work of Des Periers, Marguerite de Navarre and other lesser poets, while he gives to the *Vers lyriques* of Peletier, published in 1547, their due meed of honor as marking the definite break with the old lyric *genres*.

In matters rhythmic, liberty and regularity were, so M. Laumonier makes

evident, the watchwords of Ronsard. To secure the first, he freed French verse from the bonds of complicated measures; and he attained the second by the recurring strophe, which he established as a law. This was his real contribution. He did not invent the ode "mesuré à la Lyre," but he did insist that all odes should be so measured, *i. e.*, must be so arranged that music suited to the first strophe would serve also for those that followed.

Such, briefly, is the outline of M. Laumonier's treatment of his interesting subject. If the reader is sometimes tempted to find the exposition unduly long, he is recompensed by the acuteness of observation and the largeness of view which, united to carefulness in detail and unvarying modesty of statement, are the characteristic note of the critic. And yet such modesty does not prevent M. Laumonier from holding his own when differing with established authority. If he disagrees with Froger on Ronsard's arrangement of the *Œuvres* of 1560 or with Blanchmain and Marty-Laveaux on the paternity of the *Dithyrambs*, if he corrects Sainte-Beuve on the chronology of the anacreontics or condemns his view of Ronsard's final expurgations, no less than the views of Colletet, Blanchmain and Marty-Laveaux, he seldom fails to leave upon the reader the impression that he has the weight of evidence with him. Nor does he hesitate to try conclusions more than once with M. Henri Chamard, the strongest authority on the beginnings of the *Pléiade*.

The book is completed by a valuable documentary appendix, an excellent bibliography of Ronsard followed by one more general, and a full index of names and table of contents. The English speaking reader may regret the exclusive nationalism in literature (or perhaps the inadvertence) which from a bibliography including such general works as those of Decrue de Stoutz omits Pater's illuminating essays, C. H. Page's introduction to his *Songs and Sonnets of Pierre de Ronsard*, or Hélène Evers' edition of Colletet's *Notice sur la vie . . . de P. de Ronsard*—a work to which, however, M. Laumonier gives due place in his own edition of the same biography (Paris, 1910).

C. RUUTZ REES.

GREENWICH, CONN.

Benedetto Croce: *Saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento*, Bari, Laterza, 1911, pp. xxiv, 444.

This volume comprises a series of eight studies, of which the first seven appeared between 1890 and 1900, now reissued in enlarged and corrected form. The eighth is entitled: *Sensualismo e ingegniosità nella lirica del Seicento*, and is intended to serve as an introduction to Croce's anthology of *Lirici marinisti* (Bari, Laterza, 1910), one of the first volumes in the gigantic series of *I scrittori d'Italia*, now in process of publication. This essay, of the whole number, (pp. 377-433) is the most broadly theoretical in its scope; it is also the most essentially new. To it therefore we will confine our few observations.¹

With Croce's methods and views in this essay we are wholly in sympathy. His investigations proceed on the apparent assumption that before we explain the Seicento we must know what the characteristics of the Seicento really are. A vague notion of its general features of course has always existed: critics have been content to leave this conception in its hazy atmosphere, and untiring energy

¹ The others treat of Giambattista Basile, Cervantes in Italy, Spanish influence on Italian Sacred eloquence, the origin and history of Pulcinella; the Neapolitan type in the comedy, Salvator Rosa, Carlo Celano's description of Naples.

has then been spent in discussing its possible causes, origin and prototypes. The futility of this procedure was pointed out previously by Croce in his essay on the definitions of literary terms (Romanticism and Classicism), recently republished at Bari in his *Problemi di estetica* (Bari, 1910). There he devoted some incisive remarks to the use of the term Seicentismo itself.

The author sustains that the distinctive artistic impulse of the writers of the Marino type is sensualism, accompanied by a formalistic theory of the *concettoso* style. This sensualistic view of life is the product of causes now generally known: it is already well developed in Tasso and other poets of the Cinquecento. In the seventeenth century the striking trait is the predominance of this over other motives. The Seicento suffered the scruples of a religion superficially professed and yet gives vent to the only passions that really warm its heart." Sensualism does not have a very profound psychological history to reveal. Its literary monuments will largely consist therefore of the descriptions of lascivious scenes, portrayed in their every detail. Literature will accordingly be realistic even to extremes; and this realism will be applied not only to the description of woman, but to nature and life as a whole, the whole, too, interpreted from the same sensual viewpoint. These observations apply as well to the figurative and plastic arts; and Croce cites descriptions of episodes and scenes that have parallel treatments in painting and poetry.

Having exposed already his ideas on the theory of the *concetto* in his essay on *I trattatisti italiani del concettismo e Baldassar Grattian*, also republished in the *Problemi di estetica*, Croce here limits himself to an esthetic estimate of the rôle and success of the *concetto* in practice. He concludes that as a whole this theory of form was pernicious to art for the reason that the conditions where a *concetto* is a natural form of expression are rare. It has the defect that any mere theory of style has, when applied arbitrarily to ideas intrinsically foreign to it. It has however an essential relation to one phase of sensualism, gallantry, especially where gallantry expresses itself in jocose, grotesque or good-natured irony. Naturally, judging the question in the light of his own concept of esthetics, Croce considers each case as demanding individual criticism; and he cites examples where the *concetto* succeeds in his opinion, others where it is an unhappy exterior appendage to the thought.

The essay concludes with a comparison of modern *decadent* sensualism, particularly in D'Annunzio, with that of the Seicento. As usual Croce's erudition enables him to point out some interesting external similarities between works of the Seicento and those of D'Annunzio. In accordance with his expressed view on literary sources, plagiarism, and concrete comparisons between authors, Croce observes that such a line of thought serves only a pedagogical purpose, in helping the reader better to appreciate the peculiarities of each epoch.

One will doubtless decide that this treatment of the *concetto* has little novelty but it serves to complete the very illuminating discussion of the subject published again by Croce last year. Of this new statement of the importance of sensualism in the Marino school we heartily approve. In fact, in the *Ateneo Veneto* for July and August, 1910 (p. 6 of the extract), we expressed likewise the opinion that sensualistic realism was the most vital part of Seicentistic literature; and pointed out the similarity between the poetry and the painting of that time, of which the writers of the Seicento themselves were conscious. One has only to note in this connection, attempts like that of Cappellari in his poems on sculptural monuments, actually to reproduce the effects of the other arts. An ode of

Busenello on the death of Claudio Achillini (*Qual pompa funeral, qual tomba è questa*) consciously affects the style of Achillini's tomb; and one could find plenty of other instances in the various *raccolte* of the period. Busenello's reproduction in verse of Pietro Liberi's painting on the battle of the Dardanelles we studied at some length in the *Ateneo Veneto* for 1908. To be sure these are conscious imitations; the parallels cited by Croce better reflect the esthetic aspects of the question, from the fact that they were accidental and involuntary.

It is clear too that, with all their keen determination of issues, these notes of Croce are far from exhausting definitively even the theoretical phases of this problem. We believe that sensualism is not an ultimate trait, but that it is itself the reflection of a more fundamental state of mind, of that pessimism namely which from various causes came to hold the Seicento in a relentless grip. This idea we attempted to develop in a paper read at the Modern Language Association conference in December. It will appear in our studies on Busenello now in press. Croce believes that Platonic ideas had little efficacy in the Seicento. On the contrary, Platonic memories are widely diffused, though it never is more serious in the love lyric than religion is in the religious lyric. At any rate, the question needs special investigation, and would furnish rich material. The same applies to poems on the fear of death: this sentiment seems to us as deeply rooted as sensualism; and it was subjected to an identical treatment. Where the poets of love described in great detail scenes of courtship and enjoyment, they likewise contemplated in detail the Last Judgment, the ravages of disease, the decay in the tomb. The difference, if any, in artistic power of treatment, proceeds from the fact that sensualism was described from life, whereas death was in large part reconstructed from imaginary or dogmatic data. It is not a difference in sincerity or feeling. In discussing poetry on rural life, we must distinguish between the formalistic and the spontaneous. Some splendid monuments of the latter may be found in dialect writers. In our opinion too, we should include among the sincere interests of the Seicento, the pursuit of erudition, and the worship of fame, both of which are written so large over the face of its literature. The time has not come for definite pronouncement of the question of Seicento romanticism: sincere reflection of the individual in battle with the universe, and of his appreciation of that struggle, certainly exists. But in modern minds that attitude toward life is so associated with the moods of the nineteenth century that it is difficult to feel it under the strange dress of Seicento literature. In a sense, individualism, the fundamental impulse of romanticism, never enjoyed a more exclusive domination over men than in the seventeenth century in Italy. We do not believe either that the last word has been said on the *concetto*. In general the queerness of these conceits consists in the fact that associations are established between objects that to us have no apparent relation. To the Seicento mind such a relation may have existed. And we believe that such a view is the inevitable result of that teleological conception of the universe which Aristotelian physics and Church dogma imposed on the Catholic world; whereby the *concetto* became not merely ornamental but likewise rational.

Naturally we have no opportunity here to expand these reservations on Croce's statements in the essay under consideration; nor do they affect his major thesis. This thesis is a definite acquisition made for the criticism of an interesting but difficult period.

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NOTES AND NEWS

The Eastern session of the Modern Language Association met after Christmas at the College of the City of New York. Professor Lewis F. Mott, professor of English at this college, was chosen president for next year, and the following gentlemen were elected vice-presidents: Professor Lawrence Fossler, of the University of Nebraska; Professor William A. Nitze, of the University of Chicago; and Professor Carleton F. Brown, of Bryn Mawr. The next meeting will be a joint-meeting, and will be held somewhere in the central west.

Inquiry has reached the editors of this *Review* as to where the article by Professor Paul Shorey: *The Case of the Classics* (mentioned in this *Review*, vol. I, p. 459), can be found. It was published in the *School Review*, 1910, and issued separately by the University of Michigan, under the title: *University Bulletin*, New Series, vol. XI, No. 17: *The Value of Humanistic Studies: The Classics and the New Education, a Symposium*. A complete account of this Symposium will be published by the Macmillan Company in March, 1911 (about 400 pages). The generosity of a friend of the Classics makes it possible for members of the American Philological Association, the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, or the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club to secure this bound volume by payment, before the appearance of the volume, of \$.87 to Mr. Louis P. Jocelyn, Secretary of the Michigan Schoolmasters' Club, Ann Arbor, Michigan. In addition to the stirring article by Professor Shorey, we commend as of interest to teachers of Modern languages the following papers, which were read at the Symposium: *The Classics in European Education*, by Professor E. K. Rand, and *The Classics and the Elective System*, by Professor R. M. Wenley.

The Central Division of the Modern Language Association met as the guests of Washington University, at St. Louis. Professor Frank G. Hubbard, professor of English at the University of Wisconsin, was chosen chairman for the next two years.

The former students and friends of the late Professor A. Marshall Elliott have undertaken to raise a special fund for the benefit of the Romance library of the Johns Hopkins University. The amount already subscribed is more than \$7,500, and the committee hopes to secure at least \$10,000 before the subscription is closed. Professor Elliott's personal library has already been transferred to the university, in accordance with his bequest, and is now being catalogued. With it will be merged the volumes purchased yearly from the proceeds of the new fund.

By will of Mr. Solomon Lincoln, of Boston, \$10,000 has been left to Harvard for the use of the department of Romance languages.

Professor Clarence K. Moore, head of the department of Romance languages at Rochester University, is spending the year abroad. He will pass the winter and spring in Italy.

Charles Verdin, the venerable manufacturer of instruments of precision, has retired, and has been succeeded by M. Boulitte, a well-known constructor. He will continue Verdin's work in the manufacture of fonetic instruments. His adress is: 7, rue Linné, Paris.

Associate Professor F. C. de Sumichrast of Harvard will retire from activ service next summer. He began teaching at Harvard in 1887.

Modern Language Notes appears under its new Board of Editors. Professor C. Carroll Marden is the Managing Editor, and is assisted by Professors Edward C. Armstrong, James W. Bright and Hermann Collitz.

Professor G. L. Kittredge has been elected a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy.

It is stated that Mr. Charles F. Lummis, of Los Angeles, Cal., has been collecting Spanish and Indian folk songs for twenty years, and that he possesses in his collection fonografic records of over six-hundred such songs. About four-hundred of these are Spanish. The remainder represent thirty-two Indian dialects or languages. The Spanish songs have been transcribed by experts. A similar collection of popular songs in English has been gathered and publisht by Professor John A. Lomax, of the University of Texas. His volume, which offers material of very great permanent interest, is obtaining a wide sale. It was publisht by Sturgis, Walton & Co., New York, 1910, \$1.50 net, under the title: *Cow-Boy Ballads*. Those of our readers who are interested in Indian dialectology or dialectology in general may be pleasd to know that volume 40 of the *Bulletin* of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, will contain considerable material of exceptional value. Inquiries shoud be adrest to Mr. F. W. Hodge, Ethnologist in Charge, or to Charles D. Walcott, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

Professor Carlo L. Speranza, professor of Italian at Columbia, will retire at the close of this session, after a long career as teacher. His first service at Columbia began in 1883. He was later instructor in Romance languages in the University of the City of New York, returning to Columbia in 1890. Before coming to teach at Columbia, he had been instructor in Italian at Yale, from 1880-83.

It is stated that Professor W. Foerster, of Bonn, woud like to sell his Romance library to some American university. He has been gathering this library for forty years, and it is one of the richest privat Romance collections in the world. It numbers about 5,500 volumes, without counting the dissertations and reprints, which occupy 130 filing boxes.

The *Revue de la Renaissance* is publishing a translation of the articles on Aneau which have been appearing in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*. The first instalment of the translation, made by Mlle. E. Ballu, appeared in the Oct.-Dec. number of the above review (pp. 182-197), and bears the title *Barthélemy Aneau: Etude sur l'Humanisme*.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. II — APRIL-JUNE, 1911 — No. 2

ILLUSTRATIONS OF CHAUCER. DRAWN CHIEFLY FROM DESCHAMPS

THE following notes are not intended, in any instance, to suggest new sources from which Chaucer may have drawn.¹ If they add fresh vividness here and there to the background of contemporary manners and customs against which some of Chaucer's lines demand projection, they will have served their turn. That they throw interesting light upon certain salient differences between Deschamps's *art* and that of Chaucer is also true. But consideration of that I wish to reserve until another time.

I.

Our blissed lordes body they to-tere (C 474).
'By goddes precious herte, and by his nayles,
And by the blode of Crist, that is in Hayles,
Seven is my chaunce, and thyn is cink and treye' . . .
This fruyt cometh of the bicched bones two (C 651-53, 656).

A curious series of four *balades*²—the first by a certain Mahieu; the second by Arnaud de Corbie, Chancellor of France and friend of Deschamps; the third by Deschamps himself; and the fourth anonymous³—is of uncommon interest in connection with the Pardoner's words. The first *balade* may well be quoted entire:

¹The *Miroir de Mariage*, to be sure, from which most of the parallels are taken, was, as I have recently shown (*Modern Philology*, VIII, 165-186, 305-334), known to Chaucer and used by him. But in the case of the passages which follow I do not care to urge that Chaucer was influenced by the *Miroir*.

²*Œuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps* (*Société des anc. textes fr.*), I, 271-77, nos. 145-47, 149.

³See the identification of the first three in the accompanying *rondeau*, no. 148 (I, 275), and cf. I, 387-88.

Je me merveille d'un abus,
 Quant et pourquoy en commença :
 A jurer Dieu et ses vertus
 Ne les grans sermens qu'on orra,
 C'uns chetis pour neant vourra
 Jurer Dieu et sa progenie,
Par le sang de Fescamp l'abbaye,
 Par le serment du pillori,
Par le sang de Bruges aussi
 Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.

Mais c'est mal fait, ne jurez plus,
 Car, par cellui qui nous forma,
*Par le precieus corps Ihesus,*⁴
 Par le sang que Dieux estaura,
 Par le saint sang que Dieux lança,
 Fut sauvée humaine lignie,
 Dont amours et sa compaignie
 Aussy vray que nous sommes cy,
 Nous mist hors du lieu obscurci,
 Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.

Par qui fusmes nous secourus?
 Par la char Dieu qu'on achata,
 Par la lance dont fut ferus,
 Par le sang que Dieux degouta,
 Par la char dont Dieux s'esconca
 Ou corps de la vierge Marie,
 Par la char que Dieux ot percie,
 Par cellui qui en croix pandit,
 Par le sang que Dieux expandit,
 Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.⁵

The first and third stanzas of the second *balade*,⁶ will suffice :

Le suaire ou Dieux fut cousus
 Les cinq plaies dont Dieux saingna,
 Le sepulcre ou fut estendus,
 La couronne et croix qu'il porta

⁴ Cf. "By goddes *precious herte*" (C 651); and especially: "the cursede Jewes ne dismembred nat y-nough *the precieuse persone of Crist* (I, 590).

⁵ No. 145.

⁶ No. 146.

Et le saint sang que Dieu roya,
Jurent hui maint, mais c'est folie;
Par la passion que Dieux beneie
Nous est paradis restabli,
Par celui que Judas vendi,
Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie . . .

Encores ay je d'autres veus
Jurer le sang que Dieux spietta,
Et par le ventre Dieu le plus,
Par le sacre que Dieux sacra,
Par cil qui sa mort pardonna,
Par les sains qu'en aoure et prie,
*Par les cloux Dieu,*⁷ par l'escourgie,
Par les angoisses qu'il souffri,
Par le saint sang que Dieux radi,
Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.

Finally, the first stanza of the anonymous *balade* contains the familiar idea of the dismembering of Christ's body:

*Dampnez soit il et esperdus
Qui le corps Dieu despiecera,
Le desmembrer est deffendus
Pour Dieu qui se transfigura,
Par le Dieu qui tous nous sauva,
Par celui qui nous vivifia,
Par le Dieu ou chascun s'affie,
Par le Dieu qui fut circonci
Fusmes nous sauvé et gari
Par la mort dont Dieux vint a vie.*⁸

⁷ This is, of course, not conclusive as to whether by "nayles" Chaucer meant *claves* or *ungues*. See Skeat's note in *Oxford Chaucer*, V, 284. To the references there given the following may be added: *History of the Holy Rood-tree*, ed. Napier, E. E. T. S., p. 35; *Legends of the Holy Rood*, ed. Morris, E. E. T. S., pp. XIX, 14-15, 120, 184-85; *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem*, ed. Koschwitz, l. 175.

⁸ No. 149. Cf. also ll. 17, 21-23.

Par les œulx Dieu ne jurez mie . . .
De l'eglise doit estre exclus
Cilz qui en vain son nom prandra,
Sa cervelle, face et piez nus.

See also *balade* no. 807 (IV, 322): "Il faut jurer par l'âme de son père"; and compare: "Now, by my fader soule, that is deed" (A 781).

But a far more vivid, even lurid, commentary on the "fruyt [that] cometh of the bicched bones two" is found in two longer poems of Deschamps which give accounts, mercilessly realistic to the minutest detail, of games of dice. One of them⁹ describes the play following a supper given by the Duke of Berry to the Dukes of Bourgogne and Bourbon, the Sire de Coucy and other notables, at the Hôtel de Nesle in Paris. As Raynaud remarks, the account "provoque aujourd'hui pour nous plutôt l'impression de buveurs attablés dans un cabaret de bas étage que celle de grands seigneurs se livrant à un divertissement de bon ton dans un château quasi royal."¹⁰ It is too long to quote entire, and too interesting to quote in fragments.¹¹ That the Pardoner's linking of swearing with dicing was not unwarranted, however, a few of its lines will amply testify.¹²

The other poem¹³ contains an equally graphic account,¹⁴ recalling vividly certain tavern scenes of Adriaen Brouwer and of Teniers, of the game of *drinquet*. Its opening is prophetic of its course, so far as "cursed forswerings" are concerned. The players are to draw lots for the first throw, and the straws are made ready:

⁹ No. 1395, vol. VII, pp. 253-65.

¹⁰ XI, 264.

¹¹ It gives, for one thing, a striking concrete exemplification of the origin of the proverb "The game's not worth the candle." See especially ll. 194-205, etc.

¹² Car tantost celui qui perdi Jura la mort que Dieux souffri (ll. 33-34); L'un des joueurs gette amesas, Et vit que la table trembla; Le coup pert, puis regardé l'a, En regniant Dieu et sa mere (ll. 84-87); Et tantost .VI. poins rapporta, Dont saint Nicolas fu laidis Et tous les sains de Paradis; Et regnioyt la Magdelaine, Sainte Marie et sainte Helaine (ll. 100-104); Lors veissez Dieu despecer Du sang, et sa mort parjurer (ll. 155-56);—Je le tien; vous rencontrerez.—Se Dieux et la vierge Marie, Tous les sains et la letanie Huy maugrez en puissent avoir, Je pers tout (ll. 210-14); Uns autres qui juré avoit Que jamais Dieu ne maugriroit, A un coup perdit gros moncel, Dont saint Cristofle et son fardel Fut maugraé villainement Et quanqu'il portoit ensement. Or ne sçay s'il se parjura, Car autrement Dieu ne jura, Ne nomma par son propre non Fors le fardel du compaignon. A vous du serment me raporte: Chascun scet que Cristofle porte (ll. 287-98); Si ne l'en plut mie, Si parle a la vierge Marie; Chetive gloute l'appella, Elle et son filz moult diffama; Mains sains villena, maintes saintes (ll. 301-305).

¹³ No. 1359, vol. VII, pp. 155 ff.: "La Farce de Mestre Trubert."

¹⁴ Pp. 166-172.

. . . faictes les festus.
 —Ilz sont faiz, tirez.—C'est li plus
 Grans de ces .II. que j'ay tiré.
 Maistre Trubert, je vous diré:
 Tendre vous fault la main aux sains:
 Tendez!—Voulientiers, beau compains.
 —Jurez le tressaint sacrement,
 Vostre foy, vo baptisement,
 Tous les sains et toutes les saintes,
 Sanz penser a paroles faintes
 Ne a equivocacions . . .
 Par la Passion Jhesu Crist
 En renonçant a Droit escript,
 A tout Decret, aux .XII. Tables,
 Que fermes serés et estables
 Au gieu du drinquet que je nomme . . .
 Vous paieriez, se vous le perdez,
 Soit a la vachette ou aux dez,
 Au drinquet ou a autre gieu,
 Et ne vous partirez du gieu
 Tant que vous aiez un denier,
 Ne pour perdre ne pour gaingnier
 Jusques a .XX. frans sur le mains;¹⁵ etc.

But like the account of the game at the Hôtel de Nesle, the poem should be read in full.

Finally, we may add the opening lines of one of the *balades*:¹⁶

Uns homs jouoit aux dés en ma presence,
 Et un grant cop coucha soudainement
 A un autre qui a touché la chance:
 Lors renya Dieu et son firmament,
 Sa mere aussy, sains, saintes ensement,
 Et s'apela garson, filz de putain,
 Larron, truant: "Cilz a ja de sa main
 Gagné .X. frans; j'ay mon argent perdu;
 Maugré en ait saint Pierre et saint Germain!
 J'aray par temps tout joué et foutu."¹⁷

¹⁵ Ll. 341-51, 357-61, 365-71.

¹⁶ No. 783, vol. IV, pp. 286-87.

¹⁷ Compare also no. 943 (V, 159), ll. 11-20. And see, on the whole subject, *Du Jeu de Des*, in Jubinal, *Nouv. Rec.*, II, 229-34.

II.

Of double worsted was his semi-cope,
That rounded as a belle out of the presse (A. 262-63).

It is at least worth querying whether Chaucer's line may not perhaps have some relation to the French phrase *a fons de cuve*. This is twice used, once of a mantel, once of a skirt, in Deschamps's *Miroir de Mariage*. Both passages occur in the highly edifying chapter headed: "Des charges qui sont en mariage pour le mesnage soustenir avec les pompes et grans bobans des femmes."¹⁸ In the first the wife speaks:

Et si dira: "Encor je vueil
 Une fustaine, monseigneur,
 Et me fault un mantel greigneur
 Que je n'ay, *a droit fons de cuve*."¹⁹

Raynaud's gloss of the phrase—"Tout à fait *en forme de cuve renversée (de cloche)*"—at once recalls the Friar's semi-cope.

The second passage describes at some length a gown. It is immediately preceded by an account of the lady's shoes,²⁰ which, like those of the Wife of Bath, were not to blush unseen:

¹⁸ Chap. XV, vol. IX, p. 42.

¹⁹ Ll. 1252-55. The following lines, it may be noted in passing, indicate that human nature has not greatly changed since Deschamps's time. The wife goes on:

Et si vous di bien que ma huve
 Est vieille et de pouvre fasson:
 Je sçay tel femme de masson,
 Qui n'est pas a moy comparable,
 Qui meilleur l'a et plus coustable
 .Iiii. fois que la mienne n'est (ll. 1256-61).

²⁰ Chaussemente fault et solers,
 Pour les venues, pour les alers,
 De blanc, de noir et de vermeil,
 L'un de blanc, l'autre despareil,
 Qui soient fait comment qu'il prangne,
 Estroiz, escorchiez, *a poulaine*
Ronde, deliée et ague,
 Tant qu'om la voye par la rue;
 Aucune foiz soient a las,
 A bouclettes, puis hauls, puis bas,
 Selon l'esté ou les yvers
 Et la saison des temps divers (ll. 1407-18).

Fault chauces et cote hardie
 Courtelette, afin que l'en die :
 " Vez la biau piet et faiticet ! " ²¹

And the contours of the gown itself are circumstantially depicted :

Et afin qu'elle semble droicte,
 Lui fault faire sa robe estroicte
 Par les flans et soit bien estraincte,
 Afin qu'elle semble plus jointe : ²²
 La ne fault panne fors que toile,
 Mais au dessoubz *faut faire voile*,
 Depuis les reins jusques au piet,
 Du cul de robe qui leur chiet
 Contreval, *comme uns fons de cuve*
 Bien fourré *ou elle s'encuve* ;
 Et ainsi ara la meschine
 Gresle corps, gros cul et poitrine,
 Par l'ordonnance qu'elle y met,
 De l'ouvrier qui s'en entremet. ²³

Whether or not Chaucer had the French phrase in mind, ²⁴ the parallel is at least an interesting one. ²⁵

With "a poulaine Ronde" compare "the newe guise of Beawme" to which Gower refers (*Confessio Amantis*, VIII, 2470), and which Stow describes at length (*Annales*, London, 1631, p. 295). See Deschamps's further references to the fashion, in V, 274; VIII, 22; IX, 118.

²¹ Deschamps has of course in mind the instructions of La Vieille :

Lors gart que si le pié délivre,
 Que chascun qui passe la voie,
 La bele forme du pié voie.

(ed. Michel, II, 93, ll. 14493-95).

And the very frank lines which immediately follow in the *Miroir* (1422-34) are likewise reminiscent of the unblushing counsels of Jean de Meun (ll. 14496 ff.). Compare also Deschamps, VIII, 169.

²² "There nis no newe gyse, that it nas old !"

²³ Ll. 1435-48.

²⁴ He may have known the very instances of its use that I have quoted. But the phrase was not an uncommon one. See the examples in Godefroy and Sainte Palaye.

²⁵ See Flügel's notes on Chaucer's line in *Anglia*, XXIV, 470-71.

III.

She coude muche of wandring by the weye (A. 467).

The Wife of Bath's *penchant* for pilgrimages receives abundant illustration in the *Miroir de Mariage*. In the eleventh chapter a pair of husbands are comparing notes upon their wives:

Or en revient puis .II., puis troys,
Dont l'un dit: "Femme ay debonnaire!
Elle fait trestout le contraire
De ce que je vueil et commande."
L'autre dit: "*Quant des poys demande,*
On me fait feves ou poureaux;
Se harenz vueil, j'ay maquereaux;
Se je di: Gardez le mesnaige,
On me faint un pelerinaige:
Lors fault aler a Saint Denis!"²⁶

Another point of view is given by the mother-in-law in chapter XXXVI:

Fault que ta femme se confie
En quelque saint, en quelque sainte,
Afin qu'elle puist estre ensainte;
En divers lieux la fault vouer
Pour les sains requerre et rouver
Et y aler souvente foyz:
Pour ce refuser ne lui doys,
Pour croistre renom de l'ymaige,
Que ne voist en pelerinaige
Toutes les foiz qu'il lui plaira.²⁷

And finally the Wife of Bath's own admirably frank statement of her motives in making her "visitacious . . . to thise pilgrimages"—"I hadde the bettre leyser for to pleye, *And for to see, and eek for to be seye* Of lusty folk"²⁸—has its exact parallel in Deschamps's heading of Chapter XLIII: "Comment femmes pro-

²⁶ Ll. 800-809.

²⁷ Ll. 3500-3509. Compare the wife's own words later, ll. 3726-31.

²⁸ D. 551-53. See the whole passage.

curent aler aux pardons, non pas pour devocion qu'elles aient, *mais pour veoir et estre veues.*"²⁹

IV.

Go hoodles to the drye see (Book of the Duchesse, l. 1028).

In an earlier discussion of the passage in which this line occurs,³⁰ I suggested that it seemed scarcely probable "that 'hoodles' has any other suggestion than that of a certain romantic disregard for comfort or even defiance of hardship in carrying out the task enjoined."³¹ This interpretation is confirmed in a striking poem of Robert de Rains,³² the second stanza of which thus describes the wandering lover:

Si con Escos, / qui porte sa çavate,³³
De palestiaus / sa chape ramendee,
Deschaus, nus piés, / affublez d'une nate,
La cercherai / par estrange contree.
Soz couverture, / on ait ne clou ne late,
Ne girrai maiz, / tant que j'avrai trovee
Celi, por cui / j'ai si la color mate.

One is pretty safe in the inference that these vivid lines fairly represent the spirit in which the English lovers were to go "hoodles" on their ladies' quest.

One further illustration of the predilection mediaeval ladies had for sending their lovers to the ends of the earth to win their spurs

²⁹ Vol. IX, p. 136. Compare also chaps. XXXVII and XLII. The ultimate source of both Chaucer and Deschamps is, of course, Jean de Meun. See *Roman de la Rose*. ed. Michel, II, 92, ll. 14458 ff., and cf. *Modern Philology*, VIII, 321, n. 2.

³⁰ "The Dry Sea and the Carrenare," *Modern Philology*, III, 1-46.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 43, n. 2.

³² W. Mann, *Die Lieder des Dichters Robert de Rains, genannt La Chievre* (Halle a S., 1898), no. 5, pp. 23-24; also in *Zeitschr. f. rom. Philol.*, XXIII, 102; Tarbé, *Les Chansonniers de Champagne aux XII^e et XIII^e Siècles*, p. 66; *Hist. littér. de la France*, XXIII, 752. See also Raynaud, *Bibliographie Des Chansonniers*, no. 383.

³³ Ms. Paris, Bibl. nat., F. fr. 20050 reads:

Com uns escoz a son col sa cauette.

Cavate (or *chavate*, or *cavette*) is the *savate* of Godefroy, X, 634 (= "soulier usé, éculé").

may be added here.⁸⁴ In one of the poems of Jean de Condé,⁸⁵ the heroine addresses her lover as follows:

“Varlés,” fait elle, “je croi bien
 K'en vous a grant sens et grant bien;
 Mais de valoir tant n'i a mie
 Com pour faire telle arramie
 Com vous vollés yci emprendre.
 Nonpourquant si vous vœl aprendre
 Et conter sans faire demour:
 Se vous convoitiés tant m'amour
 Et vous y volés parvenir,
 Si preu vous couvient devenir,
 K'en nul liu ne serés faillans
 Là ù aler doie hons vaillans;
 Mais que vous en oyés parler,
 Tantost vous y couvient aler.
 Jà n'iert en si lointainne tierre,
 En Escoche u en Engletiere,
 U en Franche u en Alemaingne,
 Que pour nulle riens ne remaingne,
 U soit à tournoi u en guerre,
 Que n'i alés pour los à querre.”⁸⁶

Scotland, England, France and Germany are not, to be sure, a very formidable itinerary, but rather, one is inclined to think, a “knakke smal.” The lady quite coolly suggests, however, a few lines farther on, that seven years would be a very fit length of time for the aspiring youth to spend at it!

Faire le vous couvient .VII. ans;
 Quant accomplis sera cieus tans,
 M'amour arés sans contredit;
 Se ce faites, sans nul respit
 Et sans fauser ierc vostre amie,
 Ne autrement nel serai mie.”⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Compare the article in *Modern Philology* already referred to, p. 8, for the parallel from Machaut.

⁸⁵ “Li Dis dou Levrier” (*Dits et Contes de Baudouin de Condé et de son fils Jean de Condé*, ed. Scheler, II, 303 ff.).

⁸⁶ Ll. 441-460 (II, 317). Compare *Book of the Duchesse*, ll. 1015-33—especially ll. 1030-32.

⁸⁷ Ll. 465-470.

One gets these same wanderings of the knights under a characteristically unromantic but extremely human angle in Deschamps's *Miroir de Mariage*. The portrait of the knight which there appears is part of a passage³⁸ which constitutes one of the *pièces de résistance* of his argument against marriage. One will do well to recall the instructive folk-tale of *Die Kluge Else*, and her fears and scruples for her possible offspring. Precisely that—with all respect—is the argument of Deschamps in that part of his discussion with which we are here concerned. If one marries, he justly remarks, one may have sons. If the sons grow up, they must follow some profession or other. And he thereupon proceeds to pass in review the various professions—the church and civil and canon law among them³⁹—which menace these hypothetical sons and heirs. Especially disturbing is the calling of the knight, and one reason why Deschamps concludes that it is better to remain in single blessedness is the fact, among others, that if one's son should turn out to be a knight, there is no end to his wanderings, which are rehearsed in due course. And the upshot of the whole matter is that a son who is a knight is an expensive luxury, and that his hopes “to stonden in his lady grace” draw heavily on the paternal pocket book!

Or fault avoir pour voyagier
Grant argent, pour boire et mangier
Et pour acquerir renommée.⁴⁰

It is an edifying, if somewhat disillusioning, glimpse behind the scenes of mediaeval chivalry.

V.

That un-to logik hadde longe y-go. (A 286.)

The paragraph of the *Miroir de Mariage* which concerns itself with sons who turn out to be clerks⁴¹ holds up mediaeval education

³⁸ IX, 74-81 (ll. 2179-2393). Part of this description (ll. 2179-95) has already been cited by Flügel, *Anglia*, XXIV, 443. Compare (in addition) *Miroir*, ll. 2202-03: Soy maintenir et forjouster, *Tant qu'il ait le pris de la feste*; and A 67: And evermore he hadde a sovereyn prys.

³⁹ See below.

⁴⁰ Ll. 2369-71.

⁴¹ See the preceding note.

in a curiously modern light,⁴² besides incidentally throwing into bold relief the virtues of the Clerk of Oxenford. Deschamps is elaborating his thesis that the rearing of sons is a game scarcely worth the candle. And his grounds are by no means such patent ones as those in which we might expect the Franklin, for example, to concur.⁴³ Even sons in orders are a very doubtful blessing. For :

.VI. ans les fault estre a gramaire
*Et a logique .VI. ans traire;*⁴⁴
 Puis les fault aler aux decrez
 Ains que ilz soient magistrez,
 Estudier .VIII. ou .X. ans,
 Et s'ilz veulent estre bien grans
 Et docteur en theologie,
 Moult leur fault poursuivre clergie
 Jusqu'a my lieu de leur eage.⁴⁵

The lines which follow, moreover, are oddly like a sketch of a worldly minded brother of the Clerk of Oxenford :

S'ilz n'ont prebende ou advantage,
 Trop sont leurs despens sumptueux :
 Ilz leur fault robes d'escureux,
 Housses, *menteaulx fourrez de gris*⁴⁶
 Et de menu vair, je te dis,
 Et *de fin cendal* pour esté,⁴⁷
Livres qui n'ont pas pou cousté,
 Vivres, maison, gens et estude.⁴⁸

⁴² Dissatisfaction with the expenditure of time demanded for the acquisition of a professional training, it will be obvious, is no new thing.

⁴³ F 682-94.

⁴⁴ Deschamps gives elsewhere (*L'Art de Dictier*, VII, 266-7) an admirable definition of the logic of the *trivium*: Logique est après une science d'arguer choses faines et subtiles, coulourées de faulx argumens, pour discerner et mieulx congnoistre la verité des choses entre le faulx et le voir, et qui rent l'omme plus subtil en parole et plus habille entre les autres.

⁴⁵ Ll. 2081-89.

⁴⁶ Compare Chaucer's Monk :

I seigh his sleves purfiled at the hond
 With grys, and that the fyneste of a lond
 (A 193-94).

⁴⁷ Compare the Doctor's robe, "Lyned with taffata and with sendal
 (A 440).

⁴⁸ Ll. 2090-97.

In both descriptions the same fact appears: Chaucer's clerk has "geten him yet no benefyce"; Deschamps's hypothetical clerks "n'ont prebende ou advantage."⁴⁹ But this fact carries with it diametrically opposite results. For the clerk of Oxenford the lack of a benefice means a "thredbar courtepy"; for his counterpart in Deschamps it merely involves "despens sumptueux" for "robes riche."⁵⁰ And a more instructive contrast than that between the "twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed," and the cynical "Livres qui n'ont pas pou cousté," it would be hard to find.

VI.

The clerk of Orliens.

The friend of Aurelius, in the Frankeleyn's Tale,⁵¹ was not the only young "bacheler of lawe" at Orleans who spent his time at something else than the craft that he was "ther to lerne." Deschamps, whose own student days were spent at Orleans,⁵² gives a group of striking pendants to Chaucer's picture. The first is a *balade*⁵³ whose refrain—*Se j'eusse mon vit d'Orliens!*—recalls the Wife of Bath's "That I have had my world as in my tyme." Its reminiscences, however, find more interesting expression in another *balade*,⁵⁴ which purports to be a letter, engagingly naïve and true

* Compare the very interesting *balade*, no. 1038 (V, 316), in which Deschamps prays the Pope for a prebend for his son, Gillet Deschamps, on the ground that *he* has as yet no benefice:

.VI. ans a en philosophie
A Paris en la rue esté,
Cler engin a, bien versifie;
A l'Eglise l'a présenté
Le dit Eustace; *n'est renté*
Ne benefice n'acquis
Le dit Gillet, qui est ses filz.

⁵¹ See ll. 3624-25; *vous estes fourres Et vestus comme un drois prelas!* And compare A 259-61:

For there he was nat lyk a cloisterer,
With a thredbar cope, as is a povre scoler,
But he was lyk a maister or a pope.

⁵² F 1118-28.

⁵³ See *Oeuvres*, XI, 13.

⁵⁴ No. 1105 (VI, 10).

⁵⁵ No. 933 (VIII, 96-97).

to life,⁵⁵ from a student (in this case probably Deschamps's own son⁵⁶) at Orleans:

Lettres des escoliers d'Orliens :
 Treschiers peres, je n'ay denier,
 Ne sanz vous ne puis avoir riens ;
 Et si fait a l'estude chier,
 Ne je ne puis estudier
 En mon Code n'en ma Digeste :
 Caduque sont. Je doy de reste
 De ma prevosté dix escus,
 Et ne treuve homme qui me preste :
 Je vous mande argent et salus ! . . .

Vins sont chiers, hostelz, autres biens ;
 Je doy partout ; s'ay grant mestier
 D'estre mis hors de telz liens :
 Chiers peres, veuillez moy aidier.
 Je doubte l'excommunier,
 Cité suy ; cy n'a n'os n'areste :
 S'argent n'ay devant ceste feste
 De Pasques, du moustier exclus
 Seray. Ottroiez ma requeste.
 Je vous mande argent et salus.

L'envoy

Treschiers peres, pour m'alegier
 En la taverne, au boulengier,
 Aux docteurs, aux bediaux, conclus,
 Et pour mes colectes paier
 A la burresse et au barbier,
 Je vous mande argent et salus.

The other side of the shield, however, is shown in a third *balade*,⁵⁷ the envoy of which begins :

Princes, trop coustent escolier :
 Tousjours dient qu'ilz n'ont denier.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Compare, for instance, the letters of young William Paston, Jr., from Eton (*Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, Nos. 824-827).

⁵⁶ Compare no. 1038 (V, 316), and XI, 13.

⁵⁷ No. 980 (VIII, 187-88) : "Des escoliers d'Orliens."

⁵⁸ Cf. ll. 17-20 :

And finally, in the *Miroir de Mariage*, the typical life of a "bachelor of lawe" at Orleans lends its weight to the argument against incurring by marriage the risk of having sons at all:

Aultres qui sont praticiens,
Mettent leurs filz a Orliens,
Pour aler aprandre les drois;
Mais ce n'est pas deux ans ne trois:
Sept ans ou huit illec demeurent,
Et l'avoir leurs peres deveurent;
Ribaulx deviennent et putiers,
Les aulcuns larrons et murdriers;
Po estudient, bien se batent,
Pour leurs fillettes se combatent.
Telz y est droiz et sains alez,
Qui en revient tous affolez;
Telz y a fait six ans demeure,
Qui est tuez en petit d'eure.⁵⁹

... et tousjours sont querrens
En leurs lettres par piteux mos:
A pere, a mere et a parens
Mandent *salutem et nummos*.

⁵⁹ Ll. 2105-18. The lines which follow give a striking summary of the way in which the Man of Lawe must have reached the point of having "in termes . . . caas and domes alle, That from the tyme of king William were falle":

Quant il en son pais sera,
III. ou .IV. ans escoutera
En parlement ou es assises
Pour la pratique, pour les guises
Sçavoir, aussi l'experience
Qui est maitresse de science,
Avant qu'il ose un mot sonner;
Par les usaiges gouverner
Le couvient selon les pais,
Non pas selon les drois escrips (ll. 2123-32).

The account ends, like those of the Clerk and the Knight, with the reiteration of the thesis that the education of a son is after all an unprofitable investment:

Et je suppose qu'il soit saige,
Vieulx sera: il se marira,
Ne jamais bien ne te fera
Ne supportera ta vieillesse (ll. 2138-41).

VII.

*That I am trewe Tristam the secounde
To Rosemounde, l. 20.*

Compare Froissart's line (*Œuvres*, ed Scheler, II, 367):

Nom ai Amans, et en surnom Tristrans.

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CLASSICAL ECLOGUE AND MEDIÆVAL DEBATE

(Continued from page 31)

THE next poem on my list of Carolingian debates, the *Ecloga Theoduli*,⁴² belongs rather with the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* in its relation to the pastoral than with the elegy of Ermoldus Nigellus. It stands, indeed, still nearer to the eclogue and further from the true debate. Though of uncertain date, the poem is now generally agreed to have been written about the middle of the ninth century, in which case it is later than either the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* or the dispute between the rivers. There is, however, not the slightest ground for supposing that it was suggested or influenced by these works. It is rather an independent attempt to employ the eclogue amœbean for the purpose of conveying ideas adapted to contention dialogue but wholly unrelated to the pastoral as such. The material, this time, is purely didactic, drawn from the Prudentian conflict of virtues and vices and from the old debate between Christianity and Paganism. There can be no question of popular origins here.

The poem begins innocently enough with the conventional narrative introduction; but the reader soon perceives that the shepherd lad and maiden who meet with their flocks at the river are no mortal rustics. The one is Pseustis, a son of ancient Athens, clad in a spotted panther's skin, blowing a pipe whose sound comes forth through a thousand holes; the other, Alithia, a beautiful virgin, descended from King David. The two challenge each other in form, and old mother Fronesis, who happens by, is constituted judge. She bids them begin at once and in quatrains, Pseustis first, because he is a man. The youth opens the contest by describing the golden age of Saturn, who came without father but was himself the father of the Gods. Alithia opposes to this picture the garden of Eden, and the fall of Adam and Eve, whose sin is felt by all their offspring. Pseustis continues his heathen genesis with

⁴² *Teoduli eclogam recensuit et prologomenis instruxit Prof. Dr. Joannes Osternacher, Ripariae prope Lentiam, 1902.*

Jupiter and the coming of the silver age; Alithia matches him with the rejection of Adam from the pious seat. And so the dispute goes on through many lines. The parallels, if childish, are frequently exceedingly ingenious: as when the wounding of Venus, a Goddess, by Diomed, a mortal, is capped with Jacob's wrestle with an angel; the story of Hippolytus with that of Joseph; Jove's double night with Joshua's long day. Alithia in her replies not only matches the instances of Pseustis, but, wherever possible, suggests the moral superiority of her own. Thus Pseustis calls upon his thousand deities to defend him, Alithia upon the one true God; Pseustis propounds a foolish riddle about Proserpina, and Alithia answers with a profound one concerning the structure of the world. At length Pseustis begins to waver; finally he cries out to Fronesis to bid the maiden cease, for he will yield. The poem closes in the Virgilian manner with a description of the fall of day.

In spite of its length this poem is, as I have suggested, much nearer to the classical model than the *Conflictus*. The two speakers, unlike Ver and Hiems, purport to be shepherds, and the pastoral fiction is kept up throughout. They do not assail each other directly, but carry on their contest by the more strictly amœbean process of matching, even to the posing of each other with riddles, as in the Virgilian eclogue. None the less does the piece belong essentially to the debate class, in that it expresses an opposition of two abstract principles in a formal word battle between personifications which embody them. Like the *Conflictus* it furnishes strong evidence of the importance of the eclogue in the development of the debate form.

The general sources of the materials of the *Ecloga* have already been indicated. It is unnecessary to go into the subject here, further than to suggest the closeness of relationship between the conception of the *Ecloga* and that of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*,⁴³ in which the battle of virtues and vices is identified with the victory of Christianity over Paganism, of truth over error. The matching of biblical with pagan history finds a close analogy in such works as the pseudo-Augustinian *Altercation of Church and*

⁴³ See Osternacher, *op. cit.*; and Joseph Frey, *Über das mittelalterliche Gedicht Theoduli ecloga*, etc., 1904.

Synagogue,⁴⁴ where the Jewish ^{Temple, synagogue} ~~church~~ defends itself by citing passages or events from the Old Testament, which the Christian church promptly confutes with parallels from the New. A systematic comparison of Old and New Testament events, in verse but without the element of contest, is to be found in the first hymn of Sedulius,⁴⁵ imitated in the ninth century by Hrabanus Maurus.⁴⁶

The importance of these parallels for the present subject is to establish beyond a doubt the fact that the *Ecloga Theoduli*, so far as subject matter is concerned, belongs to a well defined line of controversial writings; and to put in a still clearer light the influence of the pastoral amœbean in determining its form. For in none of these sources, except, perhaps, the *Altercatio Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, which is in prose, is the debate idea more than suggested. In the other controversial dialogues the fictitious element which is so characteristic of the mediæval debate, is lacking; while the *Psychomachia* is a contest of arms and not of wit. Clearly the style of the contest, the formal challenge, the choosing of a judge, the alternation of arguments in hexameter quatrains, and the spirit of jest and fiction which pervades the whole,—all the characteristics, in fine, which this poem and the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis* have in common with the typical mediæval debate,—are due to the pastoral mould in which this alien material has been cast.

With the last poem of the group of ninth century debates, the *Rosae Liliique Certamen*⁴⁷ of Sedulius Scottus, the issue between popular and learned origins becomes crucial. The debate is, in some respects, the most important of the series, for the allegorical contest is not only freed from the pastoral setting, but, unlike the debate of the rivers in Ermoldus's elegy, it constitutes an independent poem. The piece seems to have been composed during its author's sojourn at Liège, between the years 840 and 868; it is

⁴⁴ *De Altercatione Ecclesiae et Synagogae*, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. XLII, pp. 1136-1140.

⁴⁵ *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. X, pp. 155 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ad Praeclarum; Poetae Latini*, vol. II, pp. 178 ff.

⁴⁷ *Poetae Latini*, vol. III, pp. 230-231; also in Dümmler's *Sedulii Carmina quadringenta*, etc., Halle, 1896, p. 35. For the date and authorship of the poem see Traube, *Poetae Latini*, vol. III, pp. 151-154; and S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus*, in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, München, 1906, cap. II.

therefore presumably later than the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, and about contemporary with the *Ecloga Theoduli*.

The *Certamen* consists of fifty hexameters, arranged for the most part in a kind of stanza; the introduction, the alternating speeches of the rose and the lily, and the description of the coming of Ver as peacemaker being of four lines each. The poet begins with a description of spring and the bare statement that the lilies and roses were contending. The rose first vaunts her rich crimson as contrasted with the lily's sickly white. The lily replies with a familiar pastoral motive, the boast that she is the beloved of the Gods; and the rose answers by putting forth the same claim for herself, in the manner and language of the pastoral amœbean:

"Sum soror Auroræ, divis cognata supernis;
Et me Phoebus amat, rutuli sum nuncia Phœbi.
Lucifer ante meum hilarescit currere vultum;
Ast mihi virginei decoris rubet alma venustas."

The lily goes on to twit the rose about her thorny crown; the rose replies that her thorns are not a reproach but a means of protection. The lily proclaims the glories of her golden hair, and the whiteness of her breasts, and declares herself the Blessed Lady among flowers. At this point Spring appears in the form of a youth and pauses on the flowery sward to rebuke the sisters for their quarreling. Each has her peculiar excellence and glory. The rose is the queen of flowers and the lily should submit to her rule. She is likewise the type of modesty and of the blood of the martyrs but the lily in her radiant garb is fair in the sight of Phoebus, and she is the type of virgin purity. Then the poet tells how Spring gave his children the kiss of peace, and how the beautiful maidens were reconciled.

The relationship of the poem thus outlined to the Virgilian eclogue cannot, I believe, be denied. Notwithstanding the absence of pastoral imagery, the dialogue appears upon examination to be identical in structure with the amœbean. Rose and lily, like Ver and Hiemis, Pseustis and Alithia, and the true shepherds of the Virgilian contests, exchange their arguments in short alternate speeches of equal length;⁴⁸ at the end a sort of judge intervenes and

⁴⁸ In Virgil, *Ec.* III the contesting shepherds have two lines each; in *Ec.* VII, four; in Calpurnius, *Ec.* II, four; in *Ec.* IV and VI, five.

reconciles the rivals by praising both.⁴⁹ The reasons advanced by rose and lily and their method of contending bear a close resemblance to those of the amœbean, a closer resemblance than can be claimed for the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*. The flowers do not syllogize; they match personal qualities: the rose vaunts her red, the lily her white. In one instance they adopt an actual pastoral motive, the favor of the Gods.⁵⁰ Finally, as in the case of the *Conflictus*, the technical term "certamen" is used of the debate. If, then, the amœbean character of Sedulius's poem may be regarded as established, the further question remains of whether its author derived a suggestion for this piece from any of the debate poems hitherto discussed. The direct influence of the *Bucolics* cannot be disputed. Sedulius knew Virgil best of all the ancient writers, and his familiarity with the eclogues is shown by many borrowings through his poetry; in the *Certamen* itself there are several verbal reminiscences.⁵¹ It was inevitable that Sedulius in writing the debate should have had the Virgilian amœbean prominently in his mind and been strongly influenced by it. On the other hand there are some striking resemblances between this poem and the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, which are hardly to be accounted for by their common pastoral relations. The allusion to spring with which both poems open is not to be found in the narrative introductions of any of the eclogues of Virgil or Calpurnius. The orthodox season for shepherd pipings is not spring but summer. More significant is the appearance of Ver (masculine, both here and in the *Conflictus*)⁵² as one of the characters in the little drama. There is some suggestion of verbal resemblance between the de-

⁴⁹ Cf. especially Calpurnius, *Ec.* II, vv. 99 f.

"Este pares, et ob hoc concordēs vivete, nam vos
Et decor et cantus et amor sociavit et aetas."

⁵⁰ Cf. Virgil, *Ec.* III, vv. 60 ff.

⁵¹ See the references given in the *Monumenta, Poetae Latini*, vol. III, pp. 230 ff.

⁵² The regular gender of the word in mediæval as in classical Latin was neuter; as a personification Ver was feminine in ancient poetry. Uhland remarks as an evidence of the Germanic origin of the *Conflictus* that both winter and spring have their Teutonic genders, but this is not entirely correct. Hiems is at first feminine, as generally in Latin; the change to the masculine comes at verse 39. (Cf. vv. 7, 22, 39, 45.)

scriptions of the youth Spring, in the two poems.⁵³ And finally the claim of the rose to be the sister of Aurora and the ruddy messenger of Phoebus looks much like a reminiscence of the *Conflictus*, where the cuckoo is hailed as the companion of Phoebus and his favorite in the dawn.⁵⁴ The cuckoo is indeed the messenger of Phoebus, but in what sense can the rose be so called? Both poems at this point adopt the pastoral motive, "Et me Phoebus amat," but the phrasing in the *Certamen* is moulded or remoulded directly after Virgil.

But whether the *Certamen* owes its amœbean form directly to the Virgilian eclogue or indirectly through the *Conflictus*, the significance of the poem, as an illustration of the persistence of the eclogue framework after the pastoral imagery has been dropped, remains. The abandonment of the conventional setting meant the establishment of a new literary form. The author of the *Certamen* has accepted what was vital in the pastoral contest, leaving behind what was merely an encumbrance. For the pastoral as such had little title to existence in the Middle Ages; it virtually died out with the humanistic impulse of the Carolingian epoch. But the debate, as a combination of allegory and dialectic, was perfectly in accord with mediæval tendencies and tastes; and the form became enormously popular.

The mention of the springtime opening of the *Certamen* and of the appearance of Ver in masculine garb, brings us back once more to the question of popular origins. Professor Allen, in his recent article on the mediæval mime,⁵⁵ unhesitatingly classes the *Certamen* and the *Conflictus* together. "Both of these, I imagine, are reglossings of vernacular *streitgedichte*, the former [i. e., the *Rosae Liliique Certamen*] allegorical in its symbolism, the latter [i. e., the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*] pastoral (chorus of shepherds). They vacillate between a more correct diction modeled on learned sources like Virgil, the *disticha Catonis* etc., and a rougher

⁵³ "Tunc Ver florigera iuvenis pausabat in herba. . . .

Floripotens caput sertis renitebat honoris." *Certamen*, 29.

"Ver quoque florigero succinctus stemmate." *Conflictus*, 6.

⁵⁴ "Phoebo comes almus in aevum" . . .

"Phoebus amat cuculum, crescenti luce serena."

Cf. the lines quoted above, p. 132.

⁵⁵ *Modern Philology*, vol. VIII, no. 1.

style which is apparently reminiscent of their popular source." If this is true,—if there existed in the ninth century not only a popular flyting between Winter and Summer, but also one between the lily and the rose, and if Sedulius, the Irish monk, knew this *streitgedicht* and turned it with learned modifications into Latin, the probability of a general derivation of the Latin debates from vernacular originals would be greatly strengthened, and the rôle of the pastoral in the development of the form would become of comparatively small importance. But whatever may be the truth in the case of the *Conflictus*, there is very little reason for such a conclusion regarding the *Certamen*. There is, so far as I know, no trace of a folk drama, wide spread and deeply rooted in popular tradition, in which representative flowers engage in a contest. Nor does this debate, like the contest of the seasons, anywhere occur in popular form. The German debate between the beech-tree and the box, and the English holly and ivy poems, appear to be derivatives from the winter and summer disputes.⁶⁶ Both are far removed from the Latin poem in spirit and subject matter, and the latter has never, I think, been associated with them.

In the *Certamen* itself I can see nothing which points toward a direct connection with popular materials,—nothing which is not easily to be explained by reference to earlier Latin literature, including the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*. The idea of a contention between lily and rose might easily have occurred to anyone. The flowers are the most obvious of rivals. They have been constantly associated and contrasted in literature, and, what is most important in connection with the debate, they have universally been assigned symbolic values. In Sedulius Scottus's own poems, for example, the lily as the emblem of peace is opposed to the rose as that of war.⁶⁷ The *Certamen* employs the more common conception of the lily as the symbol of virginity or faith, the rose of martyrdom. It is suggested in the argument (verse 16) and made explicit by Ver in his final expression of the merits of the twp. The idea recurs in Christian literature again and again, and must be re-

⁶⁶ *Buchsbaum und Felbinger*, Uhland, *Volkslieder*, Nr. 9; *Holly and Ivy*, Ritson, *Ancient Songs*, 3d ed., pp. 113 ff. Cf. also Thomas Wright, *Songs and Carols*, Percy Society, vol. XXIII, p. 44, 84 ff. The relation of these pieces to the drama of the seasons is discussed by Uhland, *Schriften*, vol. III, pp. 26 ff.

⁶⁷ *Poetae Latini*, vol. III, p. 196, v. 33.

garded as an almost universal piece of Christian symbolism. Attention has been called by Professor Rand to a rose and lily passage in a well known and beautiful poem by Walafrid Strabo, the *De Cultura Hortorum*,⁵⁸ which contains the symbolic comparison and may have given Sedulius the suggestion for his debate. At the conclusion of the poem, after discussing the other plants and flowers in their turn, the author gives to the rose the highest praise of all, and says that she deserves her title of flower of flowers. He mentions her color, her medicinal properties; and then goes on to compare her with the lily, in terms which strongly suggest the idea of a contest in beauty.

"Huic formosa suos opponunt lilia flores. . . .
Haec duo namque probabilium genera inclyta florum
Ecclesiae summas signant per saecula palmas.
Sanguine martyrii carpit quae dona rosarum,
Liliaque in fidei gestat candore nitentis."⁵⁹

The remaining lines of the chapter are an address to the Virgin, in which the rose and lily symbolism is continued. She is bidden to pluck both, the rose in war and the lily in peace; for the "flower of the root of Jesse," who consecrated lilies by his words and roses by his death, left both peace and war for his followers on earth. In this passage or in some other like it Sedulius may well have found the germ of his debate.⁶⁰ With such material at hand it is superfluous to assume the existence of a folk debate between rose and lily or any other flowers, in order to account for the subject

⁵⁸ *Poetae Latini*, vol. II, p. 335 ff.

⁵⁹ The omitted lines compare the lily with virginity. With the last lines quoted cf. the conclusion of the *Certamen*:

"Tu rosa, martyribus rutilam das stemmate Palmam,
Lilia, virgineas turbas decorate stolas."

⁶⁰ It is not certain which of the two poems is the earlier. Strabo's poem was probably written between 841 and 849. See Dümmler's recension of Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 1904, I, pp. 227 ff. But the *De Cultura Hortorum* was an extensive and popular poem, while the *Certamen* was slight and little known; and besides, the material holds its place almost inevitably in the former, the symbolism of the rose naturally suggesting that of the lily, its regular accompaniment. In the *Certamen* the religious significance of the flowers, although perhaps the germ of the dispute, occupies but a few lines.

matter of the *Certamen*.⁶¹ The springtime associations, natural enough in themselves, considering the subject, may also be accounted for by the influence of the *Conflictus*. The form of the poem,—its length, its meter, and its dialogue method, were determined by the eclogue.

In the dreary period of Latin literature which follows the Carolingian epoch, there are so far as I know no clear examples of the *conflictus*. From the middle of the eleventh century occasional poems of the debate type are to be found; and in the latter half of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth, there comes a flood of Latin debates of every description, the majority of which are written in the so-called goliardic stanza. From this time the stream of debate writing flows on without interruption. The Latin poems, circulating as they did in every country, gave rise to a body of similar poetry in the vernacular; the latter, existing side by side with dialogue forms of different origin and undergoing various influences, national, popular, and courtly, was handed down in full vigor to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and has survived in popular and semi-popular poetry to the present day.

The sudden popularity of the *conflictus* in twelfth century literature was due, I believe, to a variety of causes. It reflects, first of all, the rapid development of dialectic education in the multiplying schools of the period. Many of the *conflicti* are in the vein of satire; with the important exception of the versions of body and soul dispute, most of them have the character of a *jeu d'esprit*. They represent the reaction from, often the parody of, the sober pursuits of the school room, and are the work of monks and pedagogues on a crabbed literary holiday or of wild goliardi, the

⁶¹ Another possible source of the debate idea may be found in Latin *aenigmata*, which in rhetorical hands tend to lose their riddle-like character and to become mere descriptions in the first person. In the well-known collection of Symphosius the *aenigmata* of the rose and of the violet come together and the one is in a sense an answer to the other.

Rosa: Purpura sum terrae, pulchro perfuso robore
Saeptaque, ne violer, telis defendor acutis.
O felix, longo si possim vivere fato.

Viola: Magna quidem non sum, sed inest mihi maxima virtus.
Spiritus est magnus, quamvis e corpore parvo.
Nec mihi germen habet noxam nec culpa ruborem.

Cf. the debate between rose and violet, discussed below.

primates and archpoets who amused and scandalized the more learned audiences of their time with their Latin rhymes. For the *conflictus* must have adapted itself very well to such entertainment. The dramatic element, the quick exchange of repartee, the contrast in characters, the humiliation of one disputant or the other, gave opportunity for a lively and vivid presentation which must have been effective. The vogue of the *conflicti* may also have been due, in part, to the rise of the courtly vernacular contests already referred to. For it is probable, as Hubatsch suggests,⁶² that one of the incentives to Latin song was a desire on the part of the "*vagi scholares*" to rival the lay minstrels. But the *jeu parti*, the form of courtly verse which on the whole most resembles the *conflictus*, seems not to have been known before the very end of the twelfth century and was not popular even in the early years of the thirteenth;⁶³ while the popularity of the learned debate certainly goes back into the twelfth century, just how early it is impossible to say.

Taking, then, this body of poems as the undoubted source of the later allegorical debate, can we see in them a continuation of the older academic tradition which seemed to have begun with the pastoral debates of the Carolingian period? Except for the freer style, the new infusion of life resulting from the use of rhythmic verse, and a trend toward parody and satire, reflecting their literary milieu, these debates differ in no essential from the poems discussed above. The introductory narrative, the tendency to limit each argument to a single stanza, the calling in of a judge to decide the combat,—are corresponding features of the earlier and later debate types, though, of course, there are many departures from the norm. The humorous and playful spirit manifested in the Carolingian debates is even more strongly marked in those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It would seem, on the whole, unlikely that this later set of poems, so similar in their scope, should have sprung up independently of the earlier group.

Of the four Carolingian debates two, the *Conflictus Veris et*

⁶² *Die lateinische Vagantenlieder des Mittelalters*, pp. 6-7.

⁶³ For the *tenso* and *joc partit* in Provence and Northern France see especially Jeanroy, *La tenson Provençale*, *Annales du Midi*, vol. II, pp. 281-304, a review of the works of Knobloch, Selbach and Zenker.

Hiemis and the *Ecloga Theoduli*, were widely popular, the latter enormously so. Fifteen manuscripts of the *Conflictus*, belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, are referred to by Dümmler.⁶⁴ The fact that the work went under the name of Ovid helped to give it general currency.⁶⁵ The numerous examples of the winter and summer dispute in later mediæval literature may, as Paris implies, owe their origin to the folk drama; but they may, on the other hand, be imitations of the *Conflictus*, with the pastoral setting omitted, and, in some cases, with the addition of folk elements. That the subject matter of the Latin school exercises mentioned by Hauréau,⁶⁶ was suggested by a literary rather than a popular original, is highly probable, and the scholastic character of the French debate⁶⁷ points to the same conclusion.

The influence of the *Ecloga Theoduli* can be more definitely traced. The poem, as is well known, was one of the popular school books of the Middle Ages.⁶⁸ It exists in scores of manuscripts and is mentioned again and again in mediæval library catalogues. An imitation, the *Synodicus*, written in the eleventh century by Warnerius of Basel, in which representatives of the Old and New Testaments take the place of Pseustis and Alithia as characters of the dispute, has been preserved;⁶⁹ and a similar piece is

⁶⁴ *Poetae Latini*, vol. I, p. 270, note.

⁶⁵ See Pascal, *Poesia Latina medievale*, Catania, 1907, pp. 123 ff.

⁶⁶ *Notices et Extraits*, vol. XXIX (2), p. 26.

⁶⁷ *de l'Yver et de l'Esté*, edited by Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil*, vol. II, pp. 40 ff; for a later version of the same see by Montaignon, *Anciennes poésies françaises*, vol. X, p. 41. In the earlier of these poems the argument that winter could not live but for the food piled up for him by Summer is made much of. (See Part I of this article, note 29):

"Vivre ne porrez matyn ne seyr
Seurement;
Si ne nasquit greyn de forment
Et autre fruitz communement
Que frez-vous?" etc.

The reference of the dispute to the "seigneurs et dames" looks like a reflection of the popular ceremony, but I can find nothing else in the piece which would indicate a source other than literary.

⁶⁸ The latest account of the popularity of this work in mediæval education is, George L. Hamilton's *Theodulus: A Mediæval Textbook, Modern Philology*, vol. VII, no. 2 and vol. VIII, no. 4. All the important references are there.

⁶⁹ Edited by Dr. Johannes Huemer, *Romanische Forschungen*, vol. III, pp. 315 ff. See Hamilton, *op. cit.*

described in Hugo of Trimberg's *Registrum Multorum Auctorum*.⁷⁰ This poem or still another imitation is elsewhere ascribed,⁷¹ together with the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*,⁷² to Hermannus Contractus. The latter poem is the first extant example of the debate after the ninth century, and the evident association of this conflictus with the poem "on the model of Theodulus" is of especial interest. If Hermannus did actually write both, we are naturally led to consider the *Ecloga* as his chief debate model; if he wrote only the *Ecloga*, it may be that the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* was ascribed to him because of some resemblance between them. This poem, like the *Pistelegus*, described by Hugo, is a "carmen distichum" (i. e. elegiac). Biblical authority forms one of the staples of the argument throughout; and the conclusion, in which Linum describes the rite of the sacrament and Ovis the vision of the Lamb of God, would correspond very well to the "finem mysticum" of Hugo's description. The fact that both the *Synodicus* and the *Pistelegus* dealt with the old controversy between the Christian and Jewish religions, opens up still another possible connection between the *Ecloga Theoduli* and the later debates; for disputes between Christian and Jew or Church and Synagogue are frequent themes of the vernacular conflicti.

The debate of Ermoldus Nigellus, occurring as it does episodically in a longer poem, is less likely to have been of influence; yet in the subject of the discussion, viz., the relative utility of the two rivers, and in the extended and syllogistic character of the argument, the poem is a nearer precedent to the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini* and other later debates, than any of the other ninth century poems. The relative commercial importance of the two contestants is an important topic in both poems, and the elaborate discussion of fabrics

⁷⁰ *Monatsberichte der kaiserlichen preussischen Akademie*, 1854, p. 156.

"Sequitur Pistelegus, velut altercando
Litem legis veteris et novae declarando,
In quo loco iudicis Pistis designatur,
Sicut in Theodolo Phronesis locatur.
Et per carmen distichum lis haec agitur,
Donec tandem mysticum finem sortiatur."

⁷¹ *Anonymus Mellicensis*, ed. Emil Ettlinger, cap. 91.

⁷² *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, vol. XI, pp. 215-238. For authorship, etc., see also Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 6th ed., vol. II, p. 44; and Dümmler in *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, vol. XIII, p. 434.

in the *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*, is paralleled by a passage in Ermoldus.⁷³ I do not insist upon these resemblances, but in considering the probability of a connection between the Carolingian conflicti and those of later times, it is well to remember that we do not know what links in the chain have disappeared. Though no conflicti of the tenth century have been preserved, it is almost inconceivable that none were written. Nor is it likely that the four Carolingian poems which I have discussed stood alone.

The contest of rose and lily, is, of all the Carolingian debates, most nearly identical in form and spirit with the typical non-didactic conflictus of later times; and there is one Latin debate of the twelfth or thirteenth century which it is difficult to believe wholly unconnected with Sedulius's poem. The dispute is between the rose and the violet,⁷⁴ and the poet himself, who has wandered, thought-weary, into a garden, is the judge. Each flower speaks but once. The violet claims supremacy because she is first born; her color is the color of Heaven; unlike her rival she injures none with cruel thorns; the rose is associated with lust and shame. The flower of flowers replies with overbearing insolence. How dare the humble violet compare herself with the proud rose; the one bows her head, the other holds hers erect; in color and odor the rose is unsurpassed; she has virtue, too, to cure disease; she is the queen of flowers. The arguments as well as the tone of the poem are substantially those of Sedulius's debate, though, of course, they could not be much different. The poet, like Ver in the earlier contest, instead of deciding between the rivals, rebukes them both for quarrelling. They are the best of flowers and each should call her companion sister and not slave. *

There are two vernacular debates between rose and violet, one in Italian by Bonvesin da Riva,⁷⁵ the other in French by Froissart,⁷⁶ both of which seem to be related to the Latin poem. Bonvesin da

⁷³ "Nam tego veste meos vario fucata colore

Quae tibimet nusquam, Wasace, nota foret." vv. 123-4; cf. *Conflictus Ovis et Lini*, vv. 169 ff.

⁷⁴ Reëdited by Tobler, in *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. XC, pp. 152-158.

⁷⁵ *Disputatio Rosae cum Viola*, *Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Hist.-Phil. Classe, 1851, pp. 3 ff.

⁷⁶ *Plaidoirie de la rose et de la violette*, *Poésies de Froissart*, ed. Scheler, Bruxelles, 1870, vol. II, pp. 233 ff.

Riva's debate is strongly didactic, almost every argument illustrating the contrast between the pride of the rose and the modest virtue of the violet, which was suggested in the Latin work. The dispute consists, not of a single speech on the part of each contestant, but of a rapid exchange of arguments; nevertheless the connection of the poem with the *Altercatio* is indubitable.⁷⁷ In Froissart's *Plaidoirie* the flowers are represented by advocates; imagination is the judge, but he refers the dispute to the *fleur de lys*, who dwells in the kingdom of France, surrounded by Hardihood, Youth, Sense, Largess, and Honor. The poem is far removed in plan from both the Latin work and the Italian, but it has a few detailed resemblances with each.⁷⁸ Particularly striking are the correspondences between the Italian and French poems in features not found in the *Altercatio*. In both vernacular pieces the rose and not the violet begins the dispute; in both the violet makes the curious boast that its root as well as its flower is good medicine;⁷⁹ and finally in both poems the contest is decided by the lily. It is unlikely that Froissart used Bonvesin's debate, and the most probable supposition is that the two go back to a common original in which the lily was judge. Whether this hypothetical violet-rose dispute was derived from the *Altercatio* or *vice versa*, it is impossible to say; the

"In both poems the violet claims precedence by right of primogeniture, and accuses the rose of association with lust; the rose vaunts her appearance at a ripper season; declares that the violet is downtrodden; boasts of her medicinal properties. The following passages show some verbal resemblances:

"Ancora dise la rosa, 'li cavalier e le done
Il soe belle man me portano, no miga tute persone.
Li nobel polzellete de mi fan soe corone,
E si circondo la testa dre nobelissime done."

"Me toti convincio choro clericorum
Me portat in manibus turba puerorum
Gestat in capitibus cetus iuniorum,
Fovet suis sinibus ordo seniorum.
Per me querit crescere decor reginarum,
Electarum fulgeo fronte feminarum," etc.

"Both Latin and French debates compare the rose to the sun and the violet to the sky. (*Altercatio*, v. 92, 48, *Plaidoirie*, vv. 110 ff.) Froissart says that the rose is surrounded by thorns that she may not be eaten by goats, like the violet. In the Latin poem the violet remarks incidentally that the rose is goat-gnawed.

"Que a capris roderis, increpata rosa."

"Bonvesin, vv. 134 ff.; Froissart, vv. 245 ff.

presence of the lily would seem to bring us a step nearer to Sedulius's poem. In any case this pretty group of flower debates is particularly instructive as affording perhaps the clearest illustration of the literary history of a typical *conflictus*,—developed out of learned and rhetorical elements under influences chiefly or entirely literary, handed down from the earliest Middle Ages to the rhythmic poets of the thirteenth century, passing from thence to the vernacular and taking on a courtly or didactic coloring according to the temperament of its redactor.

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NOTES ON RENOART

I

THE portion of *Aliscans* generally known as *Renoart* is considered by most critics as a complete poem which, after existing independently for a certain time, was incorporated into *Aliscans*.¹ Some speak of a lost *Renoart* cycle. The extant poems concerning *Renoart* do, in fact, form a cycle, consisting of the *Renoart* portion of *Aliscans*, *Loquifer*, *Moniage Renoart*, *Maillefer* and *Renier*. The question of the relationship of these five poems of the *Renoart* cycle to each other has been investigated by J. Runeberg² whose study shows that the last four are merely continuations of the *Renoart* of *Aliscans*, and derive all their material from it or from later sources. *Aliscans*, therefore, is the only poem of the cycle that can throw any light on the past history of the *Renoart* legend. The story of the battle of Larchamp, and with it the story of *Renoart*, exists in five main versions. These are, in chronological order, (1) *La Chançon de Willame*; (2) all the other extant French poems;³ (3) The M. H. G. version of Wolfram von Eschenbach; (4) the Italian version entitled *Storie Nerbonesi*; and (5) the French prose version. These five branches, ranging from the first half of the thirteenth century⁴ to the middle of the fifteenth, are remarkably unanimous in all the important parts of the story.

When Guillaume d'Orange, sole survivor of the battle in which his nephew Vivien has been killed and all his other nephews taken prisoner, arrives in Mont-Laon (Paris in *Nerbonesi*) to ask help

¹ Cf. R. Weeks, *Etudes sur Aliscans, Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 7.

² *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, Helsingfors, 1905.

³ For convenience of reference, this group of thirteen manuscripts will be referred to by the general name of *Aliscans*, while the battle field will be indicated by the name of Larchamp (or L'Archamp) which it bears in *Willame*. The edition of *Aliscans* used is that of Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch, Halle, 1903.

⁴ This is the date of the manuscript of the *Willame*; cf. P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXII; the date of the "branch," as given by Dr. Weeks and approved by other critics, is the last quarter of the eleventh century.

of King Louis, his attention is attracted by a young scullion, a giant in stature and strength, who is employed in the king's kitchen. This young giant, *Renoart*, accompanies Guillaume on his expedition, takes part in the battle of Larchamp, frees the imprisoned cousins, kills an astonishing number of "pagans," and wins the battle for Guillaume. We are given distinctly to understand that all the glory of the victory belongs to *Renoart*. Upon the return of the army to Orange, Guillaume forgets to invite *Renoart* to the banquet with which he celebrates the victory, and the hero, justly indignant, threatens to go over to the enemy. He is with difficulty appeased, is loaded with honors, and later is baptized. In the *Willame*, he receives the lands that had belonged to Vivien, and marries Ermentrud; in the other versions, he becomes king of Spain, and marries Aelis, the daughter (or the sister) of King Louis.⁵

The unanimity of all versions in the important parts of the story is one of the marked characteristics of the *Renoart*. Unlike the rest of the poem, it contains no striking contradictions, few or no allusions to events other than those it relates. The independent *Renoart* that is postulated must perforce have been either like or unlike the other we know; if unlike, we might reasonably expect some reference in the extant versions to the lost portion. When we imagine an independent Vivien epic, we can attach some meaning to the term, for there are various allusions in the extant poems to exploits of Vivien differing from those we know; and the allusions are divers enough and important enough to enable one to suppose a lost poem recounting these adventures. In *Renoart* there is nothing of the sort. All that is told or hinted at, with two exceptions, is before us in the extant poems. The episodes that vary

⁵ Tho the *Willehalm* is a fragment, it contains references that foretell the marriage of *Renoart* and Aelis. Cf. J. M. Nassau Noordeweer, *Bijdrage tot de Beoordeeling van den Willehalm*, Delft, 1901, pp. 71-76. Manuscript *M* of *Aliscans* has the following variant:

3873 La fille au roi vot a fame et a per.
 Li quens Guillames li voit fere espouser.
 Il la cuida bien a lui marier
 Mais Loöys ne le puet endurer
 Mais Hermençard li fist puis ennorer
 La belle nece Ermentrut a vis cler.

in the different redactions are either repetitions of parts of the central theme (*e. g.*, the battle scenes) or explanatory episodes introduced late (*e. g.*, the story of the poor man, *Aliscans*, 7375). The two exceptions mentioned above, the only portions that might come from unknown sources, are the account of Renoart's marriage and the account of his youth. In *Willame* the marriage is mentioned twice:

- 3162 Ço dist Willame: "Tu deis (ben) cheualer estre!
 Fel seie io, si io ne te doins terre
 & moiller gente qui ert de bons ancestres!"
 3498 Willame li donad set chastels en fez,
 & Ermentrud li dunent a moiller,
 (&) tote la tere dant Vivien le ber.

We are not told who this Ermentrud is. Dr. Weeks suggests that she may be Vivien's widow, and this seems the most natural assumption; but there is nothing in any known poem to indicate that Vivien had a wife. There may have been originally some explanation of this Ermentrud, but it is also conceivable that she was not originally considered to be of sufficient importance to need any explanation. The fact, if it is a fact, that Renoart in this version marries a woman not connected with Guillaume, can not by itself be taken as an argument for a whole poem differing from the present one.

A more serious question is that of the "Enfances Renoart." This name is given to a short passage, telling how Renoart came to the court of Louis, which differs somewhat in all the versions. In *Willame*, Renoart tells Guiborc that Desramé, starting on an expedition to Meliant, left him in charge of his tutor, Apolicant. The latter left the boy alone one morning, and Renoart promptly ran away, got into a boat and was carried out to sea by a mysterious wind that came up suddenly.⁶ The boat was crushed against the side of a merchant ship, and the child was fished out by the merchants, who sold him to king Louis. The king at first treats him kindly, but when he learns that the boy is the son of Desramé, he makes him serve in the kitchen. He has been doing this menial work for seven years when Guillaume discovers him.⁷

⁶ For the magic in *Renoart*, see J. Runeberg, *op. cit.*, p. 136, and cf. p. 85 ff.

⁷ *Willame*, 507-546.

The version of the other French poems is much more brief: Louis has bought Renoart from merchants, "desous Palerne"; the merchants told him that the child was the son of an "escler." Louis relegates him to the kitchen because he is afraid of his great strength.⁸

Willehalm is still more concise:

in brâhten koufliute über sê
die heten in gekoufet ê
in der Persen lande (191, 11-13)

The version of *Nerbonesi* is the longest and strangest of all.⁹ The author claims to have his story from "Folieri, medico d'Amerigo di Nerbona, nel terzo libro della sua opera, dove tratta de' Nerbonesi."¹⁰ Desramé was in camp at Tolosa, and had taken prisoner Ghibellino, brother of Guillaume; Guillaume had taken Borello, the oldest of Desramé's fourteen sons; and the prisoners had been exchanged. Upon the return of Desramé and Borello, the brothers being in a room together, Renoart comes in carrying a hawk. Borello tells him to take the bird out, and Renoart in a rage, kills it. Borello strikes him for this, and Renoart draws a knife and threatens to kill Borello. The boy, at the age of sixteen, is already of giant stature and strength; Renoart taunts Borello, saying that he dares strike his brother, but dard not strike Guillaume in battle, but allowd himself to be taken prisoner. Borello, in his turn,

* Manuscript *b* of *Aliscans* has

Rois L. ert a Saint Jaque alez.

6375 La m'acata c . mars d'argent pesez;

and *LeM* have

6893a Molt a lonc tens qu'a Cordre fui embles.

⁹ *Nerbonesi*, Book VII, chapters XV to XVIII, between two sections of *Foucon de Candie*, and separated by the latter story from the rest of the *Renoart*.

¹⁰ This passage, and also *Willame* 1260-1264 should be correlated with M. Bédier's theory of the monastic origin of the extant epics. The monks were not the only persons that had an interest in the conservation and invention of epic tales; it is highly probable that we have here a hint of an important source of epic material,—the family traditions of the great nobles. If later counts of Narbonne prizd the *chansons de geste* as real histories of their ancestors, why may not the earlier representatives of this and other houses have preservd with equal care, and furnisht willingly and gladly to the *jongleurs*, the oral traditions of still earlier times?

wants to kill his brother, and Renoart swears that if he can get vengeance in no other way, he will turn Christian. Thereupon Desramé has him lockt up. His brothers want him killd; Desramé asks advice of the sooth-sayers, who profecy that Renoart will kill his father and brothers. Desramé, nevertheless, will not have him put to death, but keeps him in prison. He has been there for twenty years when Desramé, with an immense host, starts out to attack Orange, and Renoart profits by his father's absence to escape, with the help of two of his guards. Just before his escape, Renoart has a dream or vision of Christ, who offers to set him free if he will promise to turn Christian and kill his father and brothers. Renoart makes the vow, escapes, goes to France to find Guillaume. When he finds that he can not enter Orange because his father has invested it, he goes on to Paris, and asks for service in the king's household. He is taken as scullion, but is soon promoted to the stables.

Besides these four versions, accounts of the youth of Renoart are found in the *Enfances Vivien*,¹¹ and in the prose version of *Aliscans*. The version of the former is as follows: King Louis has taken Luiserne and devastated the Sarracen country. Desramé, at Cordres, hears of it and goes with his army to meet Louis, leaving his youngest son, Renoart, in charge of his tutor, Picolet, with instructions that the boy is to be thrasht if he does not behave. Picolet immediately begins to teach his charge a complete "rogue's catechism," warning him never to believe in the God of the Christians, to abuse good men whenever he meets them, etc. Renoart protests, and Picolet strikes him, whereupon the boy gives his tutor a sound beating. Picolet pretends a reconciliation, but gives the boy a sleeping potion in his wine, and while he is unconscious sells him to some merchants, who in turn sell him to Louis.

The prose version offers still another account. Desramé is in Cordres, planning an expedition against the Christians, when news is brout to him of his daughter's conversion to Christianity and Guillaume's conquest of Orange. He departs immediately to avenge the insult. During his absence, Orable, longing for her brother Renoart, sends two converted Sarracens to Cordres to kidnap him. On the way back, their ship is attackt by Christian

¹¹ Edition Wahlhund, MS. 1448, laisses xcix to cvii.

pilgrims returning from the Orient. The Sarracens are killd, all except Renoart, who is sold, in Spain, to king Louis.¹²

Of all these variants, no two are entirely identical, except, in the main, *Willehalm* and *Aliscans*, which both tell very little. Those that contain most detail differ so widely among themselves that it is difficult to assume a common source. The version of *Nerbonesi* is so strange that it looks almost as tho it might furnish something "independent": it requires hardly a second glance to see that this something is just the ordinary folk-tale device of the prophecy that foretells disaster to the father at the hands of the son, unless the latter is killd, and the usual weakness whereby the destroyer is savd from death to accomplish the prophecy.

The version of *Willame* is also a very common folk-tale episode, in a much simpler dress than that of the *Nerbonesi*. Both these versions, if separated from their connection with Guillaume and the battle of Larchamp, woud have little meaning and no interest. If the simplest version has most chance of being the original, then *Willehalm* and *Aliscans* have preservd the oldest form; the stealing of children was so common during the Sarracen wars, that it requird no effort of the imagination to think of that explana-

¹²The following passages from *Moniage Renoart* have been very kindly communicated to me by Dr. Weeks, who made the copy from the facsimile in black and white of the cyclic manuscript of Boulogne, in the collection of the University of Illinois:

Desoz Palerne me vendirent Escler
A Loëys, qui Franche doit garder,
Et il me fist a Mont Loön mener.
En la cusine me fist on converser,
Tant fui laens c'uns quens me fist rover.
Che fu Guill., qui tant fist a loër. (fol. 169 r°.)

The Sarracens, thinking Renoart is dead, say of him:

Venons de Cordes, del regne al amirant,
Le bon Tibaut, le fort roi combatant,
Nies Renoart, que mors est voirement.
Grant perte avons et damage molt grant
Que li a fait Guillaumes en l'Archant,
Et Renoars li sos, a son perchant,
Fil Desrame qu'il ot de la gaiant. (fol. 162 v°.)

As the *Moniage*, to judge by the investigation of Runeberg cited above, is later than the *Aliscans* and derives a large part of its material from it, the testimony of the later poem is of little value, unless supported by other evidence.

tion. All the versions, without exception, imply the story of Guillaume and his two battles as their reason for being. They make the impression of being so many different attempts to explain how Renoart came to be at the court of Louis at the precise moment when he could make the acquaintance of Guillaume; which would in turn imply that the original *Renoart* left this point unexplained, as the *Willame* leaves unexplained the singular treatment of Renoart by Guillaume after the battle.¹³

If the "Enfances Renoart" can not be separated from the story of Guillaume without losing its meaning, still less can this be done with the *Renoart* itself. It might be possible to imagine a Renoart who is not the son of Desramé, but a Renoart who is not the hero of Aliscans (or Larchamp) is a contradiction in terms. Separated from the *Guillaume*, this story becomes the merest ghost of a folk-tale. A young prince, strayed or stolen from his home, is brought up in misery by those who know nothing of his identity; through his own efforts he rises out of this condition to wealth and honor, marries a princess and becomes king. An even shorter form is possible, by omitting the royal birth of the hero; then he is simply a scullion who ends by becoming king, and in this form the story is one of the many versions of the folk-tale of "Boots," who is laughed at and

¹³ This meeting at the court is the point of union of the *Renoart* with the older story. Renoart first appears immediately after the famous scene of the "sale pavée." This scene, with all that follows, is wanting in the older portion of *Willame*, which Dr. Weeks has called redaction A. Was this scene introduced as a means of joining the new part to the old, or was it already a part of the story of Larchamp before the addition of the *Renoart*? Dr. Weeks thinks the *Renoart* would sufficiently account for the "sale pavée," but prefers the theory of an intermediate stage, in which a messenger, not Guillaume himself, goes to court. (*Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 7.) Whether the messenger be Guillaume or another, the scene concerns Guillaume and his defeat, and has nothing to do with Renoart; its effectiveness lies in the fact that when Guillaume is defeated and without resource, when Orange is being defended by women, the king refuses help; and the quarrel that follows makes it one of the most dramatic episodes in the Old French literature. In no way does the episode concern Renoart, and it is only after the quarrel is ended and the army is beginning to gather that he has a chance to appear. The *Renoart* might account for the presence of Guillaume, that is, his substitution for the messenger, if that theory is correct, but it does not account for the "sale pavée." Guillaume, on the contrary, is connected with similar episodes in *Couronnement* and in *Charroi de Nîmes*. Cf. also R. Weeks, *The Primitive Prise d'Orange*, *Publications Modern Language Assn.*, Vol. XVI, No. 3.

scorned because he can do nothing but carry water and wood, and turn the spit, but who ends upon a throne. The many passages in which Renoart is described as preferring the kitchen to the hall, going even when fully armed to turn the spit for the cook, make the similarity with this folk-tale the more prominent. The *Renoart* part of *Willame*, in fact, starts out as if it meant to give precisely this version. Not until the army reaches Orange are we told that Renoart is not a common scullion, but the son of Desramé. It is unmistakable that the *Renoart* in its fundamental nature is a folk-tale, or rather a combination of two of them.¹⁴ All that gives life and individuality to the story is the fact that, being the son of Desramé, he is the ally of Guillaume, and the fact that his exploits surpass those of the greatest of all the epic heroes. There can never have been a Renoart apart from the story of Guillaume, simply because, with the *Guillaume* eliminated, there is nothing left of the *Renoart*: on the other hand, the *Guillaume* without the *Renoart* remains complete, and artistically rather improved than otherwise.

Are we to conclude then that the *Renoart* was part of the original "Chanson de Guillaume" and by the same author or compiler? Certainly not. The general tone of the story, the character of Renoart, even more than certain differences in language and style,¹⁵ make it difficult to assume that the *Renoart* and the rest of the story of the battle of Larchamp could be by the same author, or even of the same time or intended for the same audience. The *Guillaume* as we have it, with all its inconsistencies, has the same epic tone as the *Roland*; even in prose it can still be recognized as an epic. The *Renoart* in prose might take its place undetected among the "Contes Bleus." The *Renoart* is simply a continuation of the story of Larchamp. Dr. Weeks, in his masterly analysis of the latter poem, indicates the following stages of development:¹⁶

I. Part A of *Willame*.

The action takes place in Spain. Guillaume is at Barcelona with his wife, a recently converted Saracen princess. Vivien, besieged near Tortosa, sends for his uncle, who sets out from

¹⁴ Cf. Bédier, *Légendes Épiques*, I, p. 82, n. 2; and Runeberg, *Études sur la Geste Rainouart*, Introduction.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Weeks, *Modern Philology*, vol. III, p. 19.

¹⁶ *Études sur Aliscans, Romania*, XXXIV, p. 264 ff.

Barcelona, is completely defeated at l'Archamp, where his nephew has been killed in battle. Guillaume escapes alone, and carries home to his wife the body of a young nephew. Upon his arrival at Barcelona, his wife has already assembled a new army, with which he sets out again and this time is victorious.

II. Preserved in *Nerbonesi* and *Foucon*.

The action is partly in Spain and partly at Orange. The hero is at Orange when his nephew sends word that he is preparing to invade "Spain." Guillaume assembles an army and goes to Barcelona, leaving his wife at Orange. Vivien, besieged near Tortosa, sends a message at the last moment to his uncle, who sets out from Barcelona, and is defeated at l'Archamp, where his nephew has been defeated and killed. Guillaume flees alone to Orange, where his wife has already assembled a new army. He sets out from Orange, finds the enemy still at l'Archamp and defeats him.

III. The action is in Spain and at Orange. Guillaume is at Barcelona, we are not told why. The events that follow his departure from this city are as in II. This stage does not exist in any extant text.

IV. Preserved in redaction B of *Willame* and in the Boulogne manuscript of the *Chevalerie Vivien*.

The action takes place at l'Archamp and at Orange. The mention of Barcelona being no longer intelligible, it is omitted. That l'Archamp is in the neighborhood of this city has been forgotten; there remains a vague recollection that l'Archamp is in Spain. Guillaume, who is at Orange, is summoned by Vivien, besieged by the Sarracens at l'Archamp. He goes to the assistance of the latter, suffers a crushing defeat, and flees alone to Orange. Fearing a siege, he goes to the court to ask help. The rest is taken from the *Renoart*. The traditional victory won by the prowess of Guillaume is replaced by the victory due almost entirely to Renoart.

V. Preserved in the *Chevalerie Vivien* and *Aliscans*.

The action is at l'Archamp, called also Aliscans, and at Orange. Because of the short time required for the hero to reach the battle field, it is now that that l'Archamp is near Orange, and it is identified with the old cemetery of Arles. Vivien, surrounded by the

enemy at l'Archamp (or Aliscans) calls upon his uncle for help. The latter sets out from Orange, is defeated and returns to Orange, which the Sarracens immediately invest. He succeeds in passing thru their lines and goes to the king. The rest is from the *Renoart*, with additional episodes taken from other sources.

VI. Preservd in *Willehalm*.

The action is at l'Archamp or Aliscans and at Orange. The site of the battle is a cemetery evidently not far from Orange. Vivien, in this poem, leaves Orange with his uncle. The end of the poem is taken from the *Renoart*.

Judging by the *Renoart*, there must have been another stage between III and IV of this table, or perhaps III had such a form, very like the *Willame* of today, but without *Renoart*; in which Guillaume himself frees his imprisoned nephews, avenges the death of Vivien, and carries off the honors of the day. Later, some poet or jongleur in search of novelty, wishing to continue the story, takes some of the folk-tale elements that are as old as the race, and builds them into the epic in the way we have seen.¹⁷ At first, if we may judge by the *Willame*, without greatly disturbing the Guillaume portion, *Renoart's* exploits are simply added at the end of the others; the only important change is in the episode of freeing the cousins, and in the fact that the credit for the victory is taken from Guillaume and given to *Renoart*.¹⁸ Later, to knit the *Renoart*

¹⁷ The reason given by M. Bedier for considering the *Renoart* a part of the original poem, that "*La Chanson de Guillaume* est en même temps une *Chanson de Rainoart*" (I, 320), and that we have no right to go behind the evidence, is greatly weakened by his own remark in the course of the same argument, tho the author does not seem to realize the fact. If the cycle of Guillaume is a unit whose purpose is the glorification of Guillaume and his family, the recital of the fidelity of the hero to his ungrateful king, then the presence of *Renoart* is a disturbing element, which, far from contributing to the central theme, spoils the whole story and obscures its meaning by the final anticlimax in which Guillaume is pushed aside and reduced to the rôle of a mere foil for the son of his enemy, not to say for an upstart scullion.

¹⁸ Dr. Weeks, who considers the *Renoart* an independent poem, thinks the action of the original may have been supposed to take place during the lifetime of Charlemagne, citing in support of this view *Willame* 2801-2805:

"Ne vient il dunct?" "Nun, dame." "Co m'est laid!"

"Malade gist a sa chapele a Es."

Et dist Guiburc: "Cest vers auez vus fait."

more firmly into the older poem, exploits connected with the names of Vivien and Guillaume are transferd to Renoart.¹⁹ The new hero takes the popular fancy, people want to hear more of him, and the furnishers of tales, nothing loth, proceed to expand farther. As the *Aliscans* has already been expanded until it will hold no more, they build, of burlesque materials, a *Moniage Renoart* on the model of the *Moniage Guillaume*, connecting the name and fame of Renoart with the monestary of Brioude. With the aid of the fairy folk of the Breton legends they construct the exploits of his son and grand-son. The result of it all is a Renoart cycle, three parts Breton fairy-tale, one part "Universalvolkssage," the whole serving as a continuation of a great war-epic.

The *Renoart*, then, in the cycle of Guillaume, is a thing apart; originating as a continuation of *Aliscans* (i. e., of the *Guillaume*), having a later development of its own. Neither historic nor monastic in origin, it implies nothing behind it but the brain of the poet, the fund of popular tales, and the song of the battle of Larchamp. This last trait is not without its significance. The redaction of *Willame* is, according to Dr. Weeks and others, of the last quarter of the eleventh century; which means that the story of the battle of Larchamp, practically as we have it, was completely organized and furnished with a sequel before the time when, according to M. Bédier,²⁰ the jongleurs received from the monks of Aniane and Gellone the name and also the personage of Guillaume.

Whatever its date, the *Renoart* throws practically no light on

S'il ore gist, ia na releue mes!"

"Ne uoille Deu, qui tote rien ad fait!"

To interpret the lines thus it must be assumed that every word in the poem after line 2647 is no longer *Guillaume*, but *Renoart*. If the above theory that the *Renoart* was grafted upon a complete *Guillaume* is correct, then there must be some passages in the amended poem, even in the much condensed *Willame*, that were there before the addition of the *Renoart*, particularly the passages concerning the return of Guillaume to Orange, and the battle scenes. The lines cited are very obscure, but such meaning as can be found in them connects them with Guillaume and not with Renoart. They suggest the scene of the "sale pavée," which has more than one connection with Charlemagne. Renoart, on the contrary, is always connected with Louis and with Paris.

¹⁹ E. g., the deaths of Haucebie and of Desramé, and the episode of Baudus. Cf. R. Weeks, *Etudes sur Aliscans, Romania*, XXXVIII, p. 34.

²⁰ *Légendes Épiques*, I, pp. 404-405.

the problems of the *Chanson de Guillaume*, and very little on the larger problem of epic origins; it only shows one of the elements of which epics may be composed.

II

The various versions of the *Renoart*, extending chronologically over several centuries, offer an interesting, if not very important, illustration of the varying taste of successive epochs. In almost all versions, Renouart has certain traits that distinguish him from the other personages of the story, but in each epoch his character is slightly different.

All epic heroes are somewhat alike; fighting men, with little sentimentality about them; often cruel, and sometimes, in the older poems, illiterate; but always noblemen, with the simple but effective feudal code of honor as the foundation of their being. Renoart, in sharp contrast to this type, is "très peuple."²¹ He is not only stupid, but there is an element of coarseness in him that makes him different from all the other heroes. Seeing him first among the cooks and later among the knights, it is quite plain to which class he really belongs. In this contrast between his royal birth and the fortunes that await him and the vulgarity of his life and character before meeting Guillaume, lie the artistic possibilities of the story; but most of the *remanieurs* did not know how to take advantage of the opportunity.

The *remanieur* of the *Chançon de Willame* seems hardly to have noticed the contrast at all. In this version, Renoart is frankly "asotés" and brutal thruout the poem. He not only kills everyone who displeases him, but sleeps peacefully with the dead body of his victim for a pillow. He boasts, after the battle, that he has killed thirty of his relatives, and with equal indifference threatens to go over to the enemy and make war on Guillaume. His tastes are those of the villain; when Guiborc offers him a place in the hall among the knights, he prefers the kitchen; when she offers him arms and a horse, he refuses; and when she has finally persuaded him to accept a sword, "espee ceinte s'en vait les hastes torner."²²

²¹ Except in *Nerbonesi*, as will be seen later.

²² Compare *Enfances Vivien*, where Vivien betrays his noble birth by his passion for horses and arms and hunting dogs.

On the battle field, Renoart's tremendous strength commands a certain respect, but even here his vulgarity is always plain, and the incongruity of planting this clown on equal terms among the flower of French chivalry strikes the modern reader so forcibly that one wonders just why and how it appealed to its contemporaries. If it is true that literature reflects the character of its audience as well as of its authors, if it is true that the elegance and refinement of Chrestien de Troyes imply a corresponding elegance and refinement in his readers, that the *Iliad* implies an audience of free fighting men who believe in and fear the Olympian gods, who can appreciate the power of Helen and admire Ulysses, if literature as a mirror of life and customs means anything at all, then we are bound to believe that the *Roland*, the *Guillaume*, the *Raoul*, the *Renaut de Montauban*, were composed primarily not for the rabble in a village square, nor for a mixt crowd of men and women of all classes and conditions, bound on a religious errand, but for the iron-coated, iron-fisted, and too often iron-hearted warrior-barons, who could see in these poems a picture, idealized but essentially true, of their own lives and thots. This interpretation, if correct, accounts also for the *Renoart*. The audience that could enjoy this clumsy and vulgar hero can hardly have been the same audience that appreciated Guillaume and Vivien; and the gradual substitution of Renoart for these two is probably the sign of a new epoch, one in which the baron and his *mesnie* were no longer on the same footing, and in which the war literature of the earliest period, displaced little by little among the upper classes by the growing popularity of the Breton cycle, is inherited by the "common herd," and modified to suit its taste. The jongleur who sang of Guillaume, driven from the hall by the singers of Lancelot, appealed to the crowd in the marketplace for his daily bread. Of his subject, the lives of ancient heroes, the crowd probably understood mainly that these heroes were very great and very "different from us." They demanded a hero within the range of their understanding, one that embodied their own aspirations, and he was promptly forthcoming. M. Bédier has remarked, with his usual keenness, that very few of the cyclic manuscripts of *chansons de geste* that have come down to us seem to have been made for the libraries of the rich. Most of them were

made for the jongleur, anxious to preserve the material on which his daily bread depended, collecting, combining, condensing or amplifying, changing his story to suit the slowly but surely changing taste of his audience; and every change of mood of that audience has left its mark on the story. Of course the desire for novelty was counterbalanced, as it always is, by a contrary spirit of conservatism; also the effect of the audience on the poem would depend upon the talent of the jongleur who served as medium. The lazy or untalented man would work along the line of least resistance, and present the old material with as few changes as the audience could be made to accept; to this incapacity, together with the conservative spirit of the audience, we doubtless owe the preservation of much of the older tradition. On the other hand, the singer of talent or ambition would be fired by a spirit of emulation and would produce, according to the degree of his ability, such clever stories as *Foucon de Candie*, or such inane things as *Loquifer*. But both *Foucon* and *Loquifer* are apparently of later date than the *Renoart*, however much of the old tradition may be preserved in the former; at any rate, both imply audiences of very different taste from that of the *Renoart*. The latter, in the version of *Willame*, has the crudeness, the directness, the absence of perspective, that we find in the older folk-tales, as well as the same power of blocking in with a few bold strokes a striking picture of a single phase of human experience; and this trait distinguishes the *Renoart* from the poem to which it serves as continuation. The story of the battle of Larchamp, to its reciters and its hearers, was evidently history, and was written for those to whom this history was a matter of personal interest; the *Renoart* was written for those who were less interested in history than in the type that *Renoart* represents, which recurs with innumerable variants in the folk-lore of all nations—the type of the lowly and oppressed who rise to power.

The various *remanieurs* to whom we owe the group of manuscripts comprized under the name of *Aliscans* seem to have appreciated more or less the contrast between the character and the situation of *Renoart*, and to have made capital of it. Tho the manuscripts vary more or less in detail, a general characteristic of this group is the introduction of new, and the extension of old epi-

sodes, with the deliberate purpose of emphasizing the clownish and brutal side of Renoart's character, evidently in order to heighten the contrast between Renoart "asotés," the butt of everyone's jokes, and Renoart the hero of Aliscans, the king of Spain, the rival of Guillaume. There is visible a diminished appreciation of the epic quality of the poem, and a more "bourgeois" point of view. In some versions "li frans bourgeois" is introduced in person, and given a role of honor in connection with the famous scene of the *sale pavée*; while the episode of Orleans seems an assertion of the rights of the commons against the nobles. These traits strongly suggest the influence of the rising middle class, which has now appropriated the old poem, arrived thus at the third milestone of its literary development.

Cronologically, the version of *Willehalm* should be considered next; but in this case the chronological order does not correspond to the stage of development represented by the respective versions. The intervention of genius sets the *Willahalm* apart from the rest; therefore it will be considered last, as representing the most perfect literary form of the legend.

The version of the *Nerbonesi* is very interesting, tho it has not the same importance for the investigation of the Renoart legend as for that of other portions of the cycle. Apparently, Andrea got his material from a number of sources, very different in age and literary value: The *Renoart* portion is divided sharply into two parts by two quite contradictory presentations of the character of Renoart, which evidently come from different sources. The first is the account of the youth of Renoart, already cited. In this story Renoart is if possible more brutal, more "primitive" than even in the *Willame*. In perfect accord with the character of the hero is the naïve simplicity with which Jesus is represented as exacting from him a promise to kill his father and brothers. In odd contrast with this crudeness is the care with which every portion of the story is logically connected with what precedes and what follows, and every episode explained. This logical connection is of course due to cyclic arrangement. In the second part of the story, beginning with the entrance of Renoart into France, a wholly new tone prevails. Renoart, far from being a brute, is almost a dandy.

He enters the service of Louis voluntarily, and not by way of the slave market; tho he begins in the kitchen, as in the other versions, he does not stay there, but is soon promoted to the stables. He falls in love with the king's sister Elizia, the charming young widow of the "duca d'Oriense," and manages to attract her attention. She sends often for Renoart, and is much pleazd with his conversation. The tone of this intercourse reminds one strongly of the gallantry depicted in the provençal lyrics. Almost the only trait of his traditional carактер that Renoart still retains is his enormous appetite. Renoart remains thus a year, and often wonders why Guillaume does not come for help! It is in Elizia's presence that Guillaume first sees Renoart. When the marquis asks him to join the expedition to Larchamp, Renoart immediately asks for arms. While the army is assembling, a contest in military games gives Renoart a chance to show his strength, not, as in the other versions, by killing people, but by defeating all the other young men in the games. The celebrated *tinel*, which in *Aliscans* he obtains by pulling up a tree in the king's forest, and killing the forester who tries to interfere, is obtained in *Nerbonesi* in a much more civilizd way. Renoart politely begs Guillaume to allow him to show his strength by pulling up a large pine; when he has done so, it occurs to him that this woud make a good weapon, so he asks permission to keep it, as the sword is too light a weapon for him. We are far from the Renoart of *Willame*, going into battle with the *tinel* on which for seven years he had carried his water tubs. In *Nerbonesi*, he sets out fully armd, and takes the sword, with the instinct of a knight, forgetting the unusual weapon; in *Aliscans* he forgets it because he is drunk.

The above will suffice as a sample of the way in which the Italian version, while following in the main the traditional story, accomplishes, by the complete suppression of the brutal element,²⁸ by omitting most of the comic episodes, and by the introduction of new features, a transformation in the carактер of Renoart. He is an elegant young nobleman, equally removed from the "Renoart asotés" of the *Willame*, the comic villain of *Aliscans*, and the

²⁸ Except in the portion concerning the youth of Renoart, which, as explained above, is from another source.

pompous yet colorless center of magical tricks into which the *Loquifer* series transforms him. He is no longer "Renoart al Tinel."

In all these "civilized" versions, the effect is weakend in proportion to the degree of civilization; in *Aliscans* by making Renoart purposely comic, in *Nerbonesi* by making him incongruous and trite. The only one of the many handlers of the theme who made full use of the possibilities of the story was the author of *Willehalm*, and it is this that makes Wolfram's version unique.²⁴ In the *Nerbonesi*, Renoart is transformd into a gentleman by simply obliterating his traditional caracter; the method of Wolfram is much more subtle. He introduces his own opinions and interpretations, not by changing materially the story he is telling, but by adding comments and reflections, leaving the legend practically intact.²⁵ The author shows great skill in handling these commentaries. By means of them he introduces perspective into the crude drawing of his model. The hand of the "Hofdichter" is very evident, in the more urbane atmosfere that pervades the whole work; but this atmosfere has nothing in common with the simpering elegance of the *Renoart* of *Nerbonesi*. The most characteristic trait of Wolfram's version is that he emfasizes moral qualities, and changes completely the caracter of Renoart, from a bit of brutal comedy to a study of mental development; and he does this by simply giving his opinion of the situations which he retells with great faithfulness. He tells the story of Renoart's brutality as he finds it in the text before him, and then changes him, by a mere word of comment, from a clown to a striving, earnest, noble man. Renoart's drunkenness, for instance, which is simply omitted in *Nerbonesi*, is faithfully, tho with apparent reluctance, recorded by Wolfram, and then explaind on the

²⁴ On the sources of the *Willehalm*, see, besides the work of Nassau-Noordewier mentiond above, *The Sources of Wolfram's Willehalm*, by Susan Almira Bacon, Tübingen, 1910.

²⁵ Tho the *Willehalm* is not an exact translation, it is a faithful reproduction of its model. However numerous and startling the variants, they concern only details, and, except for the missing end, the main outline of the *Willehalm* is the same as that of *Aliscans*. As already mentiond, part of the end of the *Renoart*, i. e., the marriage of Renoart and Aelis, is distinctly foretold. Most of the variants of the *Willehalm*, tho not found united in any one version of *Aliscans*, are found somewhere, in one or another of the many redactions. Cf. note 1.

ground of his ignorance of the effect of strong drinks; (276) his rage against his own people is due to indignation because no attempt has ever been made to find the lost child. (292-293) A characteristic passage is Renoart's first appearance in the poem, when he enters the palace court-yard, ragged and sooty, carrying a tub of water, the laughing-stock of squires and pages. We have seen how this dramatic but rather undignified entrance is changed in *Nerbonesi*; Wolfram translates from his model the picture of the personal appearance of the lad, then adds certain remarks of his own on the character of his hero which immediately put Renoart on a very different plane:

man nam sîn niht ze rehte war,
 nâch sînre geschickt, nâch sîner art.
 etswâ man des wol innen wart,
 unt viêl daz golt in den phuol,
 daz es nie rost übermuol:
 der es schowen wollte dicke,
 ez erzeugt etswâ die blicke
 daz man sîn edelkeit bevant.
 swer noch den grânât jâchant
 wirfet in den swarzen ruoz,
 als im des dâ nach wirdet buoz,
 errzeiget aber sîn roete.
 verdacter tugent in noete
 pflac Rennewart der küchenvar. (188, 18-189, 1.)

The mere statement (271) that Renoart is like Parzival, an untaught, neglected youth striving toward a higher life, puts the story into an atmosphere entirely foreign to the French poems, without any essential change of the incidents of the narrative, and with little or no loss of epic power and directness. Wolfram's Renoart has been made brutal and coarse by his manner of life, but aspires to higher things, and is capable of them; all he needs is a chance, and he finds it in the battle of Larchamp. The regenerating force is not mere prowess, as in the French poems, but devotion to a cause. That this cause is a queer mixture of patriotism, religion and "minnedienst" is simply the result of the interpretation of a

French epic by a master of "hofdichtung." The important and characteristic trait is that the emphasis is shifted from external events to their spiritual effects. Renoart rises not only to worldly honor, but to real moral equality with Guillaume and "la grant geste."

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BARTHELEMY ANEAU: A STUDY IN HUMANISM

(Continued from Vol. I, page 410)

IX

AFTER 1545, Aneau became more absorbed in his literary work. He experienced great difficulty in maintaining the high standard he had set for the college on the annual budget allowed by the city. As the Consulate failed to provide for the needs of the institution, it was incumbent upon him to secure funds in some other manner. However much his teaching may have suffered because of his increased interest in literature, the college as a whole benefited greatly thereby. If the Echevins consented, from time to time, to make repairs on the college buildings, they invariably turned a deaf ear to all appeals for increase of salaries. So he felt it his duty to come to the rescue of the institution for which he had already made so many sacrifices.

We have noted elsewhere that during the preceding century, the Confrérie de la Trinité owned various buildings and gardens, which were, according to M. Charvet, "à peu près confinés par les voies actuelles, savoir: la rue Neuve, au sud; le Rhône au levant; le prolongement de la rue Mulet vers le Rhône, au nord; et le prolongement vers le sud de la ruelle Commarmot, au couchant."¹ When the city secured possession of this property, it made use of all the buildings, but not entirely for educational purposes. A short time after Cublize had moved into the college in 1533, the Consulate voted the sum of 300 livres for repairs on the buildings. These improvements were as follows: "Parfaire la grant salle frappant et aiant regard sur la rue Montribloz pour servir de boyre et manger aux escolliers; faire cinq petites chambres sur ladite salle quant à la muraille et massonnerie seulement; remonter les murailles de la

¹ Charvet, *Le Collège de la Trinité* in the *Mémoires de la Société litt. etc., de Lyon*, 1874, p. 230; *ROMANIC REVIEW*, I, p. 201.

cuisine et garde-manger joignant ladite salle; y faire deux chambres dessus pour la demourance du maistre principal et régens."²

Notwithstanding these additions to the main building, it was soon found that the growth of the institution was hampered for lack of space. Furthermore this building was antiquated and unfit for educational purposes.³ Frequent complaints were made by the principals and professors, but all to no avail. As long as the city remained in charge of the college, little or no thought was given to the construction of new buildings. The Consulate even neglected to supply the necessary furnishings. In fact, Aneau provided at his personal expense, "plusieurs réparacions nécessaires . . . aud. colliege, comme les comptoirs, chieres des classes, verrieres des chambres et plusieurs aultres utencilz nécessaires et très utiles aud. colliege."⁴ But the salary of the principal was not large enough to allow him to indulge so freely in liberalities. It is obvious, therefore, that he must have secured aid from some other source. Royalties from his publications helped him somewhat; while his clever and well-turned prefaces brought him, without doubt, comfortable sums from those to whom they were addressed. In addition, the Consulate took advantage of his talent on many public occasions—a service for which he was often well remunerated. If then, the city, already overburdened with taxes for the maintenance of the army of defense, was unable to come

² *Registres consulaires, série CC 894, fo. 77 vo.*; cf. *Revue de la Renaissance*, X, p. 152. In his complaint to the Consulate in 1544, Cublize states that this was "une grande et grosse perte" for him, as he was compelled to "louer des maisons pour louer lesd. maistres et enfans." Furthermore, he adds that he expended "après les ouvriers qui batissoient led. collège, pour les faire haster de travailler, la somme de troys vingt livres tournois, tant en pain, chair, vin et aultres viandes, que se montoit dix solz tourn. pour chacune semaine" (*ibid.*, p. 155). It is evident therefore that it required several years to complete these works.

³ That the city did not place a high value on it is apparent from the annual inventory of 1551, which states that: "la maison de la Ville tient . . . plus, le collège et granges de la Trinité, en rue Neufve, extimé le tout par an IIIxx l. tourn." *Actes cons. CC 44, fo. 118*. The city was obliged to pay Claude Gravier 40 livres a year for the use of his house during the administration of Cublize; and Gravier, being secretary of the city, had rented it to the Consulate at a very moderate price. Cf. *ibid. CC 894, fo. 77 vo.*

⁴ *Acte cons. du 31 déc. 1551, série BB 172, fo. 182*. As soon as the Jesuits secured possession of the college in 1567, things underwent a decided change: plans for enlargement were immediately outlined. Cf. Charvet, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

to his assistance, Aneau found in his literary work a means of providing for the most urgent needs of the college.

Yet this was not the only difficulty with which Aneau had to contend. His wide-spread popularity served to increase the hostility of his enemies. This fact became evident in 1544, when the former principal, Claude de Cublize requested the Consulate to return the college to his charge. In this curious document, Cublize promises that, if his request is granted, he will place in the college "des régens beaucopt plus sçavans sans compareson que ceulx qui y son, car il y tiendra meilleur ordre et pollice qu'il n'y a pour le présent," and he adds "enquerez-vous, et du tout vous en serez la vérité, mesmes par les pédagogues dud. colliege." But the supreme argument of the former principal is that he will celebrate three masses a week in the college, and that he will have "ung aultre prestre pour aider à estudier les petis enfans, lequel en célébrera quatre toutes les sebmains; et en ce faisant les escolliers auront messe ung chacun jour de la sebmaine, qu'il sera un gros bien et prouffict à eulx."⁵

Notwithstanding that the Echevins refused to eject Aneau, but merely sent Cublize "trente livres tourn. en faveur de sa viellesse et poureté, et pour demeurer quiète envers luy des réparations et services qu'il a faictz et en quoy la ville luy pouroit estre tenu"⁶—notwithstanding this fact, the statement of the former principal indicates a change of religious feeling that the city was gradually undergoing. Ever since the foundation of the college—and, I may add, throughout the administration of Cublize—the small children were taught by a lay *bachelier*, and not by a priest. By assuming this attitude, Cublize was hoping to secure the support of the devout Catholics. Furthermore, it also goes to show that the Collège de la Trinité was regarded with increased suspicion in certain quarters.

The violence of this secret hostility was shown in another manner. With the pretext that a stone was thrown from the college grounds into a building occupied by them, some mariners of the Rhône entered the court of the college on the 21st or 22d of July, 1546, and took their revenge by beating unmercifully the children

⁵ *Arch. com., ibid.* CC 963. Cf. *La Revue de la Renaissance* (1909), X, pp. 154-6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, and also CC 960.

who were there at play. It is interesting to note that this will be the same plea offered in extenuation of their act by those who forcibly entered the college in 1561—an infraction whose consequence was the murder of Aneau. The act of the mariners was so outrageous and inexcusable that Aneau determined to bring the offenders to justice. Accordingly we read in the Consular Acts that, on the 29th of July, 1546,

“Mre. Barthélemy Aigneau, principal du colleige de la Trinité, est venu remonstrer que plusieurs bateliers, reveyrans, et autres gens assez hayneux dudict colleige, puis sept ou huict jours entrarent au colleige, et, à l’apetit de ce qu’ils disoient qu’on avoit rué une pierre dudict colleige dedans la grange illecq près que souloit tenir et tient encoures Jehan Johannel, baptirent et blessarent certains escoliers et enfans qui estoient à l’esbat dans la court dudict colleige, de sorte qu’il y en a ung entres autres qui est fort blessé et a esté visité à ce jourd’huy par les maistres barbiers qui en ont faict leur rapport. A ceste cause requiert le présent consulat se vouloir joindre avecq eulx et que inhibicions soient faictes esdictz reveyrans et autres de ne injurier ne agredir ainsi ledict colleige comme ilz sont coutumiers, craignant qu’il n’y ayt, s’il dure, quelque scandalle. Sur quoy a esté ordonné à Monsieur de La Bessée, procureur de ladicte ville, se joindre au nom de ladicte communaulté en ladicte matière, et y faire son devoir et faire ce qui y sera de besoing.”⁷

The speedy action of the Echevins had without doubt the desired effect: at any rate the college suffered no further irritation from this quarter. The enemies of Aneau now realized that, unlike the conditions existing in most cities where there were institutions of learning, the civil and college authorities were on the closest terms; and that the former guarded most carefully against any infringement upon the liberties enjoyed by the latter.

But the numerous tokens of esteem that Aneau was receiving at this time from his friends and admirers more than made up for the annoyance that he was suffering. One of the most gratifying was an epigram in the *Fontaine d’Amour*, a volume of epistles and

⁷ *Acte consulaire du 29 juillet, 1546; Arch. com. BB 64, fo. 169.* Jean de la Bessée is the doctor of laws of Villefranche who, in 1530, was called by the Consulate to consult with Claude de Bellièvre and Jean de Vauzelles about the lawsuit brought against the city and the college by the dean and chapter of the Eglise Saint-Jean. Cf. *le Collège de la Trinité à Lyon avant 1540, Revue de la Renaissance*, X, 1909, pp. 137-8.

epigrams published in 1546 by Charles Fontaine, one of the professors in the Collège de la Trinité. This young poet had acquired renown a few years before through the brilliant epistle which he wrote in defense of Marot against Sagon—probably the most important literary effort evoked by this celebrated quarrel.

From the fact that Aneau is nowhere mentioned in the works of Maurice Scève, M. Baur, the most recent biographer of Scève, is inclined to believe that the two poets were open enemies. So he concludes that if the *Quintil Horatian* is a protest against Du Bellay, "il l'est aussi contre Maurice Scève et le groupe d'auteurs qui l'ont reconnu comme maître."⁸ As no evidence is adduced in support of this statement, we must not take it too seriously. The very fact that these two poets were placed in charge of the entrance of Henry II. into Lyons in 1548 is sufficient in itself to refute the assertion of the above biographer. But yet more important evidence is the aforementioned epigram of Fontaine, which is addressed to *ses deux amys Maurice Sceve et maistre Bartolemy Aneau*. If the two poets were not on good terms, Fontaine, who was a close friend of Aneau, would certainly not have coupled their names in this manner. He not only places the two Lyonnese on the same plane, but addresses them as if they were of one mind in regard to literary matters. Listen to the words of the poet:

Si vostre Esprit estoit en moy,
 Je ne faindrois de vous escrire:
 Car i'entends bien, et si le voy,
 Qu'en luy pouuez trop mieux eslire
 Ce que les sçauants voudroient lire.
 Mais ie vous escry seulement
 Pour donner vostre iugement
 Sur mes passetemps de ieunesse.
 Va doncq', liuret, douteusement
 Receuoir d'eulx sentence expresse.⁹

In fact, when we compare the work of Scève and Aneau, we

⁸ *Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise*, Paris, 1906, p. 113. See my review of this work in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiii, pp. 229-231.

⁹ *La / Fontaine / d'Amour, con- / tenant Elegies, Epi- / stes, et Epi- / grammes. // A Paris. / 1546 / De l'Imprimerie de Ieanne de Marnef. Ff. MVI vo. and MVII ro. Bibl. nat., Réserve Ye 1609.*

can easily understand why they did not come more frequently into contact with one another. Scève was distinctly a poet—one who was attempting to introduce a more profound lyrical note into this form of art. Aneau, on the contrary, was a scholar whose literary reputation, up to this time, rested mainly on his prose and Latin verse. His French poetry did not have any special quality that would distinguish it from that of the ordinary versifier. Until now, he was following rather closely the footsteps of his master Clément Marot. Furthermore, Scève was in comfortable circumstances, and cared little whether or not his work would appeal to the general public. Notwithstanding his immense vogue among the élite, the present rarity of the *Délie* shows that it was not a work that would tempt publishers. Aneau, however, was always more or less financially embarrassed, and had to rely on literature to a certain extent for an existence. In a city justly renowned for the number of its brilliant minds, there was little occasion for two men of such widely different tastes to come into close relation with one another.

X

The year 1548 is of great importance in the annals of Lyons because of the brilliant reception given to the new king of France. The citizens of the metropolis of the south greeted then for the first time Henry II. and the royal family. While most of the intelligent class were not deceived as to the mediocre talents of the successor of Francis I., yet the closing years of the latter's reign—years of great anxiety to all—made any change welcome. The Consulate desired therefore to make this entrance eclipse in splendor anything of a similar nature that had occurred during the reign of Francis. It was in the vicinity of Lyons that Henry's elder brother, the Dauphin, had met with his sudden death; and the Lyonnese wished to atone, by means of a splendid festival, for what they considered a most unjustifiable crime. However, the numerous wars in which Francis engaged—in addition to religious persecution—had proven a serious drain on the resources of the nation. But the city, notwithstanding the *penurie des deniers*, determined to do its best.

Though the king was due to arrive on the 23d of September,

1548, preparations for his reception were already well under way in the spring of that year. In order to secure the favor of the sovereign, it was customary to make him some valuable present on which was inscribed a motto befitting the occasion. Accordingly on the 11th of May, the Echevins held a special meeting in which the nature and form of these gifts were to be decided upon. The interesting account of their deliberations, which have remained unpublished, although much attention has been given to this *entrée solennelle*, is thus conceived:

"Après que lesd. sieurs conseilliers et consulat ont longuement délibéré sur les dons et présens qu'il conviendra faire au Roy Henri, nostre sire, et à la Roïne, à leur nouvel et joyeux advènement et entrée qu'ilz doyvent de bref faire en cested. ville. En esgard à la penurie des deniers communs de lad. ville, et que l'on est endebté et en arriere de plusieurs grosses sommes de deniers, a esté ordonné faire les présens pour lesd. entrées, assavoir: pour le Roy jusques à la somme de sept à huit cens escuz d'or soleil et pour la Roïne jusques à la somme de six cens escuz d'or soleil. Pour lesquelz présens, a esté ordonné faire faire quelque bonne divis e qu'il soit bien faicte, et à laquelle lesd. seigneurs Roy et Roïne preignent plaisir. Pour l'invention desquelles divises, a esté ordonné prier et parler à Mre. Maurice Séve, Monsieur Choul, le principal du college de la Trinité nommé Barthélemy Aneau, et aux autres gens de savoir, tant orphèvres que autres pour, après avoir eu leur adviz, prendre le meilleur."¹⁰

These three humanists called into consultation a well-known artist of Lyons, Salomon Bernard, *dit le Petit Bernard*, whose wood-engravings gave Aneau the idea of composing the *Picta Poesis* and the *Imagination poétique* in 1552.¹¹ After the committee had de-

¹⁰ *Acte consulaire du 11 mai, 1548; Arch. com.* BB 68, fo. 57. Guillaume du Choul (*Caulius*) was a wealthy citizen of Lyons. He had been for many years *bailli* in the mountains of the Dauphiné, which was his native country. He possessed the most important cabinet of antiquities in France. His son was the author of several works on natural history, medicine, etc. For the biography and bibliography of these two personages, see *Revue du Lyonnais*, 1866, p. 103; Baur, *ibid.*, p. 15; Baudrier, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 384; Christie, *Dolet*, p. 162, etc. The following rare translation of one of Choul's works is worthy of note: *Discorso della religione antica de Romani . . . insieme con un altro simile discorso della castrametatione et bagni antichi de Romani, tradotti in Toscano da M. Gabriel Simeoni Fiorentino*, Lione, G. Rovillio, 1559, fol. *Catalogue of Hoe Sale*, New York, 1911, no. 309. This work was sold for \$600.

¹¹ For Bernard, cf. Bregnot du Lut, *Mélanges biogr. et litt.*, Lyons, 1828, p. 277.

cided upon the form of these presents, Bernard prepared the models, and Jean Delabarre, a goldsmith, executed them in silver and gold. In the order of payment to Delabarre, the minutes of the Consulate state that the present of the king consisted of "ung Roy assis en une chaire, audevant duquel sont deux Vertuz dressées debout qui présentent au Roy ung lyon d'or," while that of the queen was "une basse (*base*) en tryangle, sur laquelle il y a une Reyne assize en une chaire, portant deux cornetz d'abondance, et audevant d'icelle ung lyon."¹²

Fortunately there exists an accurate description of this *entrée solennelle*, written by Maurice Scève and published at the expense of the city. From it we learn that the festival began on Monday, September 23, and lasted for about eight days. On Tuesday, September 24, the Echevins went in a body to greet the royal visitors and to present them the presents prepared with so much care. This interesting ceremony is described as follows by Maurice Scève:

"Le lendemain qui fut Mardy, Messieurs les Conseillers de la Uille uindrent faire la reuerence à sa Magesté, et luy presenterent leur present en un estuy de uelours noir à passementz de fil d'argent et de soye noire, le dedans doublé de satin cramoisy. Lequel estoit d'un Roy armé à l'antique, assis en une chaire, de laquelle le deuant d'ossier, et brassieres estoient de quatre croissantz gentement et à propos bien inuentez: et le bas des arcz iointz, et entretenus des chiffres de sa deuse. Au deuant deux Deesses presentant au mylieu d'elles un Lion, qui se humilioit. L'une estoit Foy, designée selon l'antiquité, tenant un pain en une main, et en l'autre un uase. L'autre Liberalité avec une tessere (qui est un dé en forme de pirouette) et soubz le pied droict le disque. Et tout sur une platte forme quarrée mignonement, et artistement ourée de moulures et armoiries de la Uille. Aux deux mylieu (*sic*) des costez, deux compartiments ou estoit, FIDEI LIBERALITATISQ. PVBLICAE D. Après auoir esté humainement receuz du Prince, et remerciez, uindrent faire leur debuoir enuers la Royne, à laquelle, après la reuerence, et harengue en recommandation de la Uille, luy presenterent son present dans un estuy couuert de uelours uert, passementé d'argent, le dedans de satin cramoisy. Lequel estoit la Déesse Prospérité assise, tenant entre ses bras deux cors d'abondance pleins de fruitz. Sur le hault desquelz sortoit un Lys au mylieu, et lequel se ouuroit par la cyme, et en yssoient deux testes d'enfantz iusques aux espaulles. Et à ses piedz un aultre enfant grand, et se iouant à une boule ronde

¹² *Actes cons., série BB 68 (1547-48).*

esmaillée de rouge, représentant les pommes de ses armoiries, et toutesfoys ceinte à trauers d'un cercle d'or, figurant le Zodiaque, pour demonstrier Monseigneur le Daulphin debuoir quelque iour s'employer au gouuernement du monde. Lesquelles figures posoient sur une platte forme triangulaire aux armes de la Uille, et d'un tillet. *Semper honos nomenq; tuum laudesq; manebunt.*¹³

There is little doubt that Aneau had much to do with the preparation of this *entrée*. And it was probably his success on this occasion that induced the Consulate two years later to place him in complete charge of the entrance of the new governor of the Lyonnais, Jacques d'Albon, maréchal de St-André. Excelling in the *pièce de circonstance*, Aneau's poetic talent was peculiarly fitted for such functions. A philosophical poet like Scève, who delighted in obscure symbolism, would hardly be the most happy choice for a like occasion: his elusive verse might baffle the understanding of the ordinary individual. Besides, Aneau was far more in the public eye, as a popularizer naturally would be. Not only as a public servant did he feel obliged to please his fellow-citizens, but the halo of omniscience bestowed upon him by his admirers flattered his innocent vanity and induced him to show his versatility. One is furthermore inclined to feel that Aneau was the guiding spirit of this festival because of the familiarity of some of the details. A certain allegory recalls at once the *Histoire de Androdus* of the *Lyon Marchant*. On his way around the city, the king is led through a small forest. Suddenly a horn is heard; and Diana—a delicate compliment to the famous beauty, Diane de Poitiers—appears, surrounded by beautiful virgins, attired in the most gorgeous costumes. “Et ainsi,” writes Scève,

“Et ainsi qu’elles appareurent sa Sacrée Magesté, un Lion sortit du boys, qui se uint getter aux piedz de ladicte Déesse, luy faisant feste. Laquelle, le uoyant ainsi mansuete, doulx, et priué, le print avec un lien noir et blanc, et sur l’heure le presenta au Roy, ainsi pu’il passoit. Et s’approchant avec le Lion humilié iusques sur le bort du mur du préau ioignant le chemin, et à un pas près de sa Magesté luy dict asses haultement :

¹³ *La / Magnificence / de la superbe triumpante / Entree de la noble et antique Cité de Lyon fai- / cte au Treschrestien Roy de France / Henry deuxiesme de ce / Nom. / Et à la Royne Catherine son Espouse le XXIII / de Septembre MDXLVIII // A Lyon Chés Guillaume Rouille à l'Escu de Uenise // 1549. / Bibl. nat. L31b14, ff. K vo. and K2 ro.*

Le grand plaisir de la chasse usitée,
 Auquel par montz, uallées, et campagnes
 Je m'exercite avecques mes Compaignes,
 Iusqu'en uoz boys, Sire, m'ha incitée,
 Où ce Lion d'amour inusitée
 S'est uenu rendre en ceste nostre bande,
 Lequel soubdain à sa priuaulté grande
 I'ay recongneu, et aux gestes humains,
 Estre tout uostre : aussi entre uoz mains
 Je le remetz, et le uous recommande.¹⁴

That Aneau was highly pleased with the figure of the tamed lion is obvious from the fact that he makes use of it again, as we shall see, at the entrance of Jacques d'Albon. It is hardly probable that Scève, who considered himself much superior to a mere versifier, would do Aneau the honor of adopting some of his creations. For these reasons, we feel justified in concluding that Aneau, besides inspiring a great part of this celebration, was in particular the author of the above allegory.

Although Aneau was much occupied at this time with the publication of the translation entitled *Baptiste Platine . . . de l'honnête Volupté*—a work of which we shall speak later—financial difficulties forced him to yield to the request of the Consulate to deliver the annual doctoral oration of St. Thomas. The reason why this honor was bestowed for the third time on the principal of the Collège de la Trinité—for no one in the history of the city had ever been so favored—is carefully explained in the order of the Consulate to the receiver of the *deniers communs* early in the year 1549. This personage is requested to pay

"à Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal recteur du Colliege de la Trinité, la somme de troys escuz d'or soleil, vallant six livres quinze solz tourn . . . pour avoir faict et prononcé l'oraison doctoralle le jour et feste St. Thomas dernier . . . Et laquelle somme a esté ordonné luy payer parce qu'il fut prié de la part dud. consulat composer, faire et prononcer lad. oraison led. jour, obstant qu'il ne se

¹⁴ *Ibid.* E ro. According to M. Baur, this dizain is "très probablement de Maurice Scève, à en juger d'après le style" (p. 97). On the contrary, this seems to resemble the poems of the *Lyon Marchant* and the *Chant natal* much more than it does the dizains of the *Délie*. In other words, the style is not a safe criterion.

trouva en lad. ville docteur nouvellement venant de l'estude qui se soit voulu charger faire lad. oraison ; en ce comprins les xxx s.t. qui ont esté accoustumez estre payez pour lad. cause." ¹⁵

If the honor conferred upon Aneau was exceptional, the compensation, which he received on February 1, 1549, was more than exceptional. The Echevins had once or twice before violated the principle of not having the same man deliver the oration more than once, but never before had they deviated from the custom of paying 30 sous to the orator. The next year (1549), although the orator came from a distant city and was obliged obliged to pay his travelling expenses, the Consulate refused to allow him any more than the regular sum.

But notwithstanding this liberality on the part of the Echevins, we find that the college had been entirely neglected during the excitement caused by the arrival of the king. As we have already remarked, the principal found it utterly impossible to keep up the high standard on the salary he received. He was fully aware that his able regents, Fontaine, Wilson (or Volusene) and Milieu, were underpaid, but in spite of all his efforts, he was unable to improve conditions. Finally, he decided to withdraw from the institution, hoping thereby to bring forcibly to the attention of the city government the necessity of an increase of funds.

However this was not the only motive that prompted him to take this step. Jean du Peyrat, who had been lieutenant general of the Lyonnais since 1532, was now in poor health ; and his sage counsel could no longer be depended upon to curb the inordinate activity of the Protestants. The situation became all the more strained with the arrival of two well-known Swiss reformers—the one, Guillaume

¹⁵ *Actes consulaires* CC 985 (1548/9). It is worthy of note that the Consulate experienced the same difficulty in 1549. It was found necessary to send to Orleans for a young doctor, Estienne Pasquier by name—not related, as far as I can learn, to the great Estienne Pasquier—to deliver this oration, "parce qu'il n'y avoit docteur en ladicte Ville de Lyon, qui se soyt voullu charger d'icelle orayson." *Arch. com. de Lyon, série* CC 992 (1549-50). Later on, Pasquier became rector of the schools of Rouen. Cf. Péricaud, *Notes et Documents and Du Verdier*. However, in 1553, Pasquier was principal of the college Notre-Dame, "nouvellement établi près de l'église St-Jean" at Lyons. The Echevins sent him that year "la somme de 50 livres pour l'aider à supporter les dépenses de cette institution." *Arch. com. de Lyon, série* BB 75 (1553-54).

Guérout, from Geneva, to become corrector in the print-shop of his brother-in-law, B. Arnoullet, and the other, Théodore Zwinger, from Basel, to occupy a similar position with Godefroy Beringen.¹⁶ All of this only tended to incite the militant Catholics to greater vigilance. The commercial class, which had enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity under the liberal government of Jean d'Albon, were willing to accept the reaction in the hope that the friction would cease. But Aneau, in all probability, feared that, with the disappearance of d'Albon and his able lieutenant du Peyrat, an era of persecution would ensue. Mindful of the fate of his friend Dolet, he did not seek to have the crown of martyrdom thrust upon him. Therefore, he thought it wiser to withdraw somewhat from public view.

And finally, he wished to devote more time to literature. He was now at work on a translation of the Emblems of Alciat, of which the original Latin version was very popular in France. The reformer, Guillaume Guérout, who was preparing *Le Blason des Oiseaux* for Arnoullet, urged Aneau to compose for the same volume the *Décades de la Description des Animaux*.

With these facts in mind, it is not difficult to understand why the principal of the Collège de la Trinité sought to be relieved of his duties. Accordingly, the minutes of the meeting of December 15, 1548, state that,

"Est comparu au présent consulat Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal recteur du colliege de la Trinité, lequel a dict et remonstré qu'il y a sept ans passez qu'il fut retenu principal recteur dudict colliege de la Trinité de ceste ville aux gaiges de cent livres tournois pour chacun an, où il a faict son devoir de servir durant le temps de sa retenue qui finist à la feste Saint Jehan Baptiste dernier, auquel temps il auroit remonstré qu'il ne pouvoit entretenir audict colliege luy et ses régents à si petitz gaiges, à ce qu'il plust aud. consulat y pourveoir d'ung autre en son lieu; toutesfoys à la prière et requeste dudict consulat il auroit encores tenu led. colliege et entretenu ses régens despuys ladicte feste Saint Jehan dernier jusques à présent, qui est dymye année, requérant estre payé de sesd. gaiges et de vouloir pourveoir d'ung autre en son lieu parce qu'il ne se peult entretenir avec quatre régents qu'il luy convyent nourrir et entretenir sans avoir plus grandz gaiges que cent livres. Surquoy la matière

¹⁶ Péricaud, *op. cit.*

bien débattue, a esté ordonne payer audict Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau la somme de cinquante livres tournois pour ses gaiges, d'avoir entre-tenu led. colliege et (*sic*) dymye année qui finira à la feste de Noël prochain. Et a esté prié vouloir continuer régir led. colliege jusques à la feste Saint Jehan Baptiste prochain venant aux gaiges accoustumez, qui est cinquante livres tournois pour ladicte demye année selon la forme de sa première retenue. Et dans lad. feste Saint Jehan prochain sera advisé de luy augmenter ses gaiges, ou bien de pourveoir d'ung autre en son lieu; ce que led. Mrs. Barthélemy Aneau a accepté et promys faire son devoir comme il a faict par cy devant, à régir led. colliege jusques à lad. feste Saint Jehan prochain, moyennant led. pris de cinquante livres tournois que lesd. sieurs conseillers luy promectent payer et faire payer des deniers communs de lad. ville à lad. feste Saint Jehan Baptiste prochain, avec promesses, etc." ¹⁷

But a principal possessing all the qualifications of Aneau could not be easily found. Of the humanists in Lyons who might be considered for the position, few had the necessary experience. Besides, many were suspected of religious views which would militate at the outset against the institution and its future success. While the Echevins were firm in the belief that a lay college should not insist too much on religion, they did not wish, on the contrary, to be accused of fostering heresy. For that reason, they sought men of sound doctrine. That mass was regularly celebrated in the college seemed to them sufficient: it was unnecessary that religion should be taught. True pedagogical humanism sought merely to overthrow the antiquated methods of scholasticism: it was not concerned with any particular sect. So the real humanists were seeking to disseminate ideas that had little or nothing in common with Calvinism, for the line of demarcation between the Renaissance and the Reform was now distinctly drawn. No more than the Catholics could they endure the obnoxious doctrines emanating from Geneva. That there were amongst them some who could not accept the tenets of either faith, it was useless to deny; but it was no more just to condemn the whole movement on that account than to condemn the Catholic Church because of the fanaticism of the ignorant. It is therefore obvious that the enlightened public, realizing that scholasticism was in general deleterious to mental health, should be inclined to encourage the efforts of these altruistic scholars.

¹⁷ *Acte consulaire du 15 décembre, 1548; Arch. com. BB 68, fo. 283.*

After having sought in vain for a satisfactory principal, the Consulate requested Aneau to continue to direct the college the following school-year. They promised him additional compensation for his services during this period. Aneau consented to remain at the head of the institution until a capable successor might be found, providing the city was willing to recompense him for his losses. This generous offer was at once accepted. Accordingly, on the *pénultième jour d'octobre* 1549, the Echevins ordered the *receveur des deniers* to pay to Aneau,

"la somme de cinquante livres tourn. à luy taxé et ordonné (*sic*) estre payée pour aulcunement le desdommager et recompenser des pertes par luy faictes et soubztenues puy ung an et demy en ça que son bail dud. colliege estoit finy et expiré, tant pour l'entretènement dud. colliege que pour la nourriture et gaiges des régentz qu'il luy a convenu tenir aud. colliege pour l'instruction des enfans allans et venans aud. colliege, de quoy faire il auroit esté prié par led. consulat, et de ne sortir dud. colliege jusque à ce qu'il y auroit esté pourveu d'aulture principal aud. colliege cappable, ydoine et souffisant à ce que led. colliege ne demeura despourveu, à la charge de le recompenser des pertes qu'il y feroit, et ce oultre ses gaiges ordinaires qui sont de cent livres par an."¹⁸

However, this munificent sum—the largest ever paid a principal of the college—does not represent entirely the generosity of the Echevins. They gave Aneau the opportunity of increasing his income still more by placing him in charge of the entrance of Jacques d'Albon, the new governor of the Lyonnais.

On December 28th, 1549, occurred the death of Jean d'Albon, father of Jacques, who had succeeded the Cardinal de Tournon in 1542 as governor of this province.¹⁹ During the last years of his administration, Jean d'Albon placed the government of Lyons almost entirely in the hands of his able lieutenant, Jean du Peyrat, whose just and liberal ideas had attracted to the city many famous scholars and printers. Having distinguished himself at the sieges of Fontarabia and St. Quentin, Jean d'Albon was rewarded in 1530 by Francis I. with the titles of *bailli* of Mâcon and *sénéchal* of Lyons. During the succeeding years, the king sought frequently

¹⁸ *Acte cons., série CC 985.*

¹⁹ Péricaud, *op. cit.*; Le Laboureur, *Les Mesures de l'Île-Barbe*, publié par M.-C. Guigue, Lyons, 1887, II, pp. 162, etc.

his advice, and, in 1542, elevated him to the charge of governor of the Lyonnais, Bourbonnais, etc. D'Albon was a member of a very old Lyonnese family, and understood the conditions in his native city.²⁰ His government was most successful in establishing and maintaining peace.

But if Jean d'Albon did not incline to religious persecution, his son and successor, Jacques d'Albon, marquis de Fronsac, maréchal de St. André, was a man of very different stamp. Through the influence of his father, he was rapidly advanced at court. After the death of Francis I, he became the favorite of the young king and enjoyed great power. Not devoid of qualities, he commanded the respect of all as a brilliant leader and an intrepid soldier. But unfortunately he was ambitious, and sought in war merely a means of advancing his own interests.

The Lyonnais were very proud of their compatriot; and when he was appointed to succeed his father, they were anxious to receive him with great éclat. Although he was known to be reactionary, they thought that, following his father's example, he would seek above all to promote peace. But soon after his nomination, it was apparent that they were sadly deceived. He proved to be a most unscrupulous and implacable enemy of religious liberty. He took advantage of every occasion to attack the Protestants; and as a depredator, he was without an equal. Fearing reprisals after the death of Henry II, he formed, with the Duc de Guise and the Connétable de Montmorency, the famous Triumvirate, under the pretext of exterminating Protestantism. But it was in vain, for he was finally killed at the battle of Dreux in 1562 by a Catholic whose property he had confiscated.²¹

The Maréchal de St. André was due to make his entrance into Lyons in the latter part of August, 1550. On the 3d of July of that year, the Echevins held a special meeting in which the preparations for this festival were discussed. From the document which follows, we see that the *entrée* was to be very similar to that of the

²⁰ Perneti, *Lyonnais dignes de Mémoire*, 1757, I, p. 368.

²¹ The *Catalogue d'une précieuse collection de lettres autographes* of Charavay contains several letters addressed by the Maréchal de St. André to the Comte Rhingrave from 1555 to 1560. These superb letters corroborate the animosity of his actions.

king—in other words, this was the usual form of the ceremony. Furthermore, here as before, an *arrière-pensée* prompted, to a great extent, the generosity of the Lyonnese: they were seeking to be relieved of certain taxes with which they were burdened. The minutes of the Consulate state that after the usual routine business had been transacted,

“A esté mys en termes la venue de monseigneur le mareschal de Saint André, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy en la ville et pays de Lyonnays, et de la forme et manière que l'on debvra tenir à icelle entrée. Sur laquelle, après avoir longuement desbatu et délibéré, a esté advisé qu'il sera bon et nécessaire mander à l'hostel commun, monsr. de Servièrès, Jaques Daullon, capitaine des enfans de cheval, et Claude Raverie, dict de Jon, capitaine des enfans de pied, . . . pour de la part dudict consulat eulx tenir prestz avec ceulx qui sont de leurs bandes, pour aller à cheval, avec casaques de livrée, à leur fantasie et discrection, au devant dudict seigr. mareschal de St. André le jour qu'il arrivera en cestedicte ville. Semblablement de mander audict hostel commun les Roys, capitaines, et enseignes des jeux de l'hacquebutte, arbaleste, archiers, avec les capitaines des imprimeurs, taincturiers, tissotiers, bouchiers, cousturiers, cordoanniers, et les prier de faire ensemblement jusques au nombre de mil ou douze cens hommes, bien ordre et équippez pour aller au devant dudict seigr. gouverneur le jour d'icelle entrée, tous soubz ung capitaine et soubz une enseigne, représentans la force de ladicte ville.

Aussi qu'il sera bon de dresser deux istoyres sur le chaffaulz, qu'on advisera, à l'honneur et louange dudict seigr. St. André; l'une à la porte de Bourneuf, et l'autre au devant l'esglise St. Eloy, avec dictons qui seront dictz et profferez à l'honneur et louange dudict seigr.

Semblablement de faire et dresser ung poille, et le tenir prest pour le présenter et porter sur le dict seigr., s'il luy plaict de l'accepter.

Et quant au présent qu'il conviendra faire audict seigr. gouverneur, à son premier et joueulx advènement en ladicte ville, sera besoing et nécessaire que lesdictz conseilliers advisent de le faire le plus honnorablement qu'il leur sera possible, en esgard à la qualité dudict seigneur, qui est mareschal de France, grandement aymé et favorisé du Roy, par le moyen duquel la ville, et habitans d'icelle, pourra estre grandement relevée et soulagée des grans charges et foule qu'elle a supporté par le passé pour le payement des souldes des gens de guerre demandé par le Roy puyx six ans en ça en ladicte ville. Aussy pour obtenir l'ayde et subside de six deniers pour livre sur les denrées et marchandises entrans en ladicte ville, pour payer

et acquicter les grans deniers que ladicte ville doit, et qu'elle tient à change et intérestz, tant pour avoir payé lesdicts souldes que pour les réparations et fortifications faictes en ladicte ville puy six ans en ça. Par quoy, l'on doit adviser, au premier et joueulx advènement dudict seigneur Saint André, de luy faire tel honneur et présent qu'il ait cause se contenter et avoir les affaires de ladicte ville pour l'advenir en bonne et singulière recommandation, tant envers le Roy que nosseigneurs de son conseil.

Sur quoy, a esté ordonné que, mardy prochain, l'on mandera Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal du colliege de la Trinité, pour le prier de dresser quelzques ystoires et dictons en l'honneur dudict seigr. de St. André pour servir ledict jour de sadicte entrée."²²

His pupils being now on vacation, the principal was able to devote himself entirely to the preparation of the *ystoires et dictons* desired by the Consulate. He first composed the *istoyre d'Androdus, qui premier aprivoysa le Lyon*, of which the main theme is quite similar to that of the aforementioned poem in the *Lyon Marchant*.²³ It was a kind of allegory to be represented upon an *eschaffaud* beneath an *arc triumpfant*. Accordingly, at their meeting on the 17th of July, the Echevins ordered that,

"pour l'entrée de Monsiegr. de Saint-André, prochaine, faire un arc triumpfant à la porte avec l'istoyre d'Androdus, comme l'a composée le principal du colliege de la Trinité, à moins de despens que faire se pourra, et ne faire ledict arc que avec buys et or cliquant. Et quant à l'eschaffault de l'istoyre suyvant l'ordonnance dudict principal, sera faict de tapisserie, le tout à moins des frais et despens que faire se pourra."²⁴

The *eschaffaud*, or platform, was then constructed, and Salomon Bernard was ordered to decorate it with allegorical scenes.²⁵ It was soon learned that the new governor was to be accompanied by four princes, who belonged to the most powerful families in the nation. The Consulate decided at once to make the ceremony far more sumptuous than was intended at first. Aneau was then requested to prepare the other allegory; and this time he selected for his subject the story of the mother of Darius who addressed

²² *Acte consulaire du 3 juillet, 1550; Arch. com. BB 71, fo. 186 vo.*

²³ *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. I, p. 286 et seq.

²⁴ *Acte consulaire du 17 juillet, 1550; série BB 71, fo. 196.*

²⁵ Péricaud, *op. cit.*; Morin, V, p. 44.

by mistake Ephestion, the favorite of Alexander the Great, thinking he was the great conqueror. This story was well-known to the contemporaries of Aneau, who therefore had no difficulty in understanding its purport on this occasion. The Echevins were greatly pleased with the allegory; and, at their meeting on August 10, decided that another platform should be raised on which it would be presented. The minutes of the Consulate give a full account of this meeting, together with a very interesting résumé of the composition of Aneau. This curious document is thus conceived:

“Lesdictz seigrs. conseilliers se sont assemblez pour adviser, résordre (*sic*), si l'on fera et dressera deux eschaffaulx avec deux ystoyres pour l'entrée de monseigneur le mareschal de Saint André, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy en ladicte ville et pays de Lyonnoys, suyvant l'advis de messeigrs. les lieutenant, procureur, et advocat du Roy, qui ont dict et rapporté à partie desdictz seigrs. conseilliers qu'il est besoing et nécessaire pour capter la grace et benyvotence dudict seigr. gouverneur, luy faire le plus d'honneur et le plus grand triumphe à sadicte entrée qu'il sera possible; parce mesme que ledict seigr. gouverneur a escript audict seigr. de Troyes et gens du Roy, qu'il amene avec luy en cestedicte ville quatre jeunes princes, assavoir, monseigr. le duc de Nemours, monseigr. d'Anguyn (*d'Enghien*), monseigr. le prince de La Roche-sur-Yon, monseigr. le mareschal de Cedan (*Sedan*), ausquelz il aura grand plaisir que la ville fasse le plus grand honneur et le plus grand triumphe avec le plus grand pasetemps qu'il sera possible.

Sur quoy, après avoir amplement délibéré par lesdictz seigrs. conseilliers, a esté résolu, conclud, et arresté que l'on dressera ung eschaffaulx au devant de Saint Eloy, où sera l'istoyre des Festion d'Alexandre le Grand, et de la femme et des deux filles du Roy Daire. Lesquelles femme et filles du Roy Daire, estant prisonnières, se seroient adressées en Phestion pour luy faire la révérence, pensant que ce fut Alexandre. Et estans advertyes que n'estoit Alexandre, et que Alexandre estoit auprès dudict Emphesion, se veullant excuser envers ledict Alexandre, icelluy Alexandre leur auroit respondu: *Et hic Alexander est*; démontrant que l'honneur qu'elles avoient fait audict Emphesion, il le extime aultant que luy-mesme, pour monstret et faire apparoir que l'honneur que l'on fait audict seigr. Saint André par ladicte entrée, le Roy l'extimera aultant que si elle avoit esté fait à luy-mesmes, pour l'amytié et faveur qu'il porte audict seigr. de Saint André. Et lequel eschaffaulx et ystoire, a esté ordonné faire dresser, oultre l'eschaffault et

portal, dressé à la porte de Bourneuf, où sera l'istoyre d'Androdes, qui premier aprivoysa le Lyon. Pour lequel eschaffault faire et dresser, a esté donné charge ausdictz Guillaume Henry et Gaspardin Pause, conseilliers."²⁶

The two *istoyres* were quite similar in character to the *Lyon Marchant* and the *Chant Natal*, as one can readily see. This *genre* of literature, created by Aneau, was evidently very pleasing to his fellow-citizens—which explains, to some extent, his great popularity.

The entrance of the Maréchal de St. André took place on the 24th of August, and the festivities continued for several days. Judging from the Consular records, the new governor was greatly pleased with the cordial reception he was given. A certain epigram which without doubt formed a part of the *istoyre d'Androdes*—and which Aneau published in 1552 in the *Picta Poesis*—must have flattered him very much. The poet relates that once a lion, impressed by the great virtue of Hanno, the celebrated general of Carthage, allowed itself to be caressed by him. If this was remarkable, what can be said of a great city, filled with lions in valor and courage, submitting itself humbly to the command of the Maréchal de St. André!

Hanno manu primus fertur tractasse Leonem,
Poenus, et artificij Dux catus ingenio.
Ast hunc quem penes est, Regis manus atque potestas
Quam mirabilius posse Leontopolim,
Posse Leontopolim Lugdi moderarier urbem.
Quæ nomen, κελῶν voce, Leonis habet.²⁷

Whatever may have been the opinion of the Maréchal de St. André, the Echevins were well satisfied with the efforts of Aneau. This is obvious from the generous manner in which he was rewarded. Among the various payments made on the 2d of September, 1550, we note an order to the *receveur des deniers* to allow Aneau the sum of "six escuz d'or au soleil." This amount was paid to him for "plusieurs vacations par luy faictes, tant à dresser

²⁶ *Acte consulaire du 10 août, 1550; Arch. com. BB 71, fo. 200 vo.*

²⁷ *Le Laboureur, op. cit., p. 177.* For this story cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 21. Aneau has another epigram in the *Imagination poétique* (1552, p. 15) entitled: *Sur la magnifique entrée de Monseigneur de S. André, gouverneur de Lyon.*

et inventer les ystoires que à faire les dictons qui ont esté jouez le jour de l'entrée dudict seigr. gouverneur." ²⁸

After the excitement aroused by the *entrée* had died away, Aneau sought to interest the Consulate in the future of the Collège de la Trinité. But all to no avail. Their liberality in return for his compositions permitted him to tide over the year. Furthermore, the financial question no longer troubled him so much personally, for it was probably during this period that he married. His wife was Claudine Dumas, who had inherited a small fortune from her grandfather, Claude Dumas *dit le More*, a well-to-do *marchand bastier* of Lyons. It is quite possible that Claudine came into possession of a house and several other buildings owned by her grandfather.²⁹ Aneau was therefore in fairly comfortable circumstances, and no longer felt obliged to teach in order to earn his living.

But marriage imposed other responsibilities. For the sake of his wife, if not for himself, he could no longer afford to incur danger. And since Jacques d'Albon's accession to the government of the city, the attitude of the militant catholics had become more threatening. Notwithstanding the careful reserve of the principal in regard to the new ideas, the professors of the college were known to be more or less in sympathy with the Reform.³⁰ More than ten years before, Protestantism was making such rapid strides in the Dauphiné that, on December 2, 1541, Francis I issued an edict forbidding any book to be published at Lyons without the permission of the *grand scel*—an order, however, that was not followed out. Yet since the death of Dolet, the auto-da-fé was becoming uncomfortably common. In 1548, the curate of St. Jean-le-Petit was burned alive, because he did not consecrate the sacred host when saying mass "pour faire damner ses paroissiens," against whom he brought suit in the courts.³¹ Finally, the burning of Claude Monier on October 31, 1551, caused Aneau to realize the proximity of danger. The publication of the *Quintil Horatian* had besides made his

²⁸ *Actes cons., série BB 71, fo. 214 vo.* Salomon Bernard, who painted the *eschaffaulx*, was allowed 90 livres. Cf. Morin, V, 44, and Péricaud, *loc. cit.*

²⁹ See the article of Cochard in Bregnot du Lut's *Mélanges*, p. 201.

³⁰ Cf. Cochard, *Notice sur Hippolyte d'Este, Revue du Lyonnais*, XXXI (1865), p. 11.

³¹ Péricaud, *Notes et Documents, loc. cit.*

position difficult. While it was not known that he was the author of it, yet it was evident that the work emanated from the Collège de la Trinité. This undesirable notoriety had alienated the sympathies of those who shared the views of the young members of the Pléiade.

Such a condition of affairs naturally induced Aneau to withdraw at once from the college and to devote himself entirely to literary work, consisting mainly of translations of texts suitable for the class-room. When he first signified his intention, the Echevins refused to listen to him. Without further hesitation, he vacated the college in November, 1551. Even then, the Echevins refused to take any action on his resignation; and it was only when some citizens remonstrated with them on December 15, that they decided to consider the election of a successor. The minutes of this meeting state that,

“Sont venuz au présent consulat Monsr. Mre. Barthélemy Daïgenton, Jehan Camuz, secrétaire du Roy, Jehan Paffy dict Bello, Philippes Galland, Nycolas Decastellas et François Rezinant, qui ont dict et remonstré ausd. sieurs conseillers et consulat, qu'ilz ont estez adverty que Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, principal recteur du colliege de la Trinité de ceste ville, veult laisser et habandonner led. coliege, en l'absence duquel led. coliege venant à vacquer, ont prié et requis lesd. sieurs conseillers et consulat vouloir mettre aud. colliege, au lieu dud. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, Mre. Jaques Frachet, natif de Molins en Bourbonnoys, comme capable, souffisant, et ydoine en icelle charge, de la souffisance et expérience duquel ilz sont deuement advertiz et certiffiez, parce que icelluy Frachet, puytroy ans en ça, a instruit et gouverné leurs enfans en ung escolle particulière qu'il avoit levé sur les fossez de la Lanterne, dont il a très bien faict son debvoir. Et pour ce ont certiffié la preudhomme, probité, expérience et bonne dilligence esd. sieurs conseillers et consulat. Surquoy après avoir amplement délibéré par lesd. sieurs conseillers et consulat, a esté ordonné que l'on s'enquerra si led. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau est délibéré délaisser et habandonner led. colliege. Et cas advenant qu'il ne le veulle plus tenir, l'on pourvoyra et commectra en son lieu led. Mre. Jaques Frachet, ce qui a esté déclairé ausd. comparans.”³²

But Aneau refused to return to the college. So it was decided to pass a lease in favor of Jacques Frachet, who apparently fulfilled

³² *Acte consulaire du 15 décembre, 1551, série BB 72, fo. 176.*

all the necessary conditions. We find therefore the following resolution in the Consular Records of December 31, 1551:

"Sont venuz au consulat hon. homme Phillippes Galand et Mre. Jaques Frachet, qui ont requis vouloir passer le bail du colliege de la Trinité, suyvant ce qui dernièrement fut accordé et ordonné, aud. Frachet. Et pour ce qu'il y a Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, qui à présent est aud. colliege, vuide de ses meubles d'icelluy, où il pourra desmolir et emporter plusieurs réparacions nécessaires qu'il a faict faire aud. colliege, comme les comptoirs, chieres des classes, verrières des chambres et plusieurs aultres utencilz nécessaires et très utiles aud. colliege, ont requis commectre quelzques ungs d'entre lesd. conseillurs pour les veoir et visiter, les achapter dud. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, et le remectre par inventaire aud. Frachet qui s'obligera les rendre et restituer en fin de son bail en l'estat, forme, qualité, qu'ilz luy auront estez remys. Surquoy ont estez commis lesd. Pierre Sève, Guillaume François, Claude Platet, et Claude Benoist, conseillurs, et Mre. Gabriel de Ruffy, contrerolleur, et Humbert Gimbre, voyeur de lad. ville, pour veoir et visiter lesd. réparacions, meubles et utencilz nécessaires aud. colliege, appertenans aud. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau, pour d'icelles en convenir et accorder avec led. Aneau, comme ilz verront estre à faire; aussi pour passer le bail dud. colliege aud. Frachet, à semblables paches, qualitez et conditions que led. Mre. Barthélemy Aneau l'a tenu par cy-devant desd. sieurs conseillers, et autrement comme ilz verront estre à faire en leurs loyaultz consciences. Et lequel Frachet s'obligera aud. consulat rendre et restituer lesd. meubles, utencilz et réparacions en l'estat et qualité qu'ilz luy auront estez remys."⁸³

Frachet, as we shall see, was far inferior to his predecessor, both as scholar and teacher. Not understanding conditions thoroughly, he found himself at once on bad terms with his regents. Besides he was a poor administrator, with the necessary consequence that the college was soon involved in financial difficulties. Add to this the fact that Aneau's popularity militated greatly against him; and we can understand why his administration was, at the outset, doomed to failure. His weak effort as principal, contrasting most violently with the great success of Aneau, made the Echevins aware that they had lost the services of a very exceptional teacher. After Frachet's departure, an equally unfortunate experience with Jacques Dupuy impressed upon all the necessity of recalling Aneau.

⁸³ *Acte consulaire du 31 décembre, 1551, série BB 172, fo. 182.*

But, as we have already noted, the literary work of Aneau is so closely connected with his life that it will be impossible for us to understand his position in the city during his retirement from active service until we have obtained a comprehensive view of his literary output during the few years immediately preceding his separation from the college.

(To be continued)

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THE BRAGGART SOLDIER AND THE RUFIÁN IN THE SPANISH DRAMA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY¹

THE braggart soldier has been a favorite character of comedy since early times. Livius Andronicus is said to have first introduced him on the Roman stage, and by the time of Plautus and Terence, the figure had become more or less stereotyped. He appears in six plays by Plautus, and has the principal role in *Miles Gloriosus*.¹ A brief analysis of the character of Pyrgopolinices, the Miles Gloriosus in Plautus' play of that name, will serve to show the chief characteristics of the type.¹

He boasts of extraordinary deeds and accepts as a matter of course the fawning flattery of Artotrogus, his parasite. The latter, however, knows that the soldier is a liar and a braggart. Pyrgopolinices wishes to console his sword by making havoc among the enemy, ll. 5-8:

"Nam ego hanc machaeram mihi consolari uolo,
Ne lamentetur neue animum despondeat,
Quia se iam pridem feriatam gestitem,
Quae misera gestit fartum facere ex hostibus."

Artotrogus says that Mars would not dare to style himself so great a warrior, ll. 11-12:

"Tam bellatorem Mars se haud ausit dicere
Neque aequiperare suas uirtutis ad tuas."

According to his parasite, the Captain had puffed away with his breath the legions of Mars, ll. 16-18:

"Memini: nempe illum dicis cum armis aureis,
Quoius tu legiones difflauisti spiritu,
Quasi uentus folia aut paniculum tectorium."

¹ For a general treatment of the influence of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus upon European literature, see Reinhardstoettner, *Plautus. Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele*. For this character in the French drama, see O. Fest, *Der Miles Gloriosus in der Französischen Komödie von Beginn der Renaissance bis zu Molière*, 1897.

Pyrgopolinices replies, l. 19:

"Istuc quidem edepol nihil est."

The parasite says aside that the Captain is a liar and a boaster, ll. 21-23:

"Periuriorem hoc hominem si quis uiderit
Aut gloriarum pleniorum quam illic est,
Me sibi habeto, egomet ei me mancupio dabo."

Artotrogus tells how the Captain had broken the fore-leg of an elephant with his fist, and Pyrgopolinices replies that he had struck the blow without any effort, ll. 25-30.

The Captain asks what other great deeds he had performed, and Artotrogus replies, "in Cilicia there were a hundred and fifty men, a hundred in Scytholatronia, thirty at Sardis, sixty men of Macedon whom you slaughtered altogether in one day." Pyrgopolinices asks what was the total number, and the parasite replies, "seven thousand," ll. 38-42.

The names given to the Captain and his enemies are extravagant and bombastic. When Artotrogus says that Mars was not so great a warrior, the braggart replies, ll. 13-15:

"Quemne ego seruauit in campis Curculionis,
Vbi Bumbomachides Clutomestoridysarchides
Erat imperator summus, Neptuni nepos?"

Artotrogus says that the Captain is loved by all women. One admired his beauty, another his long hair, and Pyrgopolinices replies complacently that it is very annoying to be so handsome, l. 64:

"Nimiast miseria nimis pulcrum esse hominem."

He declares that he is "*nepos Veneris*," l. 1265.

¶The *Eunuchus* of Terence followed the *Miles Gloriosus* by about twenty years. Thraso in this play is a braggart soldier, but his appearance is only episodic, and the figure is not so fully developed as in Plautus.⁷ He is represented as a man of some wealth, and is ready to swear vengeance on his enemies, but prudently follows the method of Pyrrhus when in danger, and posts himself in the safest place, ll. 781-83:

Thraso. "tu hosce instrue: ego ero post principia: inde omnibus signum dabo."

Gnatho. "illuc est sapere: ut hosce instruxit, ipse sibi cavit loco."

Thraso. "idem hoc iam Pyrrus factitavit."

The chief characteristics of the Roman braggart soldier may be summed up as follows. [He boasts of extraordinary deeds, brags of his battles and heaps of victims, but is prudent in danger and is a target for jokes. His true character of coward is always revealed. He is convinced of his attraction for women.]

[The braggart soldier was a favorite character in the Italian *commedia dell'arte*.] Out of fifty pieces included in the *Teatro delle Fauole rappresentative della Scala*, the Captain is found in all but six. He also appears in the *Farsa satyra morale* of Venturino Venturini di Pesaro² in 1521 and attained great popularity throughout the sixteenth century under the names of Spavento, Cocodrillo, Capitano Rinoceronte and Matamoros. [Frequently he was represented as a Spaniard, and in this way the Italians tried to avenge their defeats in war by ridiculing their conquerors.]

Although the Italian Captain owes something to classical models, there is good ground to believe that this figure was derived from the popular improvised drama rather than from direct imitation of Plautus and Terence. De Amicis describes thus the conditions in Italy which gave rise to the braggart soldier:

"Nell'Italia del 500 . . . ogni virtù militare era spenta: le armi erano in mano di genti mercenarie, di compagnie di ventura, e l'istituzione di queste compagnie aveva rese le guerre simili a quelle che veggonsi sul palco scenico d'un teatro. Grandi eserciti combattevano dal sorgere sino al tramontare del sole; si avea una gran vittoria, si prendevano migliaia di prigionieri, ma nessun morto rimaneva sul terreno. Il coraggio perciò non era necessario per un soldato; v'erano degli uomini invecchiati sui campi di battaglia, e che aveano acquistato rinomanza per le loro opere guerresche, senza essersi mai trovati in faccia ad un serio pericolo. Il Machiavelli assai bene descrisse questi Rodomonti nel proemio dell'Arte della Guerra."³

Since this figure of the Captain was so popular in Italy, it is

² Stoppato, *La Commedia popolare in Italia*, Padova, 1887, pp. 193-217.

³ Vincenzo de Amicis, *L'imitazione latina nella commedia italiana del XVI. secolo*, Firenze, 1897, p. 145.

but natural that we should look for some influence of the Italian drama in the formation of this character in Spain. The evidence, however, is negative. It is true that a certain Muzio⁴ visited Seville as early as 1538 with a company of Italian players, but we know nothing of his repertory. At all events, the type of braggart soldier had appeared in the Farsa Teologal by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz before the visit of Muzio. When Ganassa visited Seville with his company in 1575, the braggart soldier was already a stock figure in the Spanish comedies.

We may admit the influence of the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, and the interest in Italian plays may have contributed to the popularity of the braggart soldier in Spain, but these influences should not be overestimated. The Spanish people did not hesitate in its choice between the servile imitation of classic models and a realistic representation of the types of every day life. It is true that an anonymous Spanish translation of the *Miles Gloriosus* appeared at Antwerp in 1555, but it seems to have had little influence on the formation of the type of the braggart soldier.⁷ It is significant that the character appears in the plays which seem most closely related to ordinary life, and is not found in the works of those who tried to introduce the taste for classical models.⁸ If the braggart soldier had not been a familiar figure in Spanish life of the sixteenth century, he would not have been tolerated on the stage. It is true that the braggart of the Spanish drama resembles the *capitano* of the Italians, but there is one essential difference. The Italian Captain was usually a foreigner, (Spaniard). By ridiculing his cowardice, they were avenged for his victories. He represented the conquering Spaniard abroad. On the Spanish stage, he was the soldier who had served abroad, and returned to his native land to lord it over the peaceful citizens who had stayed at home.⁹ After his military service, he was unable to work for his living, and for lack of money, was forced to live by his wits. A bragging soldier is not essentially either a Roman or Italian type, and the charm which the soldier has in feminine eyes is so universal that we need not seek the origin of this characteristic in Plautus or the *commedia dell'arte*.⁷

In the *Farsa ó quasi Comedia* of Lucas Fernández,⁵ written

⁷ H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, p. 21.

⁸ *Farsas y églogas fechas por Lucas Fernández*. Ed. by Manuel Cañete, 1867, pp. 85-135.

between 1505-1508, we get a good idea how the soldier who served under the banner of the Catholic kings was regarded by the man who leads a peaceful life. Soldado quarrels with a shepherd, Pascual, who attacks the profession of soldier. Soldado threatens to punish him, pp. 109-110:

“ ¡Juro á tal, si te arrebató,
Que te vuelva del revés!
.
.
.
Pues dart' he una bofetada
Que scupas diez años muelas.”

Pascual says sneeringly, p. 111:

“ Vos habreis matado ciento.”
Soldado. “ Son tantos, que no ay cuento.”
Pascual. “ Quizás que ño fuesen piojos.”
Soldado. “ Ya me hueles á defunto;
Bien barrunto
Tu morir sin confesion.”
.
.
.
Pascual. “ Doy al Diabro el panfarron.”
Soldado. “ ¡Oh mal grado! ¡Oh despecho!
¡Oh, derreniego y no creo!
¡Hago bascas y pateo!
¡Oh mal villano contrecto!”

Finally, Prábos, another shepherd, succeeds in reconciling them. Here the soldier is not the aggressor, and although he boasts of his deeds, there is none of the extravagance which we find in later plays.]

In the *Comedia Soldadesca* by Torres Naharro, we have an interesting picture of the Spanish soldier in Italy. Guzmán does not hesitate to boast of his exploits, but although there may be some exaggeration in his statements, he is not proved a coward. Menéndez y Pelayo writes of this character:⁶

“ Para explicarnos la creación de esta figura, que es cómica pero no burlesca, no hay que remontarse al Pyrgopolinices de Plauto; ni mucho menos pensar en el capitán Matamoros ó Spavento de la

⁶ *Propaladia de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, 1900, vol. II, p. CXII.

farsa italiana, el cual no había nacido todavía. . . . Guzmán, aunque con puntas y collares rufianescos, y sin pizca de vergüenza en lo que no toca á su oficio de las armas, no es ningún valentón grotesco, sino un soldado de verdad, curtido en campañas sangrientas.⁷

The Soldado furnishes the chief comic element in the *Farsa Teologal* by Diego Sánchez de Badajoz.⁷ With his blustering threats and bragging account of his bravery, he resembles the Miles of Plautus. He enters *muy feroz*, followed by a weeping negress.⁷ When she is slow in replying to his questions, he exclaims, p. 113:

“¿Villanos han de bullir
Con cosas de mi persona?
Siendo de sangre real
Y habiendo hecho hazañas,
Que en Italia y las Españas
Jamás se me halla igual,
¿Quién nunca pensara tal,
Que de burla ni de veras
Connigo partieran peras
El grande ni el comunal?
¿Qué es de mi esfuerzo pujante,
Despecho de los venablos?
Tiemblan de mí los diablos
Desde Poniente á Levante,
¡Y hallo ya quien me espante!
Presto me harán sonajas,
Si no hago mil migajas
A cuantos halle delante.
Yo con mi espada nombrada,
Venga si quisier el resto.”

Suddenly he perceives something which makes him forget his past exploits. It is a pitcher tied to a shepherd's crook, within which is a lighted candle, and in front of the mouth is a black paper with eyes and a mouth. Thoroughly frightened at this uncanny figure, he exclaims, p. 114:

“¡Oh Dios! ¿qué es esto? ¿qué es esto?
¡Voto á diez, que fué celada!”

ARCHER of Bala-mol

⁷ *Recopilación en metro*, pub. in *Libros de Antaño*, vol. XI.

¡Oh! que no os he hecho nada.
 No señor, no me mateis.
 Tomá; mi capa quereis?
 Tomá el broquel y el espada.
 ¡Oh! que no hice por qué.
 ¿No esperaréis la respuesta?
 No se suelte la ballesta,
 Tené la frecha, tené.
 ¡Triste de mí! ¿qué haré?
 ¿Por qué me quereis matar?" 7

In his terror he begins to confess the many sins which he had committed, and when the device falls, the Soldado tumbles beside it in a swoon. The Pastor then enters, and exclaims:

"¿Si se fué ya el fanfarron?
 ¡Dios me valga! ¿y et aquél
 Tendido par del pichel?"

The Soldado calls out in his fear, p. 116:

"¿qué haré?
 ¿Está ahí? ¿está ahí?"

The Pastor tries to reassure him, but the Soldado replies:

"¡Oh que pensé de morir!
 Cierto, moriré de espanto.
 Así Dios te haga santo,
 Que tú me llames al cura."

The Soldado determines to become a good Christian, but in order to conceal the cause of his fright, he tells the Cura that he has a severe tooth-ache. The Cura soon returns with a dentist who extracts a tooth, amid cries of pain from the Soldado: 7

 "¡Oh que me ha saltado el ojo!"
Maestro. "Voto á diez, cácala acá."
Soldado. "¡Oh mezquina de mi vida!
 Noramala, que no es ésa."

7 The dentist is not satisfied until he has pulled several others, and then departs, promising to send his bill the next day. After he has left, the Soldado confesses the real cause of his fright to the Cura who promises to keep the secret.

This play gives a good idea how the braggart soldier was used for comic effect in the religious plays.⁷ He is a coward who boasts of his family and valor, and the comic element lies in the fact that he proves to be just the opposite of what he claims.⁷

A bragging bully, *Fierotrasso*, plays an important part in the *Farsa llamada Ardamisa* by Diego de Negueruela.⁸ [The braggart enters, *haziendo fieros*, and saves Ardamisa from the importunities of the Portugués. He then begins to court the lady himself, swearing that for her love, he would perform great deeds] l. 568 ff.:

“O! si yo por tus amores
me combatiesse con quatro
todos juntos!
Juro a los quatro puntos
de las cartas y su juego,
a todos con los defuntos
te los embiasse luego.”

[He boasts of his famous exploits] ll. 580-604:

“O mi espada!
si lengua te fuesse dada,
como darias fama eterna
de la gran honra ganada
del braço que te gouierna!
O broquel!
compañero muy fiel
deste que te fauorece,
lançando la sangre y hiel
por quien veo que lo merece!
Las hazañas
y marauillas estrañas
de mis fuerças indomestas,
a las brutas alimañas
aun les son ya manifestas.
Si mandays,
porque mas me conozcays,
[si mi nombre hos he celado
yo quiero que lo sepays,
que por nombre soy llamado

⁸ Ed. by M. Léo Rouanet, Madrid, 1900.

Fierotrasso,
 aquel es que a todo passo
 haze los hombres pedaços,
 el que por montes y rasos
 haze carne con sus braços.”

Ardamisa rejects his offers of love and protection, and in his anger, he is about to kill the lady when her lover, Gualirano, enters who roundly abuses the braggart for his violence. Fierotrasso is undaunted, however, ll. 695-97:

“ Vos pensays
 que, por brauo que vengays,
 me hareys mostrar temor? ”

But at the first hostile move of Gualirano, the braggart falls to the ground and begins to repeat the Credo, feeling that Death is at hand, ll. 701-2:

“ Ay, ay, ay! que soy muerto!
Credo in Deum, valame Dios! ”

However, as soon as the danger is past, he threatens to avenge himself on his enemy, ll. 1235-6:

“ Plegue a Dios que yo le cace,
 Que bien me veria con el.”

And again, ll. 1240-41:

“ Vamos, y embiemosle a cena
 con el sancto Lucifer.”

The braggart soldier, *Olivenza*, plays an important part in the *Comedia Pródiga* by *Luis de Miranda*.⁹ *Pródigo* has carried off the girl *Sirguera*, and *Olivenza*, her lover, swears to be avenged. Like the Miles of Plautus, he swears extravagant oaths, p. 48:

“ Reniego del gran Soldan,
 Si rastro hallo de aquella! ”

He tells of his invincible valor, p. 49:

⁹ Date of earliest known edition is 1554. Republished by the *Sociedad de Bibliófilos andaluces*, Sevilla, 1868. References are to this edition.

“ Ya me comienzo á turbar,
Que todo el género humano
No podrá tener mi mano
Sin dejallos de matar.
Que, ¿quién me bastó á enojar
Que de mi furor se fuese,
Ni que esconder se pudiese
Si fuese dentro, en la mar?
¿Contra mí, qué gente armada
Contrastó con fuerza alguna,
Que aun la que llaman fortuna
Se halla de mí pisada?
¿Dónde fué guerra trabada
Que los mas yo no matase?
Que si desto te contase
Te quedarias helada.”

[Olivenza laments that lack of warfare is responsible for his wretched condition, p. 53:

“ Reniego de la Turquía,
Y de su poder y tierra,
Por que no hace tal guerra
Que nos hundamos un dia.
Que Dios nos ayudaria
En virtud de nuestro rey,
Como vimos por su ley
Que nos ayudó en Hungria.
Y no yo por mi pecado,
Que por sueldo me faltar
Ando así por no hurtar,
Desta suerte avergonzado.”

[Olivenza, with the aid of his two friends, Silvan and Orisento, determine to attack Pródigo, rob him and rescue Sirguera. Olivenza approves of the plan, but like Terence's Thraso, prefers to keep in the background, p. 56:

“ Dese modo aquí detrás
Me pongo porque quereis.”

As soon as the bullies have accomplished their purpose, Olivenza cries:]

"Sus de aquí, que hay giteria,
No nos coja el aguacil."

The character of Olivenza unquestionably shows the influence of the *Celestina*, but inasmuch as the *rufián* carries on the love intrigue in his own behalf, and not in the service of another, the play is mentioned here rather than among the more direct imitations of the *Celestina*.⁹ For the same reason, the *rufián*, Pandulfo, in the *Farsa llamada Cornelia*¹⁰ by Andrés Prado, may be included in this group. He boasts of his bravery, but the character has little individuality.¹

In the *entremés* entitled *Golondrino y Calandria*,¹¹ the *rufián* boasts of his exploits, and when his friend Zaballos timidly assents to all that he says, Golondrino continues: "Pues crealo, y si no, busque el tratadillo de mis cosas donde hallara proezas hechas por estas manos que no las hizieron los doze pares de Françia y los Greçianos en Greçia."

In this play, Golondrino boasts of his valor, but he differs from the conventional type, inasmuch as his courage is not put to the test.²

In *Las Cortes de la Muerte*¹² by Micael de Caravajal and Luis Hurtado de Toledo, we see that the braggart soldier was also used in the morality plays. The representatives of the various estates are summoned before Muerte. The *rufián*, Durandarte, threatens Beatriz, *mujer mundana*, and asks her where she is going. She, however, is not afraid of his rodomontades, and says aside, p. 24:

"¡Cómo parla la gallina!
Y despues serán piojos."

She finally tells him that she has been summoned by Muerte, and does not know whether her defence will be heard. Durandarte replies, p. 25:

"Pues yo me quiero ir contigo;
Y si tarda en despacharte,
Yo te le daré un castigo."

⁹ Pub. by Pérez Pastor in *La Imprenta en Medina del Campo*, p. 330 ff. It was printed at Medina del Campo in 1603, but there was probably an earlier edition in the first half of the sixteenth century.

¹⁰ Ed. by G. L. Lincoln, *Romanic Review*, vol. I, pp. 41-49.

¹¹ Republished in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 35, 1-41.

Beatriz asks him if he has the courage to face Death, and he exclaims:

“¿Y es mucho por complacerte
Poner las manos en ella?¹
No te pienses que me duermo;
Que aunque fuese al Taborlán
Y al diablo de Palermo,
¡Voto á tal! en este yermo
Los acometa, si están.
Hora que ando escarnizado
Y bañado en sangre humana,
¿Qué me resta, ni ha restado,
Sino seguir tras el hado,
Pues tan próspero es, hermana?
Mas ya sé que holgará
La Muerte de obedescer
Tu mandado, y le hará;
Mayormente si sabrá
Que me hace á mí placer.
Y si no todo será,
Si della no te recelas,
Llevarme contigo allá;
Y de un tajo allí do está
Le derribaré las muelas.”

Another *rufián*, Pie de Hierro, enters who disputes with Durandarte for the possession of Beatriz. Finally they come to blows, and during the affray, Beatriz escapes and appears before Muerte.

In this play, the braggart is even ready to defy Death, but although his cowardice is inferred, his courage is not put to the test. He does not appear as a soldier, and shows the influence of the *Celestina*.

¹In *Los Desposorios de Cristo* by Juan de Timoneda,¹⁸ a Soldado appears who comes to an evil end because of his bragging. The play is based on the parable of the marriage of the King's son, found in Matthew, chap. XXII. The Soldado accepts the summons to the marriage feast, but neglects to provide himself with a

¹⁸ Published in 1575. Republished in the *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. 58, pp. 104-112.

wedding garment, relying on the deeds of valor which he has performed] p. 108:

“¡Cuán provechoso pregon
Es este que han pregonado,
Que diz qu’el Rey ha mandado
Que á todos den refeccion
En las bodas que ha ordenado!”

[He threatens that they will have to deal with him if he is not given the choicest delicacies]

“¡Por las áspidas malinas
Y el soberbioso Pluton,
Que si no dan buen capon,
Pavos, perdices, gallinas,
Que hemos de tener quistion!”

[He then relates some of his exploits, and defies them to refuse him admittance]

“Y más á un fuerte guerrero
Que ha obrado hechos nombrados,
Donde los más esforzados,
Temiendo mi brazo fiero,
Temblaban como azogados.
Pues en eso de Granada,
¿Quién contará las hazañas
Que hice con esta espada
Entre la gente malvada,
Hasta abrirles las entrañas?
¡Hora, sú! no hay que poner
Excusa en este convite,
En darme bien á comer:
[Quién lo querrá defender,
Que la vida no le quite?
No porque esté mal vestido
Sin ropa y desta manera,
Me han d’echar la puerta afuera,
Que en la guerra lo he rompido;
Defendiendo una frontera.
Es mi nombre Pimentel,
Don Joan Menezes del Canto:

*The turning of
the Shaw-wedding scene*

Fuí alférez en Argel,
En Italia coronel,
Y capitan en Lepanto.
Muy bueno será llegar
A ponerme en buen asiento:
Y del vino y del manjar
Me den: si no, haré temblar
La tierra y el firmamento.”

The King notices the wretched clothing of the Soldado, and orders Satan and Lucifer to carry the unlucky braggart to Hell. In this play, the emphasis is laid on the soldier's boasting air, rather than on his cowardice.]

In the braggart types that have been examined, it is usually a soldier who boasts of his deeds, and in the majority of cases, his cowardice is proved. All of these figures, although the outcome of conditions in Spain in the sixteenth century, are indirectly related to the Miles of Plautus and the Italian *Capitano*. In the second group of plays which I shall examine, the influence of the *Celestina* is evident, and the braggart is a servant who frequently aids his master in his love intrigues.] This feature was original with Spain, and is of especial interest as it furnished certain elements in the creation of the *gracioso*.]

[The *rufián*, or bully, appears for the first time in Spanish literature in the version of the *Celestina* which was published at Seville in 1502 with the title *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*. Besides other additions, this version contains twenty-one acts in place of the original sixteen. In *Actos Quinceno and Decimoctavo*, we meet the *rufián Centurio*, “qui est la figure la plus curieuse des cinq actes ajoutés, moins en soi que parce qu'elle est le prototype de ce capitan espagnol qui, pendant un siècle et demi, paraîtra sur maint théâtre d'Italie ou d'Espagne.”¹⁴] Although, strictly speaking, the *Celestina* is not a drama, the character of the bully which is found here had so great an influence on the subsequent development of the type that it must be included in this study.

[In Plautus and Terence, the Miles had considerable wealth]: in the *Miles Gloriosus* he is credited with possessing mountains of

¹⁴ Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue Hispanique*, vol. VII, p. 56.

silver higher than Etna, (l. 1065). [¶]The soldier and *rufián* of the Spanish plays was always poor. In act XVIII of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, Areusa and Elicia ask Centurio to avenge upon Calisto and Melibea the deaths of Parmeno and Sempronio, and he replies that he will perform the mightiest deeds of arms for them, but can not give them money. [¶]“Las alhajas que tengo es el ajuar de la frontera, un jarro desbocado, un asador sin punta; la cama en que me echo está armada sobre aros de broqueles, un rimero de malla rota por colchones, una talega de dados por almohada, que aunque quiera dar colacion, no tengo que empeñar, sino esta capa arpada que traigo acuestas.”

He is on intimate terms with the procuress Areusa, boasts to her of his bravery, and pours forth a stream of gasconades when she casts some doubt on his valor:

“Si mi espada dijese lo que hace, tiempo le faltaria para hablar. ¿Quién sino ésta puebla los mas cimiterios? quién hace ricos los cirujanos desta tierra? quién da de continuo que hacer á los armeros? quién destroza la malla muy fina? quién hace riza de los broqueles de Barcelona? . . . Veinte años ha que me da de comer; por ella soy temido de hombres y querido de mujeres, sino de tí; por ella le dieron Centurio por nombre á mi abuelo, y Centurio se llamó mi padre, y Centurio me llamo yo.”

He adds that he wishes to please her in every way, and begs her to suggest the sort of death Calisto shall die:

“ . . . allí te mostraré un repertorio en que hay setecientas y setenta especies de muertes: verás cuál mas te agradare.” Elicia is frightened and fears for the consequences, but the braggart continues: “Las que agora estos dias yo uso y mas traigo entre manos, son espaldarazos sin sangre; ó porradas de pomo de espada, ó revés mañoso: á otros agujero como arnero á puñaladas, tajo largo, estocada temerosa, tiro mortal. Algun dia doy palos por dejar holgar mi espada.”

[¶]No sooner is he alone than he realizes the danger of his rash promise, and determines to entrust the affair to Traso el Cojo and his companions.

Still another act, the twenty-second, was added in the version of the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea* which appeared in three

editions, Toledo 1526, Medina del Campo 1530? and Toledo 1538.¹⁵ In this new Act, the *rufián*, Traso, appears, but the character is not developed and lacks interest. The name is perhaps a reminiscence of Thraso of Terence.

Sancho Muñon, the author of the *Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia*,¹⁶ published in 1542, made certain important additions to the figure of the *rufián*. By entering the service of Lisandro and aiding the latter's designs to win the love of Roselia, he becomes an integral part of the intrigue. Like Centurio in the *Celestina*, he boasts of his exploits, but there is an added comic element, for he proves to be a coward when he is in the very midst of his boasting.

In this play, the *rufián* is Brumandilon. He threatens to kill the procuress Elicia if she refuses to share her profits with him, and tells how he had drawn his sword in defense of her honor, p. 59:

"Anteayer por salvar tu fama perdiera mi vida por confiar mucho en la virtud de mi espada, que, como toro agarrochado en el Coso, me vi entre siete que en tí pusieron lengua: sino, mira mi capa arpada y el broquel con trecientas picaduras, pero todavía mi blanca espada hizo lugar, los cuatro se me escaparon por piés, á los tres dexo descalabrados: al uno de ellos si no traxera caxquete de Calatayud, con el poderío del golpe le hendiera la cabeza fasta los hombros, pero no sino fasta la piamater."

In the midst of his boasting, Elicia cries, p. 61: "Pasos oigo, acá suben, no sé quién es: ó amigo, ó enemigo, ó mal criado es, pues sube sin llamar." Brumandilon replies: "¡Oh, por Dios, que lo segundo es; méteme en la camarilla de las hierbas, cierra, cierra presto con llave por defuera!" At the suggestion of Elicia, the visitor imitates the voice of a squire with whom Brumandilon had quarreled: the *rufián* is panic-stricken and finally comes out of his hiding place, crying: "Ya, ya, no espero más vivir. Señor, perdona mis pecados. ¡Santo Dios! ya abre; Credo." The bully then offers a very lame excuse for his cowardice.

He offers his service to the lover Lisandro, and relates some of his deeds, p. 65: ". . . juro á la serpentina vara de Aron y

¹⁵ This addition, called the *auto de Traso*, may be read in the *Catálogo de Salvá*, vol. I, pp. 397-99.

¹⁶ Republished at Madrid in 1872. *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, vol. III. References are to this edition.

Moisés, si es para desafío, ó afrenta, ó matar alguno, ántes será hecho que mandado, que la muerte tengo por vida, en tanto que sea en tu servicio."

As Lisandro goes to meet Roselia, Oligides urges Brumandilon to keep up with the party, and the braggart is ready with an excuse for lagging behind, p. 255: "Luégo, luégo, que doy filos rabiosos á mi espada carnícera en esta piedra, para que con un golpe haga lo que por muchos habia de hacer, la cual te digo que jamas se desenvainó que no hiciese riza espantosa en aquellos, que muy de gana no me daban la obediencia." However, when he hears of the death of Lisandro, he makes off at oncē

The bully Escalion in the *Comedia llamada Selvagia*,¹⁷ closely resembles Brumandilon, in fact, he claims the latter as his father. He is a blustering fellow, a braggart of the first water, yet cowers before the dwarf Risdeño and humbly asks pardon for his insults. He acts as emissary in the love affairs of his master. This incident was constantly repeated in the later plays and became a marked characteristic of the *rufián*. When his assistance is asked for an adventure in which he will incur some danger, he weakly excuses himself. In the second Scene of the first Act, Velmonte, servant of Flerinardo, asks the aid of Escalion in a certain adventure, and the latter replies that there will be less danger if he does not take part:

"... que yo juro por la metafísica de Aristóteles, el menor de toda la ciudad no sabría mi salida quando en el camino nos pusiesen treinta celadas de parientes y amigos de hombres que yo he privado de la vida; pues viéndose mi vigoroso brazo en tal aprieto, ¿qué ha de hacer sino despedazar dos ó tres docenas dellos, de do se siga alguna revuelta, que fuera mejor habernos estado en casa? De mí, que diga que no, todavía me pesa enviar tantas ánimas de fieles al purgatorio: demas desto, mi confesor otra cosa no me encarga sino que tenga conciencia de los huérfanos y viudas que por mi causa padecen gran laceria en toda Europa."

As soon as he scents danger, he forgets his duties and takes to his heels. While Flerinardo is serenading his sweetheart, Escalion cries, p. 46: "Gente y mucha, pese á Mars; alto, piés hácia la

¹⁷ Published in 1554. Republished in the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, vol. V, Madrid, 1875. References are to this edition.

Soldier in Placitas',
Revuelto

posada, dad al diablo cuenta con serranos." Thinking that he is pursued, he cries with terror: "¡Ay, ay, desdichado, que cerca vienen, muerto soy! ¡Jesus, Jesus, confision! ¡Oh, qué cortado soy, váleme Dios de la muerte! . . . Mas aún no asoman los enemigos, sin dubda á mis desventurados compañeros deben de estar destrozando."

Then we have this personal confession of the rufián, p. 47:

"Agora el diablo creo me hace á mí blasonar de las armas, y siendo más cobarde que una gallina, lo qual por un cabo es bueno, porque siquiera me tengan en algo; mas doy á la mala rabia tenida que por ella habeis de andar siempre la barba sobre el hombro, y estar obligado á que ninguno en toda la ciudad haga desafío que por compañero ó padrino no os convide, donde en diez años que en esto he andado, he sacado de barato este relativo, ó rascuñillo de veinte y cinco puntos que tengo de oreja á oreja, y tres veces apaleado, y quiera Dios que esta noche no quede la vida por las costillas."

In order to excuse himself for having run away, he tells a wonderful yarn how he had vanquished his enemies, p. 49: "¡Oh, descreo de la hórrida barba de Caron, y cómo por tener piés los demas se escaparon, que ellos conocieran quién es Escalion!"

Vallejo, a *rufián*, furnishes the chief comic element in the *Comedia llamada Eufemia*,¹⁸ of Lope de Rueda.¹⁷ The character of *rufián* appears in several plays of Lope de Rueda, a part which the latter probably represented himself.¹⁹ Vallejo swears vengeance upon a certain Grimaldo, and will not hear of reconciliation, p. 26:

"Así me podrían poner delante todas las piezas de artillería questán por defensa en todas las fronteras de Asia, Africa y en Europa, con el serpentino de bronce que en Cartagena está desterrado por su demasiada soberbia, y que volviesen ahora á resucitar las lombardas de hierro colado con quel Cristianísimo Rey D. Fer-

¹⁸Republished in the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, vol. XXIV.

¹⁷Cervantes writes in the Prologue to his *Ocho comedias y entremeses*: "Las comedias eran unos coloquios, como églogas, entre dos ó tres pastores y alguna pastora. Aderezábanlas y dilatábanlas con dos ó tres entremeses, ya de Negra, ya de *Rufián*, ya de Bobo, ya de Vizcaino, que todas estas cuatro figuras, y otras muchas hacia el tal Lope, con la mayor excelencia y propiedad que pudiera imaginarse."

nando ganó á Baça; y finalmente aquel tan nombrado galeon de Portugal con toda la canalla que lo rige viniese, que todo lo que tengo dicho y mentado fuese bastante para mudarme de mi propósito."

Grimaldo, however, knows well the character of his adversary, and makes light of his threats, pp. 27-8: The following scene is in Lope de Rueda's best style. Vallejo tries to leave on the pretext of getting his weapons, but Grimaldo calls him back. Vallejo then attempts to bluff his enemy, p. 30:

Vallejo. "Ora, pues sois porfiado, sabed que os dejara un poco más con vida, si por ella fuera; déjeme, señor Polo, hacer á ese hombrecillo las preguntas que soy obligado por el descargo de mi conciencia."

Polo. "¿Qué le habeis de preguntar? Decí."

Vallejo. "Déjeme vuesa merced hacer lo que debo: ¿qué, tanto há, golondrinillo, que no te has confesado?"

Grimaldo. "¿Qué parte eres tú para pedirme aqueoso, corta bolsas?"

Vallejo. "Señor Polo, vea vuesa merced si quiere aqueoso pobrete moço que le digan algo á su padre, ó qué misas manda que le digan por su alma."

Vallejo, seeing that his attempt to frighten him are in vain, asks the name of his adversary, and on learning it, exclaims, p. 32: "Desventurado de mí, ¿quién es el que me ha librado tantas veces de la horca, sino el padre de aqueoso caballero? Señor Grimaldo, tomad vuestra daga, y vos mismo abrid aqueste pecho, y sacadme el coraçon y abrilde por medio, y hallareis en él escrito el nombre de vuestro padre Luis Grimaldo." Thereupon, he agrees to meet Grimaldo at the tavern to celebrate their newly-formed friendship. But no sooner is his enemy out of hearing than Vallejo assumes again his swaggering air, p. 33: "¡Ah, Grimaldico, Grimaldico, cómo te has escapado de la muerte por dárteme á conocer! Pero guarte no vuelvas á dar el menor tropeçoncillo del mundo, que toda la parentela de los Grimaldos no será parte para que á mis manos ese pobrete esprittillo, que aunque está con la leche en los labios, no me lo rindas."

He takes part in the love affairs of his master, and claims that he can perform good service, since his influence was great with

women, p. 46: "¿Hay en toda la vida airada, ni en toda la máquina astrológica, á quien más sujecion tengan las moças que á Vallejo, tu lacayo?"

He boasts of his deeds, but flees thoroughly frightened by a false alarm, crying, p. 48: "¡Válame Nuestra Señora del Pilar de Zaragoza! Ah ladrones, ladrones, Leonardo, á punto, á punto!"

In *Lope de Rueda's Comedia Medora*,²⁰ the lackey Gargullo is a cowardly *rufián* who helps his master in his love affair. In the first Scene, Gargullo enters, blustering and swearing dire vengeance on a certain Peñalva, when the latter appears. He loses all his courage on seeing the resolute attitude of his enemy, and so far forgets the injury done to him that he is content to accept the suggestion of Logroño, another lackey, that the next time Peñalva wishes to strike him, he must give him warning beforehand. As soon as his enemy is out of sight, the braggart relates to Estela his brave conduct, p. 240:

Gargullo. ". . . si estuvieras á la ventana vieras correr más sangre por esa calle, que el rastro que se hace entre la puerta del campo y Teresa Gil."

Estela. "¿Pues tanta sangre de un hombre solo?"

Gargullo. "Más de treinta se van de aquí, todos amigos y valedores suyos."

Estela. "¿En fin?"

Gargullo. "En fin, que me perdonó un bofeton que nueve testigos con-testes dicen que le dí, y sobre todo echóse á mis pies y demandóme perdon, y por ruegos de algunos amigos que allí se hallaron, acabaron conmigo que le hiciese merced de la vida por cinco años."²¹

In the second Scene, Gargullo aids his master in his suit with Estela, and is well beaten for his pains. At the first blow, he calls for a confessor, feeling that death is at hand: "¡Oh desafortunado de tí, Gargullo! ¿Qué haré yo, señor, de mi vida? Desgraciado de mí, tráeme un cura, luego, luego," and he asks that an offering be made to Señor Santiago de Galicia, at his death.

In the *Paso Quinto*²¹ of Lope de Rueda, the braggart Sigüenza

²⁰ Republished in vol. XXIV of the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, pp. 227-294.

²¹ Republished in vol. XXIII of the *Colección de libros raros ó curiosos*, p. 133 ff.

plays the chief part. He is accused of being a thief, and relates how he had lost his ears.] p. 135 :

“ En el año de quinientos y cuarenta y seis, á nueve días andados del mes de Abril, la cual historia se hallará hoy en día escrita en una tabla de cedro en la casa del Ayuntamiento de la isla de Mallorca ; habiendo yo desmentido á un coronel, natural de Ibiça, y no osándome demandar la injuria por su persona, siete soldados suyos se convocaron á sacarme al campo, los nombres de los cuales eran, Dios les perdone, Campos, Pineda, Osorio, Campuzano, Trillo el Cojo, Perotete el Zurdu y Janote el Desgarrado ; los cinco maté, y los dos tomé á merced.”

Sebastiana bids him tell how he had lost his ears, and the braggart continues :

“ A eso voy, que viéndome cercado de todos siete, por si acaso viniésemos á las manos, no me hiciesen presa en ellas, yo mismo usando de ardid de guerra, me las arranqué de cuajo, y arrojándoselas á uno que conmigo peleaba, le quebranté once dientes del golpe, y quedó torcido el pescueço, donde al catorceno día murió, sin que médico ninguno le pudiese dar remedio.”

However, in spite of his boasts, Sigüenza proves himself a coward. Estepa appears, against whom Sigüenza had just uttered terrible threats, and bids him draw his sword. The braggart excuses himself with this weak plea, p. 138 : “ Que no es mia, señor, que un amigo me la dejó, con condicion que no riñese con ella.” Estepa forces Sigüenza to deny all that he had said about him and then subjects him to a humiliating punishment.

It may be seen that in these three plays of Lope de Rueda, the *rufián* shows the same characteristics. He is ready to boast of his exploits, but is a coward at heart, and this exhibition of cowardice furnishes the chief comic element. In all three plays, he is a lackey ; in *Eufemia* and *Medora*, he serves as an instrument in the love affairs of his master.

In the *Comedia Tholomea*²² by Alonso de la Vega, Robledillo, servant of Tholomeo, plays the part of *rufián*. He says that his profession is “ matar hombres, reñir pendencias, cortar piernas, y braços, atrauessar caras, assolar exercitos, derrocar torres, minar

²² *Tres Comedias de Alonso de la Vega*, ed. by Menéndez y Pelayo, Dresden, 1905.

adarues: y sobre todo abrasar el mundo de vanda á vanda por tu servicio."

His master says that he wishes to talk to his sweetheart in her garden, and bids him stand guard. Robledillo replies, p. 16:

"Las espaldas, dalas por bien guardadas, como si las tuuieses dentro de sessenta cofres: y aun, si es menester, a essa donzella que dizes que le cruse aquella cara de vanda a vanda: o que te la hazga de los cabellos, hechandola hasta la region del quemantissimo sol, y que allí se consuma, haré lo, haré lo en un abrir y cerrar de ojo: no es menester mas." In spite of his bragging, he tells his master to take the lead, and when Tholomeo bids him advance, Robledillo, like another Thraso, says that he prefers to stay behind: "Que no es couardia esta, señor, si no que yo guardo espaldas excellentissimamente."

The braggart is thoroughly frightened as soon as his master leaves him, p. 16:

"Anda, que no ayas miedo: el diablo se rebullira, las hojas que se menean pienso que son ladrillazos que tiran: y si alguno baxa de arriba, Dios perdone a Robledillo: tomad, por cierto que parece que abaxan: sí, dicho y hecho: el diablo me mete a mí en estas soçobras: ay que viene, no tengo mejor remedio que tomar este ramo, y poner me lo delante, y con la escuridad, diran, arbol es como los otros, y assí passarán a delante." He is filled with terror and begs his master to leave so dangerous a locality.

Robledillo is the same type of braggart as we find in the plays of Lope de Rueda. He boasts of his valor, but shows the white feather when his courage is put to the test by his master.

In the *Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa*²⁸ by Alonso de la Vega, Brauonel, servant of the Mayordomo, is the bragging bully. [The scene in which he appears is really only a *paso*, and has no organic connection with the rest of the play.] The braggart enters, blustering, and tells his master that he had been accused of having been publicly whipped, whereupon he had attacked his seven enemies, killed one, and put the others to flight. When he is confronted by Loaysa who says that Brauonel had been well beaten by some *pagezillos* who had taken his sword, the bully at first tries to deny the charge, but finally admits that he had gotten the worst

²⁸ *Ibid.*

of the quarrel. He recovers his courage as soon as Loaysa is out of sight. Like the *rufianes* of Lope de Rueda, he is a bragging coward, but he does not serve as an instrument in the intrigue.

In *El Infamador*²⁴ by Juan de la Cueva, Farandon, a servant of Leucino, is a braggart who aids his master in his guilty designs. As in *Lisandro y Roselia*, he carries on negotiations with the bawd Teodora in order to overcome the resistance of Eliodora. He boasts of his valor, and issues a general challenge p. 272:

“Cualquiera que dijere qu’este agravio
Puede satisfacerse sin castigo,
Digo que miente, y salga luego al campo,
Donde al contrario le haré que diga,
O á bofetones le haré que lance
La lengua, con el ánima revuelta.”

As a penalty for the outrage done to Eliodora, Farandon is ordered by Diana to be burned to death. Then the bully lays aside his bragging airs and pleads for mercy, p. 284:

“O vírgen delia, muévate mi llanto,
Y ten piedad de la miseria mia.”

I have attempted to show that the braggart soldier and *rufián* appeared quite frequently in the Spanish plays of the sixteenth century. They resemble each other to such an extent that it is often difficult to classify them. They both are ready to boast of their exploits, but in most cases, prove in time of danger that their valor consists only in words. In the *Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea*, for example, Centurio is both a braggart soldier and a *rufián*. Because of this confusion, I have preferred to attempt another classification. In the first group, the soldier and *rufián* are concerned chiefly with their own affairs, while in the second, they are either servants, or aid someone else in his intrigues. It is only this second class which is of importance in the creation of the *gracioso*.

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²⁴ Republished by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, vol. I, p. 264 ff.

MISCELLANEOUS

VITA NOVA: 41 AND CLIGÉS: 5815ff.

ONE of the most justly admired passages in the *Vita Nova* is the twenty-fourth sonnet:

Deh peregrini, che pensosi andate
Forse di cosa che non v' è presente,
Venite voi di sì lontana gente,
Come alla vista voi ne dimostrate?
Che non piangete, quando voi passate
Per lo suo mezzo la città dolente,
Come quelle persone, che neente
Par che intendesser la sua gravitate.
Se voi restate, per volerla udire,
Certo lo core ne' sospir mi dice,
Che lagrimando n' uscirete pui.
Ella ha perduta la sua Beatrice;
E le parole, ch' uom di lei può dire,
Hanno virtù di far piangere altrui.

It will be recalled that pilgrims, on their way to Rome, pass through Florence. The city is filled with mourning. Dante reflects that, if the pilgrims knew the cause of the city's grief for the death of Beatrice, they too would join in the general lamentation. This reflection is the *raison d'être* for the sonnet which he addresses to the pilgrims as above quoted.

It is true, as Farinelli remarks (*Dante e la Francia*, vol. I, p. 16, note), that Dante does not anywhere mention Chrétien de Troyes. But Dante scholars may be interested in a passage of *Cligés* by Chrétien, antedating the *Vita Nova* by a century and a quarter, in which the French poet has recourse to the same conceit in order to express the grief of the Greek city for the death of the heroine of the poem, the beloved Empress Fenice. The following translation of *Cligés*, 5815ff. will show how the two poets resort to the same device in order to enhance a similar situation.

“In the midst of the tears and cries, as the story tells, there came three very aged doctors from Salerno, where they had long resided.

Noticing the great grief, they stopped and inquired the cause of the cries and tears, and why the people were all in distress and sorrow. And this sad answer is made to them: 'In God's name! gentlemen, don't you know? The whole world would be distracted, as we are, if it knew of the great grief and sorrow and loss and deprivation that has come to us this day. In God's name! where have you come from, then, when you do not know what has happened just now in this city? We will tell you the truth, for we wish you to accompany us in the grief with which we are afflicted.'"

Then follows a conventional reproach of Death for having, as is its wont, removed a light which God had set in the world, and for having attacked the fairest of his creatures. The passage concludes: "Beauty, courtesy and knowledge, and all the accompanying virtues of goodness which a lady can possess, have been taken and filched from us by Death, who has deprived us of so many blessings in the person of my lady the Empress. Thus has Death robbed us all of life."¹

The doctors regret keenly that they did not arrive sooner, confident that their skill would have saved the Empress' life. The rest of the episode has no bearing on a comparison with the passage in the *Vita Nova*.

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¹ Antre les lermes et les criz,
Si con tesmoingne li escriz,
Sont venu troi fisicien
De Salerne, mout ancien,
Ou lonc tans avoient esté.
Por le grant duel sont aresté,
Si demandent et si anquierent,
Don li cri et les lermes ierent,
Por quoi s'afoient et confondent.
Et cil lor dient et respondent:
"Des! seignor, don ne savez vos?
De ce devroit ansamble o nos
Toz li mondes desver a tire,
S'il savoit le grant duel et l'ire
Et le damage et la grant perte,
Qu'ui cest jor nos est aoverte.
Des! dont estes vos donc venu,
Quant ne savez, qu'est avenu
Ore androit an ceste cité?
Nos vos dirons la verité,

Que aconpaignier vos volons
Au duel, de quoi nos nos dolons.

.

Biauté, cortésie et savoir
Et quanque dame puisse avoir,
Qu'apartenir doie a bonté,
Nos a tolu et mesconté
La morz, qui toz biens a periz
An ma dame, l'anpererriz.
Einsi nos a la morz tuēz."

A SONNET OF CIRO DI PERS ATTRIBUTED TO G. F. BUSENELLO

THE recent publication by Benedetto Croce of his anthology of *Lirici Marinisti* (Bari, Laterza, 1910, in *Scrittori d'Italia*), enables me to solve a small problem which arises in connection with my edition of the *Sonetti amorosi e morali* of Gian Francesco Busenello (Venice, Fabris, 1911). I included in that edition the sonnet entitled *Bella donna che aveva i capelli neri* (no. XXXVIII of the edition), on the authority of the miscellaneous Codex Correr, 1198, p. 240a, which bears the specific attribution: *del Businello*. Isolated attributions from such sources are suspect in themselves; yet we have no right to reject them unless definite evidence is forthcoming. This sonnet in fact offers a discrepancy with another sonnet, which properly could belong to the *amorosi*. This poem (no. I. of the *sonetti vari*), entitled erroneously *Per una recamatrice chiamata Margherita*, categorically describes the lady: "Dai begli occhi l'azzurro e l'or dai crini," whereas no. XXXVIII develops conceits around the black hair and the flashing eyes of the lover. Lacking specific descriptions of Lilla in these respects in the other sonnets, there was no satisfactory way of determining which of the two poems belonged to her, which to some other woman. I selected the sonnet on the *capelli neri* for the principal series as being the more interesting of the two.

This sonnet, however, belongs to *Ciro di Pers* and is put by Mr. Croce at the head of his selections from that author. At any rate it should be noted that the sonnet was printed in the 1689 Venice edition of the *Poesie* of Pers. This edition, to be sure, was made twenty-seven years after the death of Pers in 1662. How much authority it may have is therefore questionable, especially as we lack thoroughgoing examination of Pers's poetry. It is noteworthy for instance that Busenello and Pers were in correspondence with each other, and read and praised each other's works. Among the papers of either could be found easily copies of compositions by the other.

There is, however, little question of preference between the probable accuracy of the editor of the 1687 edition of Pers and of the careless compiler of a miscellaneous manuscript.

Inasmuch as the two sources for this sonnet differ materially in text I reproduce them here for the better intelligence of the verses as they stand in the *Lirici marinisti* and in my edition Codex Correr, 1198:

Ethiope chiome che dai raggi ardenti
Di due soli vicini il fosco avete,
Voi di mia vita i duri stami siete
Onde mi fila Cloto ore dolenti.
O del foco d'amor carboni spenti!
Ma che spenti! Non meno i cori ardete,
Giudici veri, che mostrar solete
Falsi d'ogn'altro crin gli ori lucenti.
O di notti celesti ombre divine,
In due emisferi è il ciel d'amor diviso,
E voi del giorno suo sete il confine.
Venga, chi mirar vuol dentro un bel viso
Con una bianca fronte in nero crine
Dipinto a chiaro scuro il paradiso.

Lirici marinisti, p. 363:

Le chiome nere.

Chiome etiòpe, che da' raggi ardenti
de'duo Soli vicini il fosco avete,
voi di mia vita i neri stami sète,
onde mi fila Cloto ore dolenti.
O del foco d'amor carboni spenti,
ma che spenti non meno i cori ardete;
pietre di Batto, che mostrar solete
falsi d'ogn'altro crin gli ori lucenti;
O di celeste notte ombre divine;
in duo emisperi è il ciel d'amor diviso,
e voi del giorno suo sète il confine.
Venga chi veder vuole entro un bel viso,
con una bianca fronte e un nero crine,
dipinto a chiaroscuro il paradiso.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

La Chastelaine de Vergi. Poème du XIII^e siècle. Edité par Gaston Raynaud.
Paris, H. Champion, 1910. Pp. viii + 31.

This is the first volume of a new series of Old French and Provençal texts of earlier date than 1500, with the general title *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*. The series is under the direction of M. Mario Roques, Directeur adjoint à l'École pratique des Hautes Études. The announcement signed by him and setting forth the plan of the series contemplates the publication of all the really important works (the word "classiques" is to be taken in a wide sense), without full vocabularies or commentaries: "il existe aujourd'hui assez de recueils philologiques, d'ouvrages généraux, d'études particulières, de dictionnaires, auxquels il est légitime d'envoyer; mais il serait indispensable que ces textes fussent édités avec assez de rigueur et munis d'indications historiques et critiques suffisantes pour que le travail scientifique y trouvât immédiatement une base certaine; il faudrait encore que ces éditions fussent d'un prix modique . . . enfin que la publication fût assez rapide pour fournir au bout de peu d'années une véritable bibliothèque riche et variée." This is a most interesting and attractiv plan, and we may all hope that it will be carried out with the success it well deserves.

The series is worthily opened by the work whose title is given above. The introduction contains brief indications of the early and late popularity in France and other countries of this charmingly told story, and of its various alterations, notably the confusion with the *Dame de Fayel* and the *Châtelaine de Coucy*, the different editions of the Old French text, a list of the MSS., in which is noteworthy the addition of one (of the thirteenth century) not known to the editor when he published his edition in *Romania*, XXI (1892), a list of the most interesting variants of the MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, including the essential variants of the new MS. (*I*), and, finally, references for further study. So brief an introduction can of course give no full discussion and arguments on the questions raised by the introduction to Raynaud's earlier edition, and these references are meant to take the place of such discussions. But it may be noticed that the editor now says that "l'héroïne a peut-être réellement vécu à la cour de Hugues IV, duc de Bourgogne," which shows that he is no longer so confident as formerly of the correctness of the historical identifications made by him in 1892. His opinion at that time was not accepted by Gröber (*Grundriss*, II. i, 911), any more than by Lorenz and Brandin. One might go further and doubt whether the poem was written in Burgundy, and whether the poet himself was a Burgundian. The few rimes adduced by M. Raynaud in 1892 can hardly be called decisiv, and indeed his language (*Romania*, XXI, 154) was sufficiently cautious.¹

¹ The recent study by M. E. Philipon (*Romania*, XXXIX, 476 ff., *Les Parlers du duché de Bourgogne aux XIII^e et aux XIV^e siècles*) gives some help in the study of this question, tho less than might be expected.

The text of 1892 has been very carefully revised for this new edition, more carefully than might be inferred from the words used in the introduction ("revu et amélioré en quelques endroits"). A comparison of the two texts with regard to punctuation, use of accents, spelling, etc., shows that every line was minutely scrutinized for the present edition. In a few cases there is room for a difference of opinion. I have noticed a few misprints. In line 118 *ceux* is for *ceus*, 223 *si* for *se*, 262 *Amors* (I suppose) for *amors*, 720 *savent* for *sevent*, 817 *qui* for *cui*, and doubtless 928 *toz qui* for *toz, qui, qui* being a singular.

For consideration in a later edition, I offer the following remarks on a few passages. In line 218 I am not sure that *voliez*, instead of the former reading *voles* (in 1892), is not really a misprint. Since the other occurrences in the poem of a 2d pers. pl. imperf. indic. or conditional show *-iez* in two syllables, *voliez* with *-ies* in one syllable is suspicious. The MS. *H* is the only one mentioned in *Romania*, XXI, 171, with the imperfect (*vouliez*), while *C*, the MS. which is in general followed, has *le volés fiancier*. *I* has *fiancier* and apparently *voliez*. The future indic. *direz* follows in line 220 and the conditional in lines 221 and 222 of Reynaud's text. The rime here requires *-ier*, and Reynaud prints *chevalier* and in rime *afier*. But in line 4 of the poem we find *fier* in rime with *celer*, so that the secondary pronunciation *afier* does not seem to have been the poet's.—In line 367 we look for *ne n'anuit* instead of *ne anuit* (*mes qu'il ne vous griet ne anuit*). Only *D*, it seems, has the negative adverb with the second verb.—In line 393 Brandin changed *chevalier* to *chienet* in his text, against all the MSS. used and he apparently thought the change (doubtless on account of the following lines) so obviously necessary that it only needed mention to be at once accepted. Reynaud mentions this correction among the variants which he gives, adding, "*ce qui ne paraît pas s'accorder avec la suite*." It is to be wished that he had explained why it does not accord with what follows; certainly the lines that follow seem to say that the lady came out of her chamber to meet the knight, who therefore was not already in the chamber. To be sure, if *chienet* is substituted for *chevalier* and no other change is made, the verse becomes too short by one syllable, and Brandin accordingly takes the reading of *D*, making the passage read: [*li dus*] *vit en la chambre entrer Le chienet, et ainssy issin Sa niece*, etc., the other MSS. having in line 393 *Le chevalier, et vit issir*.—Line 422 has the noteworthy pret. 3d sing. *connu* in rime with *fu*. Méon's text (line 420) has the normal *connut* riming with *s'estut* (this latter the reading of *H*). In 687 *tout premeraine* can hardly be admitted; the simplest correction seems to be as in *E* (*sa niece toute premeraine*). There are a few passages in Méon's edition which deserve consideration; cf. (in his numbering) 92, where *qui* would be expected for the first word, 438, 563.

The price of this handy and at the same time attractively little volume is indeed moderate, being only eighty centimes.

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Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary (1380-1844). By PAGET TOYNBEE. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909. Two volumes; I, pp. li, 684; II, 757.

P. Toynbee in his *Dante in English Literature* offers a valuable collection of material for the future historian of either the influence of Italy on English

literature, or of the vicissitudes of literary taste, from Chaucer the first Englishman to translate portions of Dante, to the death of Henry Cary. Cary's translation, even to-day, represents Dante to the majority of English-speaking people, and was the first contribution to the subject treated by Mr. Toynbee on account of the citations of the many passages of English poets which owed their inspiration to the verses of the Italian poet, for which they often serve as the best comment. The author has made use of subsequent studies on the subject, confined to a limited field, or to a single author, but he has had to trust mostly to his own readings, of which one must judge not only by the array of evidence he puts before his reader's eyes, but also by bearing in mind that far wider field, in which he worked without finding any reward for his industry. Commendable as the book is for the industry and patience displayed, it should not be, nay, it can not be, compared with such a masterpiece of literary history and criticism as Farinelli's *Dante e la Francia*, of which the mere title denotes the wider scope. The author has not attempted to do anything more than to collect and arrange chronologically the allusions to Dante found in English literature, within the limits set by himself, and to preface each extract with a slight biographical sketch of the author. In consonance with the plan of composition he has only given quotations whose inspiration from the *Commedia* is assured; so he has not cited passages from Gower, the Scotch Chaucerians, and Spencer, which have only a general resemblance to passages of Dante. In the introduction of fifty pages in which Toynbee sums up the results of his researches, he has not considered such mooted questions as Lydgate's allusion to one of Chaucer's works as "Daunt in Englysche," or pointed out that some instances of Spencer's apparent indebtedness to Dante, are due to his free use of Ariosto and Tasso. Of all the subsidiary information, illustrating his subject, such as was collected by Farinelli, he has only noted the appearance of works of Dante in English libraries, prior to the nineteenth century, and the rendering of passages from Dante, found in a few of the English translations of Italian works. In reviewing a work like this, it is not enough to note a few minor errors and omissions, one should supplement the information of the author with citations from works which are not easily accessible.

An account of Lydgate, in which he appears as a student of Dante "given in a fifteenth-century MS" (I, 18) is clearly nothing but a translation of the article in Bale's *Catalogus* of 1557-9, which Toynbee has cited in its proper place (37). Farinelli (I, 199 ff.) gives all the necessary references to Laurent de Premierfait's French version of Boccaccio's *De casibus*, the source of Lydgate's information concerning Dante, of which Toynbee has not thought it worth while to mention the author. Nor has he taken the opportunity (22) to note whether the passage of interest to Dante students in Locher's preface to his translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff*, is found in Watson's rendering of the French version, which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509, the same year in which Pynson published Barclay's translation with his Latin original. Farinelli (225) has cited the pertinent passage of the French version, and referred to the essential authorities on Watson's translation, without mentioning the translator's name. A full discussion of the copies of Serravalle's Latin translation of the *Divina Commedia*, presented to the libraries of Oxford and Wells Cathedral (xvii, 20, 30), is to be found in the *Twentieth Report of the Cambridge Dante Society* (page 17 and ff.). The complaints of spiritual-minded

men against the use of frivolous stories in sermons, are too frequent (cf., e. g., Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen Age*, 2d ed., 15 ff.; 317 ff.; Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, lviii ff.; L. Delisle, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX, 474; Lechler, *John Wycliff and his English Precursors*, 205 ff., 226), for it to be necessary to find a reminiscence of Dante's lines on the subject in some paltry verses of Roy and Barlowe (25). The author fails to note (38) a manuscript work of William Thomas of which the scene is laid in Bologna (Hazlitt, *Bibliogr. Collections*, 3d Ser., Supplement 103), and references should have been made to the autobiography of Sir Thomas Hoby, who met Thomas returning from Italy, on his own way there, where he subsequently met Henry Parker (33) and William Barker (40; *A Booke of the Travaile and Lief of me, Thomas Hoby*, etc., ed. E. Powell, *Camden Miscellany*, X, 4, 19, 21, 25, 52, 61). Jewel's phrase (52) "Dantes, an Italian poet, by expres words calleth Rome the whore of Babylon" undoubtedly had its source in the first English edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* (cf. 57-8), published in 1563, if not in its source, the second edition of the *Catalogus testium veritatis* of Mathias Flaccus Illyricus, published the year before at Basle by Oporinus, in whose printing office, Foxe had worked as a proof-reader. The first edition of Flaccus's work does not contain the forced interpretation of *Purg.*, XXXII, 148 ff. (E. Sulger-Gebing, *Zeit. f. vergleich. Litter.*, VIII, 233), which was introduced into later editions (e. g., ed. Frankfurt, 1672, 743-4); and it is probably not found in the original Latin form of the *Book of Martyrs*, issued by the same publisher in 1559. The interest of the English reformers in the work of Flaccus was not a slight one, as is shown by the loan of books to the author by Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, to furnish material for his *Centuriatores magdeburgici* (*Calendar of State Papers; Foreign 1561-2*, 117-9), and the continued use of his earlier work for its list of church reformers by van der Noodt (56), Humphrey (71), Moryson (92), Leigh (148), Birckbek (see below) and Blount as late as 1690 (177, n. 1).

In contrast with this array of Protestant writers who follow one authority in citing Dante with approval as a champion of their side, there is at least one Romanist who presents another view of the matter. Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, in his *Answer to Feckenham's Declaration of Scruples of Conscience Touching the Oaths of Supremacy*, published in 1566, in treating of the conflicts between the imperial and papal interests makes the statement (p. 80b, Div. 134) "Whereupon the Emperour willed them [i. e., learned men] to search out the matter diligently and to dispute upon, and to gather into bookes, their mindes therein which diverse did," and cites "Marsiglius Patavinus, Ockam, Dantes, Petrarche" as these writers. The author evidently got all his information from Flaccus, if not from Foxe. Such was not the case with the author of *A Counter-Blast to M. Hornes Vaine Blasts Against M. Feckenham, etc.*, which was published at Lovain the next year. This was written by "Thomas Stapleton, Student of Divinitie" according to the title-page, and on this authority it appears in a Latin translation in the second volume of the collected works of the most learned English Catholic of his time, but it has been ascribed with good reason to either Feckenham himself, or Nicolas Harsfield (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, XVIII, 285; XXIV, 431). Under the rubric "M. Horne proveth his new primacie by poets" is found the following interesting passage (p. 334, a and b):

But when ye come to number them ye fynd none, but the Poetes Dantes, and Petrarcha, Ockam the scholeman, and the great hereticke Marsilius Patavinus. And shall these men, M. Horne, countervayle, or overweighe the practise of the church ever since used to the contrary and confirmed by the great consent of the catholyke writers and diverse general councelles withal? Ye write as out of Antonius or Marius in a several and latin letter 'the Popes attemptes were erroneous and derogating from the Christian religion. But such words I fynd as yet in neither of them, nor in any other of your authors here-named. And your author Antonius saith, that in this point Dantes and Ockam with others do erre; and that the monarchy of the Empire is subject to the Church ever in matters temporal. And whereas your secte wil have no meane place, for any Christians, but heaven or hell, your Dantes (as Antonius telleth [*In margin* Antonius part 3, titul. 21, cap. 5, 82] hathe fownde a meane place, beside heaven and hel for Socrates, Aristotle, Cicero, Homere and suche lyke. Surely Dantes, for his other opinion touching themperours subjection is counted not much better than an heretyke. [Bartolus in lege prima ff. de requirendis reis]. . . . But as for these writers, 'Marsilius Patavinus, Ockam, Dantes, and Petrache,' with diverse others, part of whom your brethern in Basil have patched up together, in a greate volume, as they labour al to prove the Emperour above the Pope in temporal jurisdiction and governement, wherein yet they erred (as we have said) so none of them al does labour to prove the Emperour supreme governour in spirituall and ecclesiastical causes (as you the first founders of this heresy do say and sweare to) but do leave that to the Bishoppes, yea and some of them to the Pope to. And there fore al were it true, that they wrote in the favoure of Lewis the 4 then Emperour, yet were you never the nere of your purpose by one iote. [*De Jurisdict. Imper. & ecclesiast. Basil. impress. Anno 1566*].

In the Table appears the phrase "Dantes a foule heriticke." The judgments on Dante of Antoninus, archbishop of Florence and of Bartholus a Saxo-ferrato, may have been taken from an earlier controversial work due to a partisan of the Papal claims, who then had the merit of citing these authorities three centuries before Carducci referred to (*Opere*, VII, 183-4), and Sulger-Gebing cited them (*op. cit.*, 224-7).

Florio's translation of the two Dante passages cited by Montaigne in his *Essais*, I, 25; II, 12) should have been given (85). Good service has been done in citing entries of copies of Dante's works found in Bodleian catalogues of the seventeenth century (103-5), which have escaped the notice of the historian of that library (W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, 2d ed., 301, n. 2), but in this connection Toynbee should have given the good story of ('The Book of the mousetrapp,' told by Girolamo Gigli in his *Vocabulario Cateriniano* (Roma, 1717, pp. ccii-cciii, s. v. *pronunziatione*). The Florentines took advantage of their commercial preeminence "sopra tutte le nazioni d'Italia" in commercial matters to spread their peculiar dialect "l'idiotismo loro":

Ed in questo proposito mi soviene aver letto (svanita memoria mia, che non so dove per l'appunto) che a propagazione delle fiorentine scritture solevano i mercadanti del cacio marzolina di Lucardo tenere al soldo molti scrittori per copiare i migliori autori del buon secolo, e con quelli fasciare i buoni bambolini burrati, acciocchè ne'parti dell' oriente e del settrione, dovunque tal mercanzia si comperasse, si accreditasse insieme il latte delle vacche fiorentine quello delle fiorentine muse; e ciò è tanto vero, quanto che in Osofolk nella Bodlejana ancor oggidì conservasi un Dante corettissimo delle prime divulgazioni a penna, con cui artificiosamente fu involta una spedizione intiera de cacio, a tempo dei Bardi negozianti in Inghilterra, e chiamasi il Dante Lucardino, a cui da' custodi della gran Biblioteca si tengono allato sempre due trappole, attesa la persecuzione che fanno sempre i sorci a quel codice in cacciata; ed ultimamente vien chiamato in quella lingua The Book of the mousetrapp, cioè il codice delle trappole.

If copies of the original edition of Gigli's book are rare on account of its suppression before its completion by a papal bull dating August 21, 1717, the story is available in Fanfani's edition (II, 12), and part of the passage quoted was translated sixty years ago in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. I, vol. I, 154).

William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, in his most important work, *Domesday* (1614) shows an interest in Dante, not as a poet, with whose great work he shows no personal acquaintance, but as one of three Florentines, the others being Petrarch and Savonarola, who protested against the corruption of the church. At the same time he blames him for his belief in purgatory:

That dainty towne, the pearle of Arnes rich plains,
A nursery of good wits, still friend to arts,
Not mother (as one said) of haplesse swaines,
Doth now yeeld three, all prais'd for vertuous parts;
The first old Dante (swolne with just disdaines)
To see the errours of corrupted hearts:
Who doth their wayes (a censure) strictly trace,
Yet more then God did make doth grant one place. (The Ninth Hour,
st. 99).

But one Protestant apologist was not satisfied with citations from Dante at second- or third-hand. Simon Birckbeck, in his *The Protestants Evidence: Taken out of Good Records*, etc., first published in 1634, and again in 1657 "corrected, and much enlarged by the Author," while making frequent use of the *Catalogus* of Flaccus, in a Genevan edition of 1608, cites the Italian text of the *Commedia* after an edition, which he notes in his "Catalogue of Authors cited in this Treatise," as "*Dante l'inferno del Purgatorio, del Paradiso appresso in Lione 1571.*" In "The Fourteenth Century" under the heading *Of Supremacie* he states:

In this Age there were divers both of the *Greek* and *Latine* Church who stood for Regall Jurisdiction against Papall usurpation; and namely, *Barlaam* the Monk; *Nilus* Archbishop of *Thessalonica*; *Marsilius Patavinus*; *Michael Cesenas* General of the gray Friars; *Dante* the *Italian* Poet (346; ed. 1657).

Taking up each of these authors in turn he tells of Dante:

About this time also lived the noble *Florentine* Poet, *Dante*, a learned Philosopher and Divine, who wrote a book against the Pope, concerning the Monarchy of the Emperour; but for taking part with him, the Pope banished him (348).

A violent partisan alone could find authority for the later part of this statement in the phrase from the *de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* of Trithemina cited in the margin:

vir tam in divinis Scripturis, quam in secularibus literis omnium suo tempore studiosissimus, pulsus patria omnibus diebus suis exulavit.

Further on he has devoted a special section to Dante and Petrarch, where after giving more fully than his predecessors the contents of the passages cited as Antipapal, he cites the Italian text of thirty-seven lines of which he presents a rimed verse translation. Doggerel as it is, it is the first attempt at what is professedly a translation of parts of the *Commedia* into English:

In this Age lived those famous *Florentine* Poets, *Dante* and *Petrarch*; as also our English Laureat, Chaucer; as also *Johannes de Rupe-scissa*, or rock-cliffe,

and S. *Bridget*. And these found fault with the Romish faith, as well as with her manners. *Dante* in his Poem of *Paradise*, written in *Italian*, complains, that the Pope of a Shepherd was become a Wolf, and diverted Christs sheep out of the true way; that the Gospel was forsaken, the writings of the fathers neglected, and the Decretals onely studied. That in times past war was made upon the Church by the sword, but now by a famine and dearth of the Word, which was allotted for the food of the soul, and not wont to be denied to any that desired it; that men applauded themselves in their own conceits, but the Gospel was silenced; that the poor sheep were fed with the puffs of windes, and were pined and consumed away.

Dante his words are these:¹ [*Par.* ix, 130-6]

Which may be thus Englished:

She did produce, and forth hath spread
The cursed flower, which hath misled
The sheep and lambs, because that then
Shepherds became fierce Wolves, not men.
Hereupon the Gospel clear,
And the ancient Fathers were
Forsaken; then the Decretals
By the Pope and Cardinals
Were onely read; as may appear
By th' salvage of the gowns they wear.

Again,² [*Par.* xviii, 127-9]:

I' th' dayes of old with sword they fought,
But now a new way they have sought,
By taking away now here, now then,
The bread of life from starved men;
Which our pious Fathers ne're denied,
To any one that for it cryed.

Again,³ [*Par.* xxix, 109-126]:

Christ said not to th' Apostles, Go
And preache vain toys the world unto:
But he did give them a true ground,
Which onely did in their ears sound.
So providing for to fight,
And to kindle faith's true light,
Out of the Gospel they did bring
Their shield and spears t' effect the thing.
Now the way of preaching, is with toys
To stuffe a Sermon; and herein joyes
Their teachers; if the people do but smile
At their conceits, the Frier i' th' mean while
Huffe's up his Cowl, and is much admir'd;
For that's his aim: there's nothing else requir'd:
But in his hood there is a nest
Of birds, which could the vulgar see,
They might spie pardons, and the rest,
How worthy of their trust they bee.
By these their Indulgences and Pardons,
[And by their Friars absolutions]
Such follies in the earth abound,

¹ Dante, *Canto 9, del Paradiso*, p. 483.

² *Id.*, *ibid.* *Canto*, 18, p. 538.

³ *Id.*, *ibid.* *Canto*, 29, p. 601.

That without prooffe or other ground
 Of testimony, men agree
 To any promise that made can bee:
 By this, St. Anthony piggs grow fat,
 And such like Pardoners: so that
 Hereby they feed the belly and the groin,
 Paying their people with counterfeit coin.

Here we see how the poet taxeth papall Indulgences with the Friars vented, enriching themselves by marting such pardons, or Bulls signed or sealed with Lead, for which the people paid currant money; he also taxeth such as vainly trusted to such pardons; as also the fond conceit they had of being shriven and absolved in a Monks cowl, as if some rare vertue had laid in that *Cuculla*, or *Capuccio*, alluding (belike) to the Monks hood, or Friars cowl, as if the fashion thereof had resembled the Cuckow.

The same *Dante* in covert terms, calleth *Rome* the Whore of Babylon mentioned in the *Apocalyps*; his words are these* [Inf. xix, 105-111]:

The Evangelist meets with you well
 You [Romish] Pastours; when he doth tell
 How he did see the woman, which
 Sits on the waters [that foul witch]
 To play the whore with Kings; that Beast
 That born was with seven horns at least.
 And had the sign of some ten more
 T' appease her husband by their power.

The authour alludes to that in the *Revelation*, of the great Whore that sitteth on many waters, *Revelat.*, 17, 1. and of the beast that beareth her, which hath seven heads, and ten horns, *vers.* 7 with whom the Kings of the earth commit fornication, *Chap.* 18, v. 3 (351-4).

The second edition of Birkbek was printed again as an appendix to E. Gibson's *Preservative from Popery* no later than 1849.

The result of making *Dante* a partisan in a religious quarrel is perhaps shown under its worst form in what is professedly a literary history, in which he appears primarily as a controversial writer, and incidentally as a poet. R. Gery in his *Appendix* to Cave's *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum historia litteraria*, published at Oxford in 1698, after giving a slight account of *Dante*'s life continues:

Jura Imperialia adversus Pontificum Rom. usurpationes erudito plane opere defendit, quod Monarchiam inscripsit. Opud istud tribus libris absolutum *primus* in lucem emisit inter varios auctores *de Imperiali Jurisdictione & Potestate Ecclesiastica* Simon Schardius. Basil, 1566, Argent. 1609, fol. Separatim edidit Joan. Operinus typographus Basileus 1559 8°. *Dantem* istum alium a *Dante* poëta immerito suspicatus. Notandum est dictum opus in Ind. Expurgat. prohiberi, & poematum (quae plurima patrio sermone magna ingenii ubertate cecinit) loca nonnulla, quibus monachorum ineptiam & luxuriam perstrinxit, unde Romae haeresis censuram vix aut ne vix quidem evitavit. scripsit etiam *de Vulgari Eloquentia* libros duos a Jac. Corbonello [sic] editos Paris, 1577, 8°.

Then follows in a note:

Scripsit etiam Drama Satyricum *de Coelo, purgatorio & inferno*, & *Epistolam ad Canem Scaligerum* in Musaeo Minervae Venetae, editam tom. 3, p. 220, Venet., 1700, fol. Extant libr. 2 *de vulgari eloquentia* ibid., tom. i, p. 36, & *Quaestio de natura elementorum aquae & terrae* edit. Venet., 1508, 4to. Codex Dantis d'Aligeri auctori pene aequalis asservatur MS. in bibl. D. Mutinensis teste

* *Dante Inferno, Canto* 19, p. 120.

Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.*, p. 33. *Ejus Poëmata Italica prodierunt Venet., 1564, fol. ut narrat Blount in Censura auctorum, p. 298.*

No details of this information have been changed in the edition of Cave's work, published in 1743 (II, p. 9). J. Hartley in his *Catalogus Universalis*, 1701, only notes the text edition of Dante of 1477, and that with Landino's commentary of 1574 (I, 75 A).

In the third number of the *Bibliotheca literaria for 1722* (p. 12) the Rev. Mr. Wasse, in an article entitled "Memorial concerning the Desiderata in Learning" notes among Italian works "which would appear in our Language with advantage," "Dante del sito e forma dell'Inferno." The translation of a part of *Inf.* xxiv which appeared anonymously in Dodsley's Museum in 1746 (246), was due to Joseph Spence (*Pope's Works*, ed. J. Warton, 1797, IV, 283). Toynbee has missed (253) Thyer's note on the allusion to Casella in Milton's sonnet, given in Newton's edition of Milton's works (1753, 233). Joseph Warton's earliest allusion to Dante (301 ff.) is to be found in the *Adventurer* of September 4, 1753, where he gives the well-worn story of Dante's reply to a courtier. His latest reference is to be found in a long note upon Pope's versification of the line of Donne (101, 193), which alludes to Dante (*op. cit.*). There was an enquiry in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for August, 1801 (LXXXI, 283), in regard to Huggins' translation, of a date prior to the enquiries made in the *Monthly Review* (307). Those two famous blue-stockings Miss Talbot and Mrs. Carter found both an interest and difficulties in reading Dante. The first in a letter dating July 29, 1745, in answer to a general query writes:

Indeed the last (*i. e.*, Dante) as it is but the second time of reading him, I am by no means mistress of yet; I can see amazing strokes of beauty in several passages, but the whole I have as yet no comprehension of. If you are fond of drawing plans I wish you would send me a sketch of his seventh circles of Inferno.

To this Mrs. Carter replied under the date of August 8, 1745:

It is a great consolation to me to find you are not a perfect mistress of Dante for I was greatly mortified in looking over it last summer to perceive it so much beyond my comprehension, whereas I now think it very marvellous I could make out a single line (*A Series of Letters between Mrs. E. Carter and Miss Talbot from the year 1741-1770*, 1809, I, 101, 106).

Goldsmith (321) twice refers to the misfortunes of Dante, once in the *Citizen of the World*, Letter xliii; "when I hear of the persecutions of Dante," and again in his *Essay on Butler's Remains*: "Thus Dante, Theodorus Gaza, and Cassander, were soured by their distresses at least into misanthropy (*Works*, 1885, II, 579; IV, 378).

One would expect to find a reference to Burney's comparison of Dante with Shakespere, his citations from the *De vulgari eloquio*, the allusions to the letter to Can Grande, and Milton's indebtedness to the episode of Casella, all of which are found on pages preceding and following the passage of the *History of Music* cited (324). And why is the allusion to, and quotation of *Inf.* XXXII, 35 ff. in the third volume of the *History* (40, n. 2) unnoted? Gibbon's acquaintance with Dante was something more than may be implied from the comparison of his work with that of Petrarch, given in the *Decline and Fall* (441). If Dante is not to be included among those Italian classics, which he tells us in his autobiography he reviewed again and again (*Miscellaneous Works* I, 141), he antici-

pated his judgment of the first of Italian poets in his *Outlines of the History of the World* (*ib.*, II, 428) "The writings of Dante, Boccace and Petrarch forever fixed the Italian tongue. The first displayed the powers of a wild but original genius." In his last work, *The Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*, he makes a point of referring to the place given by Dante to Obizzo da Esti in the ninth circle of hell among the tyrants, and, on account of Dante's Ghibelline tendencies states that "were he (*i. e.*, Obizzo) not associated with a Ghibelline chief, we might impute his sentence to the prejudices rather than the justice of the Tuscan bard." He further notes that Dante's judgment is confirmed by the agreement of Benvenuto's comment on the lines (*ib.*, III, 700). On the eve of the nineteenth century it is curious to note that in an article on Italian literature appearing as late as May 8, 1793, Dante is not mentioned (N. Drake, *Gleaner*, IV, 228 ff.). Finally, to note but one of several allusions in early nineteenth century literature, which have escaped the attention of the compiler; the evident allusion to the immortal phrase of Francesca in the Latin sentence "Eheu! quam infortunii miserrimum est fuisse felicem," which Coleridge scribbled on the walls of a stable, during his short service as a trooper (*Letters*, I, 63, n. 1) is surely worthy of mention.

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Charles de Sainte-Marthe (1512-1555). By CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES, Ph.D. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1910. Pp. xiv + 664.

Charles, son of Gaucher and uncle of Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, was born in 1512 at the abbey of Fontevault, to which his father was physician-in-ordinary. He studied law and theology at Poitiers, and in 1533 began teaching in the *Collège de Guyenne*, at Bordeaux, where he remained only a brief time. After a year's wandering in the province of Guyenne, he returned to Fontevault, and shortly after received his doctorate at Poitiers. Appointed Regius Professor of theology in the University of Poitiers (1537), his leanings toward the Reformation brought about his exile from Poitiers. For a year or two he wandered in Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc. In 1540 he was imprisoned at Grenoble on account of his religious opinions, but was soon released and accepted a chair of languages (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French) in the *Collège de la Trinité*, at Lyons. Early in 1541 he went to Geneva for a short stay. He returned to Grenoble, and was imprisoned for over two years as "a suspected Lutheran and fomenter of sedition." In 1544 he entered the service of Françoise, Duchess of Beaumont, to whom he owed "the beginning of happier fortunes." He also became an officer in the household of Marguerite of Navarre and *lieutenant criminel* of Alençon. He died at Alençon in 1555.

In addition to these main facts Miss Ruutz-Rees gives many details that help to make the biography interesting and the picture of Sainte-Marthe lifelike, such as, his boyhood at Fontevault and the influence that the royal abbey must have had on his mind and soul, his wanderings, his friendships, his correspondence, his theological views, and his love affair at Arles.

Sainte-Marthe's works are: *La Poésie française* (1540), composed of epigrams, rondeaux, ballades, epistles, elegies, and poems addressed to Sainte-Marthe by his friends; Paraphrases of the seventh and the thirty-third Psalms (1543); Latin Funeral Oration in honor of Marguerite of Navarre (1550);

French translation of this oration (1550); Latin Meditation on the ninetyeth Psalm (1550); Latin Funeral Oration in honor of the Duchess of Beaumont (1550); and a dozen scattered French and Latin poems.

Miss Ruutz-Rees has dealt with these works in a most scholarly and painstaking manner. A mediocre poet of the Marotic school, Sainte-Marthe was yet for several reasons a forerunner of the Pleiad. In his *Poésie françoise* he imitated Martial, Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Salel, Rabelais, and Marguerite of Navarre; he was a Platonist and a Petrarchist. His "verse is, in general, characterized by an entire lack of poetic feeling."

In his two Funeral Orations "the ancients were his preoccupation, his passion; Plato, his oracle." "So far as his Funeral Orations are concerned, the truths of Christianity, dearly cherished as they were, form but a background for the crowding forms of all antiquity." However, "it should not be hastily concluded that enthusiasm for antiquity superseded his religion in Sainte-Marthe's mind. . . . Following the example already set by Marguerite of Navarre, he deliberately attempted to harmonize, in his readers' minds, Christian doctrine and classical philosophy, to reinterpret, through the latter, a religion encumbered with the false or useless traditions of men." In the Orations, which are undoubtedly Sainte-Marthe's best works, he renders loving homage to the two princesses who had befriended him, attacks contemporary vices, discusses the position of woman, and education.

It is especially in his Latin works that we get an idea of Sainte-Marthe's theology, "a theology obviously in some measure, at least, derived from Calvin." Still, like many intelligent men of the period, Sainte-Marthe acknowledged the authority of the Pope, and while earnestly desiring a reform within the church, was opposed to schism.

Such in brief was Charles de Sainte-Marthe, a versatile, if unoriginal man, who was "extraordinarily receptive to the intellectual currents of his time," who was influenced by the new Renaissance ideas, yet clung to some of the old; a humanist, but an opponent of Renaissance paganism; a religious reformer in a mild way; a poor poet, a good prose writer; the friend of the foremost men of his day: a "typical average man of the Renaissance," highly interesting, but by no means great.

Miss Ruutz-Rees' work is so excellently and so carefully done that it is impossible for one to add materially to its scholarship. Perhaps the book would gain substantially if it were condensed by one-third. A volume of nearly seven hundred pages is rather too complimentary to the author of *la Poésie françoise*. Not that the critic over-estimates Sainte-Marthe's worth. On the contrary, her judgment is most sure, her claims in the poet's behalf are modest and circumspect. Yet the reader must feel at times that details are being wrung a little more than their value warrants, and that discreet abridgment would not be amiss.

A few suggestions and queries: P. 86, note 2, p. 631: Who is Etienne Forcault (Stephanus Forcatulus)? The well-known Etienne Forcadet?—Pernette du Guillet is the proper form, not Pernette de Guillette (p. 102 and Index), nor Pernette de Guillet (p. 310, note 1).—P. 193: "Two persons known only by their initials I. M. and A. D., the latter a "Damoyselle Parisienne," both "otherwise unknown." This couple is certainly Jean de Morel and his wife, Antoinette de Loynes. The latter frequently used A. D. as her initials, as well as A. D. L. (p. 198) and Dam. A. D. L. (p. 621). Cf. the spellings in the following: "Ian de

Morel, gentilhomme Ambrunois . . . Damoiselle Antoinette Deloigne sa femme, couple non moins docte que vertueuse." (*Œuvres françoises de loachim Du Bellay*, Marty-Laveaux ed., II, 421).—P. 622: The suggestion that "Damoiselle A. D. T." is a misprint for "Damoiselle A. D. L." (Antoinette de Loynes) is borne out by the fact that "T. Morel, Embrunois" which follows immediately is certainly meant for "I. Morel, Embrunois."—P. 220: It is to be regretted that the portrait of Charles de Sainte-Marthe in *Portraits de plusieurs hommes illustres qui ont flory en France depuis l'an 1500 jusques a present* was not reproduced. Portraits of the minor characters of the French Renaissance are extremely rare and are always interesting.—P. 263, 314: Almaque (as in Index) or Almanque Papillon is preferable to Almanaque Papillon, notwithstanding the fact that the form Almanaque is used by several critics of repute.—P. 311, note 4: It is to be doubted that an edition of Charles Fontaine's *la Fontaine d'Amour* appeared in 1544. The earliest known edition was published in 1545 (British Museum). Subsequent editions were published in 1546 and 1588. It is none too fair to single out Fontaine's *Fontaine d'Amour* as the *Fontaine* that "drew Du Bellay's ire." It is more likely that Du Bellay's *tarir ces Fontaines* was aimed not only at the *Fontaine d'Amour*, but at the many volumes that bore the much abused word *Fontaine* on their title pages.—P. 311, note 4: The following sentence is misleading: "Fontaine's next essay of interest was *les Ruisseaux de Fontaine* of 1555, and here he finally appears as the ardent convert and exponent of Platonism." As a matter of fact, only one hundred verses of the 399 pages of *les Ruisseaux* are devoted to Platonism.—Some fifty misprints, mainly in French words, somewhat mar the general excellence of the typography.

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Giovanni Pascoli et l'Antiquité—Étude de Littérature comparée. Par EMILE ZILLIACUS. *Mémoires de la Société néo-philologique de Helsingfors, V.*

The object of the book is twofold: to complete the research of the classical sources of Pascoli's *Poemi Conviviali*; and secondly, to show how "l'antiquité se reflète à travers le tempérament du poète italien, si et dans quelle mesure la matière antique a été transformée et modernisée par lui."

The treatment of the first part is accurate and scholarly; not equally valuable, in our opinion, is the second part of the study.

In the *Poemi Conviviali* we have a series of classical themes developed from Homer, Hesiod, the tragedians, the plastic arts, Greek philosophy, etc., leading up to a song of Christian inspiration as to a prelude and expected conclusion. What the poet's special interpretation or original utilization of these classic themes is M. Z. does not say. He has failed to notice, it seems to us, some constant preoccupations which have guided Pascoli in the selection of his material and therefore he has often come to the conclusion that the poet is merely paraphrasing his text, whereas in reality he has completely transformed it into a new artistic creation.

Foremost amongst the elements of these transformations should be noticed Pascoli's tendency to identify Christian teachings with Pagan ideals, or rather to incorporate both into a universal, immemorial Gospel of humanity. We have an example of this in the third poem of the volume, the *Cetra d'Achille*.

We are brought here face to face with the Homeric hero awaiting in his

tent the end of the night which he knew would be his last in this world. Why this evocation? What new ideal beauty is disclosed to the poet's sight by Achilles' death-watch? M. Z. tells us: "C'est l'éloge de la sérénité d'âme en face de la mort inévitable." To us it is much more: it is the representation of a *voluntary sacrifice*, of the self-immolation to an idea, the spontaneous acceptance of a death which had been *évitable*—an example, in short, of the *inner Christianity* of Greek literature. Achilles' death, interpreted not solely through Homer, as M. Z. approaches it, but more essentially through Socrates' presentation, acquires for the poet the value of an antecedent to the Death of the Savior. Is this fanciful? It seems not, after carefully reading the poem; but we can verify our assertions by the poet's explicit statement.

In his address before the University of Pisa, we find these words: "In vero non ho bisogno di cercare esempi per dimostrarvi l'intima cristianità delle letterature classiche. . . . Subito a noi apparisce il primitivo eroe del dovere, non solo quando dice alla sua madre Dea: Subito io muoia! Ma quando al cavallo parlante di morte risponde, Lo so da me! E spinge avanti i cavalli col grande grido che emise anche il Cristo, *Profonda Sombiglianza!*"

Another example of this poetic syncretism we have in the *Poeta degli Ilioti*. Hesiod is here evangelized by a slave, early apostle of good will to men, and converted by him from the cult of power to the creed of pity and humility. The verses of Hesiod that appear in this poem must be regarded not as casual translations or literary paraphrases but as pious quotations from this "Hellenic Bible." When the slave begs his companion to partake of his scanty bread, he pronounces the famous Hesiodic maxim *πλέον ἡμῶν πάντες* (the half is greater than the whole). And the reason why Pascoli borrows this sentence is that he sees in it the essence of a virtue which Christianity was afterwards to sanctify. The fraternal charity, therefore, which through the teachings of Christ was to establish the equality of human beings, reveals itself to Pascoli in the Pagan poetry of Hesiod; and it is to the expression of this revelation that we must direct our attention in order to understand fully the meaning of his poetry.

To justify our interpretation of his verse and to show the existence of this moral preoccupation on his part we shall turn to his prose works. He says (*Pensieri e Discorsi*, pp. 324 et seq.) that the Christian virtue through which "gli uomini si dovevano riconoscere per fratelli," the virtue through which "la vita non doveva apparire bella e buona se non smezzata col prossimo" had been practiced by the Greeks, for "la massima *πλέον ἡμῶν πάντες*—è più il mezzo che il tutto circola per tutta la letteratura greco-romana e la santifica, o volete piuttosto, la umanizza."

Thus understanding our author, we cannot condemn, with M. Z., his "tendance à allonger à l'infini un motif, à varier et répéter une idée jusqu'à lui faire perdre la fraîcheur," when, in the *Memnonidi*, he enlarges upon Achilles' deploration of the wretchedness of the lower world (*Odyssey*, xi, 488-91). There he is not striving to repeat the freshness of the Homeric *βουλομένη κ' ἐπάρουρος ἔων θηγεύμεν ἄλλω*; nor is he composing variations upon that theme: he tries rather, it seems, to use it as a starting point for a new idea—to mark the dusk of a warlike age and the dawn of a new era. And the beautiful verses "Fossi lassù garzone etc.," translated by M. Z. not in accordance with the meaning which we think is correct, far from being an inept addition to the Homeric text, express a new poetic intuition which is its own justification.

The research of the classical sources is comprehensively and accurately conducted by M. Z. He has incorporated in his work both those sources which Pascoli himself had indicated, and those which Luigi Siciliani has added in the *Atene e Roma* (June-July, 1906). The noticeable omissions in the work of M. Z. are usually of passages so well-known that they cannot be ascribed to any lack of knowledge on the part of the scholarly investigator. We shall mention a few typical ones:

First, speaking of the departed souls, Pascoli says in the *Memnonidi*:

E per le vie muffite
V'udrò stridire come vipistrelli.
La bianca rupe tu vedrai, dov' ogni
Luce tramonta, tu vedrai le Porte
Del Sole e il muto popolo dei Sogni.
E giunto alfine sosterai nel Prato
Sparso dei gialli fiori della morte,
Immortalmente, Achille, affaticato.

This is clearly inspired by the *Odyssey* (xxiv, 5 et seq.). The "vie muffite" translates *εὐρώεντα κέλαιθα*; "stridire come vipistrelli" is the *τρίσσανσαι ὡς ὄντε νυκτερίδες*; "la bianca Rupe" is *Λευκάδα πέτρην*; "le porte del Sole e il muto popolo dei Sogni" is from *Ἡελίου πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὄνελρων*; and the "prato sparso dei gialli fiori" is the *ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα*.

Next, some characteristic epithets and descriptive touches of classical origin are not noticed by M. Z. For example, in *Ate* the "città sonante di colombelle" derives from the Homeric (*Iliad*, ii, 582) *πολυτρήρωνα Μέσσην*. In the same poem the description of *Ate* la *zorra* and *mostrò le rughe della fronte* seems traceable, not perhaps to the Horatian *pede Poena claudo* as M. Z. suggests, but to the beautiful allegory (*Iliad*, ix) of *Ate* and of the *Litai*, which it strikingly resembles in imagery (the *litai* are there described as *zorre χωλαὶ* and *rugose ῥυσαί*); though the conception of the crime-avenging conscience as lame (*mens sibi conscia factis*) recalls the *ὑστερόπους Νέμεσις*, or the *ὑστερόποιον ἄτακ* (Aesch., *Ag.* 382), or even the Euripidean *δίκαι χροδόνιος*—all of which however bear a closer relation to the Horatian conception than to the personification of Pascoli's poem.

In the *Vecchio di Chio*, we have a clear reminiscence of Aristophanes in "un vasto tintinnio di cicale ebbre di sole . . . nel meriggio estivo."

ἡνίκ' ἂν ὁ θεσπέσιος ὀξὺ μέλος ἀχέτας
θάλασσι μεσημβρινοῖς ἡλιομανῆς βοᾷ. (Ar., *Av.* 1095-6)

For *Anticlo*, a new source may be pointed out, which is noticeable in the spirit of the poem rather than in concrete verbal identity. It is the second book of the *Aeneid*. Besides the resemblance of the events, there are indications of a closer kinship. First, Pascoli's insistence on marking the role of the quiet moon as a contrast to the horror of the fatal night: "la luna piena già sorgea dai monti . . . la luna piena pendeva in mezzo della notte . . . sull' incendio brillava il plenilunio . . . tacita e serena come la luna." If we were not acquainted from other sources with Pascoli's thought on the subject, we might hesitate in drawing inferences. But the poet himself has told us how powerful has been the magic influence of that Vergilian *tacitae per amica silentia lunae*;

he has traced it to Leopardi, and he has expressed his belief that consciously or unconsciously it was present in Manzoni's mind when he too was writing his description of his famous night. Pascoli says (*Pensieri e Discorsi*, p. 166): "Il Manzoni secondo me deve aver derivato da quella frase, consciamente o inconsciamente molta ispirazione," and later "il chiaro di luna nella notte manzoniana serve a segnare il contrasto tra le inquiete operazioni degli uomini e la placida indifferenza della natura." However it may be for Manzoni, it is certain that to Pascoli's mind the Vergilian image is present; and we cannot fail to recognize it when we meet it in his verse. And again this influence may be shown by noticing one other feature which appears in *Anticipo*, and which we are certain Pascoli saw in the Second Aeneid. For he says (*op. cit.*, p. 168): "In tutte e due le mirabili creazioni, al brusio festivo, straordinario in Virgilio consueto nel Manzoni, della sera succede il silenzio notturno interrotto poi da grida, suoni, etc." In *Anticipo* we read:

Quando già li fuori
Impallidiva il vasto urlio del giorno
... poi languì che forse
Era già sera, etc.

The resemblance is evident; and if any value is to be attached to these crenological investigations, we surely cannot ignore examples like these where the source of inspiration not only is revealed by the poem, but is indicated by the poet himself.

We might add other examples of unnoticed reminiscences of classical authors, appearing sometimes in a single word (*esili vite: domus exilis Plutonia*), sometimes in a longer phrase (*nella sacra notte parole degne di silenzio: sacro digna silentio mirantur umbrae dicere*), but this would lead us to consider an aspect of the subject which M. Z. has perhaps purposely left unconsidered.

A few inaccuracies may be noticed: first, the very misleading delineation of Carducci's classicism in contrast to Pascoli's Hellenism; then a few passages where the critic, in his rendering, has obviously not given a correct version (cf. *Poemi Conviviali*, pp. 111 and 76). Furthermore, in a note on the word *gallinelle* (*ibid.*, p. 57; Zilliacus, p. 98), applied to the Pleiades, M. Z. indicates that this word is meant to correspond to the Greek word *πελειάδες* (doves) as a pun on Pleiades. On the contrary, *gallinelle* is a very old popular term for the constellation, never means "doves," and is used with no references to the Greek word-play. As a venatorial term, it is applied to a certain kind of water-fowl, but in the present signification it means nothing more than "little hens," according to the same popular fancy which sees in these stars the *gluckhenne*, the *poussinière*, or the *chiocchetta*.

The poem on the death of Socrates—*La Civetta*—is sharply criticized by our author. The poet, as a pendant to Plato's lofty description of this event, symbolically describes the situation from the point of view of some heedless Athenian boys, who, with childish curiosity, gather around the prison and comment, in their manner, on the Passion of the Sage and the mourning of the disciples. The purpose of the poet is clear. M. Z. himself tells us: "Le contraste entre l'inconscience touchante des enfants et la grande tragédie qui se déroule

dans la prison est plein de force." But he adds: "Mais y a-t-il un ornement, si charmant et ingénieux qu'on l'imagine, qui puisse dépasser la sublime simplicité du récit platonicien? Et n'est-ce point un crime que de rabaisser la scène de la mort de Socrate telle que la décrit Platon à ce niveau d'anecdote et de tableau de genre?" The intention of Pascoli is not to "dépasser" Plato, but to make a new creation, to be judged on its own merits, and not in relation to any masterpiece which aesthetically can neither be greater nor smaller. The inconsiderate children who crowd with thoughtless inquisitiveness around the prison door, bring to our mind the sublimity of the event in very much the same way that a blind man, turning his inquiring, vacant eyes to the sun, directs our thoughts to the beauty of this world of light and to the sadness of its passing.

There is perhaps in the poem a little of Pascoli's mannerism, but before condemning an expression as irrelevant and undignified, let us be reminded of the pathetic irrelevance in Andromache's tender wailing over Hector's body:

γυμνόν. ἀνὰ τοι εἴματ' ἐπὶ μεγάροις κέονται
λεπτά τε καὶ χαλκέντια, τετυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν.

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The Oak Book of Southampton, of c. A. D. 1300. Transcribed and Edited from the unique MS. in the Audit House, with Translation, Introduction, Notes, Etc. By P. STUDER, Professor of French and German at Hartley University College, Southampton. Vol. I. Southampton, Cox & Sharland, 1910. Pp. xliii + 160.

This volume takes favorable position among the publications of the Southampton Record Society. It will be followed by a second and final volume. Because of the rarity in America of the publications of the Record Society, it is well to draw the attention of Romance scholars and students of law and customs to this valuable book. The MS. which Mr. Studer publishes has been preserved at Southampton for six centuries. It derives its name from being bound in oak. The editor identifies this MS. with one frequently mentioned earlier under the name of the "Paxbread." The first portion of the MS. appears to date from about 1300. The oldest entries are in Norman-French; others are in a medieval Latin which is but thinly disguised French; only a few later notes are in English. The text offers a clear impression of the government of the town, of the powers and privileges of the Guild Merchant. The language, of course, is of interest to the filologist, and adds not a little to the volume of published Norman-French. An idea of the value of the text may be obtained from an article which Mr. Studer has recently published in the *Modern Language Review*, vol. VI, pp. 174-82: *Etude sur quelques Vocables Anglo-Normands*.

R. W.

Bibliographie lyonnaise: Recherches sur les Imprimeurs, Libraires, Relieurs et Fondateurs de Lettres de Lyon au XVIe. Siècle, par le Président Baudrier, publiées et continuées par J. Baudrier. Huitième Série. Paris, A. Picard et Fils; Lyons, Louis Brun, 1910. Pp. 447. 2 plates.

The last volume of this remarkable series reveals, on the part of the authors, the same critical acumen and patient research that characterised its predecessors.

We can only compare it to Picot's *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Rothschild*, which set the standard for careful and thorough bibliography, and Pellechet's *Catalogue des Incunables*, especially as it has been continued by M. Polin. Thanks to these scholars, we have at last a bibliographical method that will stand the test of time.

The *Bibliographie lyonnaise* represents long years of careful research on the part of M. Henri Baudrier, president of the Cour d'Appel of Lyons, and of his son, M. Julien Baudrier. President Baudrier, who died in 1884, spent all of his leisure time collecting material for a history of printing in Lyons in a period when that city was the great book-center of Europe. It has already been pointed out that the liberal government of the able lieutenant-general of the Lyonnais, Jean du Peyrat—which lasted from 1532 to 1550—made Lyons the cynosure of all eyes. Learned printers, who felt that there at least they would not be exposed to the bitter hostility of their enemies, established themselves under the shelter of the *mont cotoyant le fleuve et la cité*. M. Baudrier says justly that “plus que toutes les autres branches de commerce et de l'industrie réunies, l'imprimerie et la librairie ont contribué à porter notre cité au nombre des villes commerçantes les plus universellement connues.”

M. Baudrier has a very profound knowledge of the different printers and publishers of the great commercial city during this interesting epoch. He treats them all consecutively. Unfortunately, he has been obliged to omit Jean de Tournes, who, rather than Gryphe, deserves to be called “l'honneur de l'imprimerie lyonnaise,” because M. Alfred Cartier of Geneva is preparing a work devoted to this family of printers. However, it would have been much more convenient if this great publisher had been included in this series, for one often meets many lacunae, due to the omission of so important a name.

The present volume deals especially with Sébastien Gryphe, who—if he does not rank on a level with de Tournes—comes immediately after him in prominence and productiveness. Sébastien Gryphe was probably the son of Michael Gryff, or Greyff, of Reutlingen, Swabia, whose incunabula are now much sought after. Burger's index to Copinger's *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum* (1902) gives the titles of some fifty works issued from the press of Michael Greyff which are now in the British Museum.¹ Sébastien was probably in Lyons as early as 1515 or 1516, and soon became the foreman-manager of the press of Jean de Jouvelle, alias Piston. This fact, though certainly proven by the brilliant Mr. Christie, seems to have escaped the attention of M. Baudrier.² Mr. Christie further suggests that about two or three years before 1528, Gryphe determined to establish a press on a different scale and principle from those on which the Lyonesse printers had been carrying on their business. Thereby he was to revolutionize the book-trade of Lyons, and, to quote Mr. Christie, “become the most prolific printer of useful Latin books not only in France, but in Europe at large.” By 1528, he had provided himself with founts of Roman letters, especially the cursive type rendered so famous by the Aldi. For twenty-

¹ Cf. also Proctor, *Index to Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, London, 1898, pp. 175-6; 178-9. Proctor assigns to Michael Greyff the honor of being the first printer in Reutlingen (ca. 1478).

² Cf. Christie's article on *Sébastien Gryphius, Printer*, in the *Owens College Historical Essays*, London, 1902, pp. 307-23.

eight years his presses were busy, and many highly meritorious works were issued therefrom. After years of search, Mr. Christie collected no less than 600 volumes bearing his name; and this probably represents less than half of the product of his house. This unique collection, which now forms the most important part of the Christie Library at Owens College, has unfortunately not received sufficient attention from M. Baudrier, as one can readily see by a careful perusal of his work. The only larger collection is that in the Library of Lyons, which in 1886 acquired from an Italian count some 600 volumes of Gryphe's publications. While it would be almost preposterous to demand of M. Baudrier a complete list of Gryphe's productions scattered through the Italian libraries, yet it would be interesting to know to a certain degree what they contain, for, according to M. Picot—who is thoroughly acquainted with many of these libraries—the works of this printer “sont encore aujourd'hui beaucoup plus répandues en Italie qu'en France.”

As for the biography of Sébastien Gryphe, little more can ever be added to what is given by M. Baudrier. However, a few details may be worthy of mention. For example, it may be noted that the *Catalogue des Actes de François Ier.* (VI, no. 20,486 and no. 20,801) contains a résumé of the letters of naturalisation of Gryphe, one of which is given in toto by M. Baudrier. Inasmuch as M. B. will not treat Jean de Tournes in this series, he might have stated that this great printer learned the trade in the shops of Gryphe. As early as 1531, de Tournes was in the employ of Gryphe as a journeyman. In the prefatory letter to his edition of Petrarch, de Tournes wrote in 1545 to the poet Maurice Scève the following: “Già dodeci anni sono e piu, signor mio, che da prima cominciai a pratticar nella casa dil S. Gryphio, e dal principio fui un di quelli compositori, che s'aiutorno a comporre insu la stampa le divine opere di messer Luigi Alamanni, gentilhuomo tanto honorato in Francia quante celebrato in Italia; la qual cosa mi mosse non solamente ad aprezar, ma ancora ad amar e a compiacermi molto in questa lingua toscana, di modo qu'alhora dissegnai di continuar in questo volgare, como le mie facultà vi si offeriranno.”

Mr. Christie, in his monumental work on Dolet, has dwelt at length upon the friendship existing between the two printers. An additional evidence of their intimacy is found in an unpublished letter of Antoine Arlier, who was one of Dolet's few life-long friends. Arlier obtained early in 1537 from the queen of Navarre the royal pardon for the choleric printer after his murder of the painter Compaign. In this letter, which events lead me to date the 31st of August, 1538, Arlier recommends to Dolet a friend who seeks a printer for some treatises he has composed. After informing Dolet that this friend has made the trip to Lyons solely for this purpose, Arlier adds: “Quare si illi contigerit, ut recte adversus Gryphium opera tua uti possit, gratissimum mihi feceris, si te libenter omnia facturum recipies.”

Anent the *recepte d'une cotisation faite par manière d'emprunt sur les bourgeois, manans et habitans* of Lyons (Baudrier, p. 34), we find in the archives of Lyons the letters patent of Francis I, dated from Rouen on the 29th of April, 1544, “adonnant ladite imposition” (*Arch. com. de Lyon*, CC 955). Again, in

¹ *Les Français italianisants au XVIe. siècle*, I, p. 167.

² *Il Petrarca. In Lione, Per Giouan di Tournes*, 1545, in-16, p. 3.

³ Letter lvi. I am preparing this collection of letters for publication.

the *Archives hospitalières* of Lyons (E 169; 1559-60), we note, among the legacies made to the *Aumône générale* (cf. Baudrier, p. 288), the following: "Receu de dame Françoise Miraillet, veufve et héritière de feu sieur Sébastien Griphius, par mains de Jehan Temporal, libraire, 100 livres tournois, restant d'ung légat de 200 livres, faict par ledict feu à ladicte Aulmosne." Another document, apparently not noted by M. B.—but of which I have not the date—states that "Bastien Griphius imprimeur, est taxé à 2 livres, 4 sous, et 7 deniers" (*Arch. com.*, CC 281).

As for Antoine Gryphe, who became head of the firm after his father's death, the following notes are not found in the present work: First, he is among the *cotisés* of the 31st of October, 1571 (*ibid.*, CC 1197; 1571-2); he is taxed for 5 livres in 1572 (*ibid.*, CC 275; 1572); in 1574-5, a payment is made to "Anthoine Griphius, marchand libraire, pour l'impression des privilèges des foires de Lyon" (*ibid.*, CC 1230); and finally in 1575, we find that "remboursements divers" were made to him (*ibid.*, CC 1233).

Credit should be given to that careful scholar, Mlle. M. Pellechet, for the discovery that François Gryphe, the Parisian printer, was a brother of Sébastien.⁶ In addition to Giovanni and Alessandro Griffio, the Venetian printers, who, as M. Picot indicates (*loc. cit.*, and Baudrier, p. 28), were probably cousins of Sébastien, there was another cousin, Cristoforo Griffio, who was a publisher at Padua from 1563 to 1571.

Mr. Christie, in his article on Florence Volusene or Wilson,⁷ mentions a work in his collection which is not noted by M. B. It is the *Latinae Grammatices Epitome*, written probably by Wilson (inasmuch as it is preceded by six elegiacs of his composition) and published by Gryphe in 1544. And to conclude, it is interesting to note that the Bodleian Library contains an incomplete copy of the *Panormitanus*, the first work issued from the press of Gryphe (1524).⁸

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⁶ *Notes sur les livres liturgiques des diocèses d'Autun, Chalon et Mâcon*, 1883, p. 83, n. 3.

⁷ *Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸ *Cat. Lib. Impress. in Bibl. Bod.*, iii, p. 673, Oxford, 1843.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Johns Hopkins Press announces *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, 2 vols., price, \$7. The work contains an admirable portrait of Mr. Elliott, also articles by more than a score of his former pupils, and contributions by three European scholars—Bédier, Menéndez Pidal and Terracher.

The Stanford University Philological Association expects to publish in the fall a memorial volume in honor of John E. Matzke.

An exchange of professors in alternat years has been arranged between Harvard and the French universities. The exchange will not be an amplification of the Hyde lectures. It will be remembered that Mr. James H. Hyde established a French lectureship at Harvard in 1898, and an American lectureship at the Sorbonne in 1904. President John H. Finley of the New York City College delivered this year the Hyde lectures at the Sorbonne. In the matter of the exchange of professorships, the Minister of Public Instruction of France will select the French professor from a French university, and will also designate the university to which the Harvard professor will be sent. During their stay of one semester, the French professors will become active members of the Harvard Faculty, and will conduct regular courses. They will probably be able, at various dates, to visit other American universities. Arrangements had already been concluded by Columbia, whereby a visiting French professor will conduct regular classes during one semester; Gustave Lanson will be the first of these. He will conduct two courses concerning the eighteenth century literature in France, during the first semester of 1911-12.

Assistant Professor F. B. Luquiens of Yale has recently published with H. Holt a delightful poetic translation of three lays of Marie de France.

Professor C. H. Grandgent's edition of Dante's *Purgatorio* is announced by D. C. Heath.

Assistant Professor W. T. Pierce of Ohio State University has accepted a position at Yale University.

We should like to call attention to the new series entitled *Scrittori d'Italia*, published by Laterza, Bari. Fourteen volumes have already appeared, and judging from these editions, we feel warranted in pronouncing this undertaking the most important attempt to diffuse the best elements in Italian literature, in correct and scholarly form, that has hitherto been made. The texts are all critical, and in charge of distinguished specialists throughout. Each document is accompanied by a brief bibliographical note, explaining the constitution of the text and giving adequate material for starting further critical study. The books are beautifully and clearly printed, yet are accessible at prices that should entice not only every university library, but individual students of Italian with the most moderate means. The series, which will include over six hundred volumes should be complete at the present rate of publication in a little over a decade.

Professor E. W. Olmsted, of Cornell University, has in press a study on the sonnet in France in the sixteenth century. Mr. George I. Dale, for the past year Fellow in the same university, has been appointed Instructor in French. He will be succeeded as Fellow by Mr. George S. Barnum, A.B. Cornell, 1911.

D. A. Longuet, 250, Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris, has been highly commended to us for fotografic reproductions of manuscripts and rare prints. His work is said to be of first quality, and his prices are moderat.

A Spanish translation of Dr. J. P. W. Crawford's *Life and Works of Suarez de Figueroa* will shortly appear at Madrid.

Miss Alice M. Robbins, a graduat of Boston University, who has been a student for the past two years at the University of Paris, has been appointed Instructor in French at Wellesley College.

Professor J. L. Borgerhoff, of Western Reserve University, will pass next year in Europe.

Mr. Charles E. Young, of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed Assistant Professor and head of the department of Romance languages at Beloit College.

Professor John M. Burnam, of the University of Cincinnati, is publishing with H. Champion, 5, Quai Malaquais, Paris, a large and most valuable treatis on Spanish, Portuguese and Catalanian paleografy entitled: *Palæographia Iberica*. This monumental work will consist of fifteen fascicules, each containing about twenty plates. The price per fascicule will be 25 francs. The edition will be limited to 300 numberd copies.

Professor J. D. M. Ford will relieve Professor C. H. Grandgent as chairman of the department of French and other Romance languages at Harvard. Professor Ford has recently been elected a Corresponding Member of the Academia Española.

Mr. John Hill, Assistant in Romance languages at the University of Wisconsin, is preparing an Old Spanish lexicografy.

Mr. Louis Allard, of Harvard University, has been promoted to an assistant professorship in Romance languages.

Mr. Mark Skidmore, Fellow in Romance languages at Columbia University, has been appointed Instructor in French at Dartmouth College.

Dr. George L. Hamilton, of the University of Michigan, will succeed Dr. Arthur Livingston as Assistant Professor of Romance languages at Cornell. Assistant Professor Livingston resigns to accept a call to Columbia.

Professor Paul Shorey, of Chicago University, has publisht an article on *American Scholarship*, which all who are interested in our education shoud read. This brilliant article makes an attack on our attempted importation of German ideas, and is a brief for a higher education which shall be truly national. Romance scholars will see with pleasure what he states in favor of French universities and French civilization. The article appeared in the *New York Evening Post*, May 13, and in the *Nation*, May 11.

Mr. Carlos Blume, of the Yale Graduate School, has been appointed Instructor in French at Dartmouth.

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. II — JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1911 — No. 3

MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN

THE collection of Miracles of the Virgin here edited for the first time is contained in a manuscript (MSS. B. 14) belonging to the President White Library of Cornell University.¹ The volume is a small quarto (size of leaf cm. 19.2 × 13.7; of text cm. 13.2 × 10) of 184 folios, vellum, written in two columns (except f. 96, written in one), and contains works in various hands and of different dates, from the late thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. Our collection, of the late thirteenth century, written in two columns of twenty-five lines, occupies fols. 104-119.

The contents of the whole manuscript is as follows: (1) *Meditationes piissimae beati Bernardi de cognitione humanae conditionis*, incomplete, lacking chaps. XIV-XV, cf. Mabillon's ed. of St. Bernard's *Opera*, Paris, 1690, Vol. II, coll. 319-335, f. 1; (2) A mystical treatise, the beginning of which is missing, a leaf of the quire being lost, f. 16; (3) *Vitas Patrum*, f. 33vo; (4) The present article, f. 104; (5) Sermons, f. 120vo; (6) Moral reflections, f. 140vo; (7) Two chapters of Gregory's *Dialogues*, Bk. IV, 37, 38, f. 141vo; Treatise on canonical law, f. 143; (9) Theological treatise, f. 168; (10) Letter of Presbyter John to the Emperor Manuel,² fols. 171vo-172vo. Articles (1)-(5) appear to be in the same hand and of the thirteenth century. The remaining articles are in different hands of the fourteenth century. I have written out

¹ This volume, it is believed, was formerly in the library of the Carthusian monastery of Buxheim, near Memmingen in Bavaria.

² This letter forms the subject of a thesis by Mr. R. P. Redfield, A.B., Cornell University, 1896, "Prester John. A critical Study of his Letter to the Emperor Manuel, with especial reference to the Manuscript in the President White Library of Cornell University. Thesis presented for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in Cornell University."

the abbreviations, punctuated, and corrected a few evident slips of the scribe's pen. I have left the text as it is in the manuscript, with the usual mediaeval orthography (*e* for *ae*, etc.), and I have not attempted to correct the scribe's construction.^{2a}

A sufficient account of the history and literature of the subject will be found in Mussafia, *Studien zu den Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, I. pp. 1-22, a résumé of which, with additions, is in Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. II, pp. 586-594. Exceedingly useful is Albert Poncelet's *Miraculorum B. V. Marie quae saec. VI-XV. Latine conscripta sunt Index postea perficiendus*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, t. XXI (1902), pp. 241-360. The most important additions to the list on pp. 243-4 of "Libri saepius allati" are: J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III, 1910; and A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum saeculo XIII compositus a quodam fratre minore Anglico de provincia Hiberniae, secundum codicem Dunelmensem*, Aberdoniae, 1908. In citing Mussafia's *Studien* I have used the reprints of the first four parts, Vienna, 1887, 1888, 1889, and 1891, and for the fifth part the *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe, Bd. CXXXIX*, 1898, VIII *Abh.* Poncelet's Index is usually cited as *Initia Miraculorum*.

Mussafia in the third part of his *Studien*, pp. 53 *et seq.*, passes in review the great number of manuscript collections of Miracles of the Virgin found in European libraries and endeavours to draw some general inferences as to their origin and relationship. The results, it must be confessed, are meagre, and the distinguished author is obliged to acknowledge "Auf welche Art zuerst die einzelnen Erzählungen dann die Sammlungen zu Stande kamen, ist bisher unaufgeheilt geblieben." He does establish certain families of MSS. and reduces the number of legends to about one hundred. He also sifts this number and is enabled to arrange them in somewhat chronological order. But after all, as the Catalogues of Ward

^{2a} In several instances the scribe has written *gn* for *ng*, *gl* for *lg*, and *x* for *s*, *e. g.*, *logne* for *longe*, *fuglebat* for *fulgebat*, *salux* for *salus*. I have not followed this orthography. I am greatly indebted to my colleague, Professor G. L. Burr for aid in deciphering the MS.

and Herbert amply show, the greatest freedom and independence prevail in this as in other fields of medieval literature. No two MSS. are exactly alike, the arrangement of the stories is different, and it is even difficult generally to determine the source of the stories—this being especially true of the later prose legends. As Mussafia says, the sources of the metrical versions in French, English, and Spanish can be determined with considerable (*ziemlicher*) certainty.

I shall now examine the stories in our MS. to see whether they throw any light on the date or place of the collection. The oldest group of legends is considered by Mussafia to be the one consisting of seventeen tales, and termed HM from beginning with the legend "Hildefonsus" and ending with that of "Murieldis." This group is the first seventeen stories in Pez (Mussafia, I, pp. 23-30); of this group four (possibly, five) are in our collection: X (Pez 3); XI (Pez 6); IX (Pez 7); XX (Pez 16). No. VIII may possibly be considered a variant of Pez 2, at any rate, they both belong to the same class of legends.

The second group of Mussafia consists of four legends: Jew of Bourges, Theophilus, Julian the Apostate, and Childbirth in the Sea; of these the second only, Theophilus, is in our collection, No. XXIX.

The third group, called TS (Toledo—Sardenay) consists of sixteen, possibly, seventeen, legends, of which four, possibly, five, are in our collection: XXVII (TS 3); VIII (TS 8, variant); XII (TS 11); XV (TS 13); XVIII (TS 15).

Of these, VIII has already been mentioned as a variant of Pez 2, XII is also Pez 30; XV is Pez 32; and XVIII is Pez 19. Our MS. therefore contains ten legends found in the oldest and most popular collections.

Of the nineteen remaining stories, two, XIV and XXIV, are peculiar to this collection, but throw no light on its origin. The first is an ordinary monastic vision, in which the Virgin appears to a devout monk and promises to conduct him to heaven. No locality is mentioned except "in quodam monasterio." The second is the story of an angry mother who commends her undutiful son to "fifty thousand devils." At night devils carry him from his

bed up through the chimney, but let him fall to the hearth on his exclaiming: "Sancta Maria, adjuva me." The story is said to take place "in quodam castro episcopatus Toletanensi," one of the few local references in the collection. I have found no exact parallel to this story.

The remaining seventeen legends are among the oldest and most popular of the legends attributed to the Virgin, although some are found in relatively few collections. I shall mention the latter class first. They are: I. Stephan, a French cleric, saved by the Virgin from shipwreck and afterwards from carnal temptations; found only in two collections in England and in a French metrical version; IV. Vision of wicked man granted a respite by the Virgin in order that he may amend his life; found only in two MSS. in the British Museum, and in various printed works; VI. Emperor of Constantinople buried in mine; found in Paris Lat. 5267, as well as in the French metrical version alluded to above, and in a considerable number of collections in the British Museum, where it is sometimes told of an unnamed "miner"; XIII. Carthusian monk persecuted by demons in shape of swine; found only in British Museum, Additional 15723, and in some printed collections, such as, *Speculum Historiale*, *Scala Celi*, and W. de Worde's *The Myracles of our Lady*; XX. Brother of the King of Hungary forsakes bride for Virgin; found in Pez, in the French metrical collection mentioned above, and in a considerable number of collections in the British Museum.

Of the fourteen remaining legends, nearly all are of wide popularity and are found in a large number of collections. This is especially the case with: VIII. Sacristan drowned while returning from the commission of sin, buried outside of churchyard, at Virgin's command body is disinterred and lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name in golden letters on tongue; IX. Lewd monk recalled to life to repent and receive the sacraments; X. Ebbo the Thief; XII. Sick cleric restored to health by Virgin's milk; XV. Virgin reproves nun (Eulalia) for saying prayers too rapidly; XVII. Monk writes Virgin's name in various colors; XVIII. Elsinus; XXVI. Devil in service; and XXIX. Theophilus. The other legends are less popular, although found in many col-

lections. The following do not occur in Ward's Catalogue (that is, are not in collections in the British Museum): XIV, XVII, XXIV, XXVIII. Two of these, XIV, XXIV, as we have seen, are peculiar to our collection. Twenty-one of the twenty-nine occur, as to subject, in the Paris MS. Fr. 818, in metrical form. Those which do not occur are: IV. Vision of wicked man granted a respite by the Virgin; XIII. Carthusian monk persecuted by devils in shape of swine; XIV. peculiar to our collection; XVIII. Elsinus (Feast of Conception); XXI. Miracle of Sardenay; XXII. Money-changer swears by Virgin's breasts, tongue turns black and he dies; XXIV Peculiar to our collection; XXV. Knight turned monk can learn Ave Maria only.³

Mussafia concludes his careful examination of the above MS. 818, with these words: "Ob der französische Reimer selbst die Sammlung der Wunder veranstaltete, oder ob er sie in einer lateinischen Handschrift vorfand, ist schwer zu bestimmen. Nach dem compilerischen Charakter des auf Maria sich beziehenden Theiles der Handschrift ist ersteres wahrscheinlicher." My own conclusion, based on a general study of the collections of Latin tales in Ward and Herbert's Catalogue is the same. It seems to me that there is considerable independence in the choice and arrangement of material, and that it is generally impossible to discover the source of any collection. This is not saying, of course, that the source of individual stories may not be discovered, especially, as has already been said, in the case of metrical translations, such as Gautier de Coincy, Adgar, the French MS. 818, etc.

³ Mussafia divides the contents of MS. 818 into eight groups, all of which are represented in our MS. as follows (the stories of the Cornell MS. in parentheses): I Group, HM, i. e. Pez, 17 tales, 2 (cp. 8), 3 (10), 6 (11), 7 (9), 16 (20); II Group, TS, 3 (27), 7 (8), 10 (12), 13 (15); III Group, "Pez und grosse Sammlungen", 27-28 (2-3); IV Group, "Grosse Sammlungen", 59, Theophilus (29); V Group, Gautier de Compiègne, 16 (7), 18 (cp. 8); VI Group, Paris MS. Lat., 5, 268, 20 (19), 21 (28), 22 (17), 26 (6); VII, "Nicht deutlich woher entnommen", 30 (23), 52-54 (cp. 12), 61 (16); VIII Group, "Legenden, die bisher in lateinischen Sammlungen nicht oder selten nachgewiesen wurden", 3 (1, Stephen saved from shipwreck, etc.).

EXPLICIT VITAS PATRUM INCIPIUNT MIRACULA DE GLORIOSA VIRGINE
MARIA DEI GENITRICE

Cap. I. Fuit quidam clericus Stephanus nomine, Gallus nomine (l. natione), beatam Dei Genitricem pre omnibus sanctis ardenti corde diligens, ore frequenter nominans, festiva memoria colens. Hic cum ex devotione Ierosolimam pergeret, in mari naufragium pertulit et undis absortus pelagiolvebatur in imo, nec tamen inter undarum procellas moriens matris misericordie poterat oblivisci. Stella quippe maris ab ethere summo ei fulgebat, quam videns et de auxilio Virginis sperans sic eam quia voce non poterat corde clamabat: O domina, O celi regina, O post Deum tota spes mea, O omnium te invocantium salus, O certe naufragantium portus, O miserorum solatium, O pereuntium refugium, adesto nunc pereunti clerico tuo, et ostende super eum misericordiam unda vehemens eum longe in terram prohiceret. Et secundum quod viderat sic (l. se) longe a mari in terra translatus invenit. Vadens autem Ierosolimam et visitatis locis sanctis ad patriam rediens factus est heremita probatus. Ante lectulum suum vero habebat depictam ymaginem Virginis, ante quam preces et lacrimas devotissime effundebat. Insurrexit autem in eum hostis antiquus cepitque stimulis carnalis concupiscentie fortissime perurget, in tantum ut per se resistere non valeret. Confugit igitur ad solitum auxilium Virginis, eam multis lacrimis obsecrans ut sicut ipsum liberaverat de maris periculo, sic eum ab illa temptatione eriperet. Ipso autem orante adfuit ei misericordie mater, his verbis alloquens eum: Quid, frater Stephane, gemis? Quid lacrimis? Quia, domina, precibus assiduis te pro mea tribulatione pulso, nec adhuc remedium aliquod invenisse me sentio. Cui illa, pulcherrimo vultu et placido ut solet affatu: Fili, inquit, ammodo liber esto, nec ultra tali exagitaberis stimulo. Et sic plene liberatus et totus consoletus remansit.

NOTES

Chap. I. A cleric named Stephen while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem is shipwrecked and saved by prayer to Virgin. On his return he becomes a hermit and is subject to carnal temptations, from which the Virgin delivers him.

This unusual legend is found, so far as I know, in three collections only: Brit. Mus. Royal 6, B. xiv (Ward, p. 640, Nos. 12, 13); Oxford, Corpus Chr. Coll., 42, No. 29 (cited by Mussafia, V, p. 2), both Latin prose versions; and Paris, Bib. Nat. Fr. 818, f. 25d, in French octosyllable verse. Mussafia, V, pp. 24-29, prints the prose version Royal 6, B. xiv, and the French version just mentioned. He includes, V, p.

18, this legend in the eighth group of "Legenden, die bisher in lateinischen Sammlungen nicht oder selten nachgewiesen wurden." This is the only one of the six in this group found in our MS. The briefer version in the Oxford MS. may be the source of the legend in the text, which uses many of the words and expressions of the much longer Brit. Mus. version, see Mussafia's reprint cited above.

Cap. II. De quodam homine liberato a periculo maris.

Quidam sanctus episcopus cum multis sociis causa devotionis Ierosolimam pergens, passus naufragium cum paucis evasit. Qui cum plorans sociorum submersorum animas Deo commendaret, aque per mare circumspiceret si forte aliqua inditia suffocatorum corporum posset agnoscere, videt subito per diversas partes maris sociorum animas in specie columbarum de mari ascendere cel[er]ique volatu celi secreta penetrare. Tunc pro se cepit magis flere episcopus quod cum illis non meruerat illam mortem. Stante autem eo cum paucis sociis qui evaserant circa litus in terra subito unum de submersis sanum et incolumem de mari cernunt exire. Stupentes autem querunt ab eo quomodo evasisset. Respondit: Cum in aqua caderem Beate Virginis nomen invocavi, et sic eius memorando et nomen inclamando ad yma deveni, et ipsa misericordie mater sub undis adfuit mihi et pallio suo me contexit et contectum ad litus perduxit et incolumem conservavit.

NOTES

Cap. II. Pilgrims to Jerusalem suffer shipwreck: bishop sees souls of drowned companions ascend to heaven in form of doves. One of the drowning pilgrims calling on the Virgin is saved by her mantle.

Mussafia, I, p. 27 (Pez, 27); II, p. 42 (Paris, Lat. 5562, No. 1); III, p. 16 (Erfurt, Ampl. MSS., 44, No. 23, in elegiac verse); V, p. 2 (Paris, Fr. 818, No. 5, in French octosyllabic verse). See also Mussafia, *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 10.

The references to MSS. in the British Museum may be found in Ward, pp. 626 (No. 8); 640 (No. 14); 684 (No. 39); 689 (No. 10); 701 (No. 10); and 727 (No. 52); and in Herbert (i. e., J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III, London, 1910), pp. 523 (44); and 608 (29).

The Bollandist *Initia miraculorum* registers the above and the printed versions to be mentioned.

The story is found in Vincent. Bellov., *Spec. hist.*, Strasburg, 1476 (?), VIII, 88; *Scala celi*, Ulm, 1480, f. 114, "legitur in Mariali Magno," the source of the *Spec. hist.*; Herolt, *Sermones Discipuli de Tempore*

et de Sanctis cum Exemplorum Promptuario ac Miraculis B.V., Venet., 1606, cap. XXIX, cites *Spec. hist.* as source; and Gil de Zamora, *Cin-cuenta leyendas* ed. Fita in *Boletín de la real acad.*, vol. VII, p. 92, No. 18.

A Provençal version has been published by J. Ulrich in *Romania*, VIII, p. 23, "Miracles de Notre Dame en Provençal," No. x. This collection has been shown to be derived from the *Spec. hist.*, see Mussafia in *Romania*, ix, 300. A French prose version is in *Miracles de Notre Dame* collected by Jean Mielot, Roxburghe Club, 1885, No. XXXIII. Spanish versions are in *Cantigas de Santa Maria* de Don Alfonso el Sabio, Madrid, 1889, vol. I, p. xliii, No. xxxiii, where references to other versions are given by Mussafia and others; and in Berceo, *Milagros*, xxii, in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Madrid, 1864, *Poetas Castellanos ant. al siglo XV*.

Cap. III. De quodam abbate cum pluribus liberatus a periculo maris.

Abbas quidam cum aliquibus monachis et pluribus laicis in mari Brutanie (l. Britannico) tempestatem validam patiens ita ut jam desperaret de vita, ortatus est omnes diversos socios secundum eorum devotionem pie clamantes ut misericordie matrem lacrimis et vocibus conclamarent. Tunc omnes, sancta, inquit, pia et perpetua Virgo Maria, succurre miseris, subveni iam morituris. Sentiamus tuum levamen qui in nostra tribulatione tuas consolationes deposcimus. Tu Dei mater alma; tu celi potens regina; tu semper in misericordia pronta; tu desolatorum solamen; tu destitutorum iuvamen. Ipse quoque abbas vero afflicto erat qui per duos dies preter unum pomum nil comederat, illud responsorium: *Felix namque es*, et eiusdem versum: *Ora [pro] populo*, devotissime cum suis monachis decantare incepit. Nondum autem responsorio finito et precibus populi, ecce in summitate navis lux magna cerei ad instar apparuit, que noctis tenebras fugans, omnes qui erant in navi sua claritate perfudit qui prius se videre non poterant. Totaque illa cessavit tempestas, celique regina iubente sancta, est tranquillitas magna. Non multo autem post dies serenus illuxit et terre ad quam tendebant navis applicuit.

NOTES

Cap. III. Abbot with monks exposed to storm in "mari Britannico" exhorts companions to pray to the Virgin. A light like a great candle appears on mast and the storm ceases.

This miracle usually follows the preceding one, and the references to Mussafia, I, II, V, hold good here as well as Gautier de Coincy, p. 10.

The references in Ward also hold good, except that the miracle in question is not found, p. 701, and is found p. 655 (No. 5); and p. 722 (No. 26, Gautier de Coincy). The miracle is also found as above in *Spec. hist.*, VIII, 89; Ulrich, No. xi; Gil de Zamora, No. xx; *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, No. xxxvi (cf. No. cccxiii); and F. Pfeiffer, *Marientlegenden*, Wien, 1863, No. xii, the Latin version of Pez is printed, p. 272.

Cap. IIII. De quodam magno peccatore cui Beata Virgo indulgentiam impetravit et gratiam a filio suo.

Fuit quidam homo valde facinorosus fere omnium peccatorum genere cottidie peccata accumulans et cuncta remedia salutis devitans, preter hoc solum, quod per horas Beate Virginis nullo modo preterire volebat, sed eas qua poterat cottidie devotione dicebat. Hunc tali visione dignatus est omnipotens deterrere. Videbatur namque sibi quod iudex omnium, astantibus omnibus angelis et sanctis suis, in sede iudiciaria constitutus de vindicta cuilibet inlate sibi iniurie pertractabat. Territus ergo tante presentia majestatis que ibi dicerentur trepidus audire volebat. Dominus de eo itaque sic adstantes alloquitur: De isto qui nos aspicit quo iudicio ut decernatis quem sepe monitis meis ut ad me redierit invitavi, et diu eius pertinaciam tolleravi, et nullum in eo emendationis signum inveni. Ad hec districti iudicis verba presentium sanctorum responsa sunt competentia reddita et sue dampnationis est perlata sententia. Post hec mater misericordie ante thronum filii reverenter adveniens pro peccatore sic exorsa est loqui: Pro isto, fili, clementiam tuam deposcor ut sue dampnationis sententiam revoces, qui licet multum peccaverit, meas tamen horas cottidie devote dicebat. Lege enim tua justissima sanxisti nullum omnino bonum quantumcumque parvum inremuneratum perire. Hic autem hujus tanti boni quo mihi servivit nec dum aliquid mercedis accepit. Vivat ergo ob gratiam meam qui ob propria merita adicitur morti. Cui statim iudex benigno annuens vultu: Fiat autem, dulcissima mater, ut tibi placet; nam tuo amore vitam et veniam ei tribuo, salutem perpetuam largiturus si ejus correptionem conspexero. Tunc conversa ad peccatorem regina clementie ait: Vade, et iam amplius noli peccare ne deterius tibi aliud contingat. Post hec conventus ille solutus est; et ille totus ad deum conversus et habitum sancte religionis assumens residuum vite sue in dei servitio et sue matris laudibus consumavit.

NOTES

Cap. IIII. A sinner has a vision of himself before the judgment seat of God. He is damned by consent of angels and saints. The Virgin

obtains his pardon in order that he may change his life. He is converted and assumes the habit of a religious order.

A briefer version of this miracle is found in the *Legenda aurea* ed. Graesse, Dresdae et Lipsiae, 1846, cap. CXXXI, 9, p. 593. Some of the expressions are found in our miracle: "de illo, qui vos adspicit, quo iudicio dignus sit, vos ipsi decernatis, quem tamdiu et toleravi et nullum adhuc in eo emendationis signum inveni" . . . "vivat ergo hic ob gratiam meam, qui ob propria merita addicitur morti" . . . "vade et amplius noli peccare, ne deterius tibi contingat." The version in the *Legenda aurea* is followed closely by Gil de Zamora, No. lviii, and Mielot, No. lxxiii, both cited by Mussafia, II, p. 64 (No. 8) and III, p. 31 (No. 12), and by Ward, p. 663 (No. 11). A MS., Add. 33,956 is cited by Ward, p. 676 (No. 43). A German metrical version in a fourteenth century MS. in Klosterneuburg is printed by Dr. Floss in *Neun Marienlegenden nebst einem Gebete an Maria*, no place or date, p. 29, No. viii, "Der Schüler von Sicilien." The scene of the miracle is laid in Sicily and the version is fuller than the one in the *Legenda aurea*, but differs from our miracle. The same legend is in *Marienlegenden*, No. ix.

Cap. V. De miraculo facto ad ostensionem tunice Beate Virginis Marie.

Anno ab incarnatione dominica octingentesimo xc. ix. Rollo primus dux Normandorum cum maximo exercitu ex diversis gentibus congregatus (sic) venit in Franciam et depopulavit eam et obsedit Carnotensem civitatem et coangustavit eam. Episcopus autem eiusdem civitatis vir religiosissimus videns populum in maxima angustia positum et liberationem (l. liberatorem) neminem, fugit ad auxilium dei et gloriose matris eius post deum totam spem suam posuerat.⁴ Tulit ergo tunicam eiusdem Virginis Marie que tunc in sacrario ecclesie servabatur et collocans eam super astam pervalidam ad instar vexilli quasi vexillifer cum populo suo adiutorium Beate Virginis invocante civitatem egressus est contra hostes, qui potenti virtute contra vexillum et populum venire ceperunt. Sed statim tam dux quam totus exercitus divinitus cecitate percussus, quo irent, vel quid agerent ignorabant. Quod videntes Carnotenses gratia dei virtus sibi concessa abusi, quam plures sternere multosque debilitare ceperunt. Quod quia deo et matri sue non placuit tunica illa sanctissima disparuit subito. Sicque hostibus visum recipientibus fugaque labentibus Carnotensis, civitas tanto thesauro et beneficio est privata. Unde datur intelligi neminem deo suum iudicium exequante, humanum iudicium exaggerare debere.

⁴ There is an omission in the text, see Notes.

NOTES

Cap. V. The city of Chartres is saved during the siege by Rollo by showing the Virgin's tunic.

This widely spread historical legend is found in Mussafia, I, p. 50 (No. 46, Paris, 12,593); II, pp. 17 (No. 5, Brit. Mus. Cleop. C., 20), 36 (No. 36, Cambridge Mm., 6, 15), 45 (No. 21, Paris, 5,562); III, pp. 4 (No. 5, Brit. Mus. Vesp. D, 19, in elegiac verse), 38 (No. 132, Etienne de Bourbon, *Liber de septem donis*, p. 112, ed. Lecoy de la Marche, Paris, 1877, under the title *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d' Etienne de Bourbon*); V, p. 3 (No. 9, Paris, Fr. 818, in verse). See also Ward, pp. 603 (No. 5, Cotton, Cleop. C, x), 693 (No. 5, Cotton, Vesp. D, xix), 703 (No. 32, Royal 8, G. iv), 713 (No. 20, Egerton 612, Adgar, French verse, see later); and Herbert, p. 395 (No. 382, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"); 730 (No. 5, Royal 20, B. xiv, French verse). The growth of the legend and some additional references will be found in Mielot, p. viii, No. 1. There is also a brief version in Gil de Zamora, No. 64. The French version by Adgar will be found in Neuhaus, *Adgar's Marienlegenden*, Heilbronn, 1886, p. 127 (*Altfranzösische Bibliothek*, ix). The editor also prints the version in Cleop. G, x, in *Die lateinischen Vorlagen zu den Alt-Franz. Adgar'schen Marien-Legenden*, Aschersleben, no date, p. 25. The version in the text is, as usual, the unskilful condensation of a longer form which the compiler had before him, probably Cleop. C, x, or its original. Compare a few passages (Neuhaus, *Die lat. Vorl.*, p. 26): "ut hostilis exercitus cum suo duce divinitus caecitate percussus, quo iret vel quid ageret ignoraret." "Intelligens itaque Carnotensis acies suos hostes a deo percussos, abusi potestate divinitus sibi concessa, quam plures sternere, multos ex eis debilitare coeperunt." "Sicque hostibus visum recipientibus, fugaque labentibus, Carnotensis civitas peccatis exigentibus tam magno praesidio tantoque thesauro hactenus caruit. Unde datur intelligi neminem hominum deo suum iudicium exsequante, humanum iudicium exaggerare debere."

Cap. VI. De imperatore Constantinopolitano.

Imperator tertius Constantinopolitane civitatis dum super artificibus fodientibus metalla insisteret, moles terre permaxima super eum corrui, suosque sodales extinxit, ipse vero in angulo fovee vivus et incognitus remansit. Uxor autem eius Beate Virgini valde devota, hoc audiens ad altare Beate Virginis lacrimis perfusa accessit, obsecrans sacerdotem ecclesie ut per annum integrum pro illius anima celebraret. Propter

quod Beata Virgo ad eius virum veniens dulciter consolabatur eum, angelos ei comites et custodes assignans. Et tempore quo pro eo missa celebrabatur spiritualiter cibum ipsi ministrabat, dicens: Hec per me tua fidelis uxor tibi mittere procurat. Peracto vero anno, sancta dei Genitrix in sompno dixit episcopo: Accelera, imperatorem de fovea extrahe, quem ob amore uxoris sue per annum pavi ac sanum et incolumem custodivi. Episcopus autem hoc audiens sine mora cum multitudine populi ad locum accessit et terra remota imperatorem in quadam latebra sanum invenit, qui per se ipsum inde eductus omnibus que Beata Virgo sibi fecerat enarravit et omnes eam glorificaverunt.

NOTES

Cap. VI. The emperor of Constantinople is buried in a mine. His wife has mass said for a year at altar of Virgin, who nourishes emperor and commands bishop to rescue him.

The source of this version is probably the Latin text printed by Mussafia, V, p. 41 (Paris, 5,267, 5,268), see I, p. 75 (No. 6); Ward, p. 675 (No. 30, Add. 33,956), cites Petrus Venerabilis, *De Miraculis*, lib. II, cap. 2 (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, clxxxix, col. 911), where the miracle is said to have happened in the diocese of Grenoble. See Herbert, p. 85 (No. 34, Add. 28,682, Etienne de Bourbon, "Tractatus de diversis materiis praedicabilibus." Herbert remarks, "Perhaps the earliest appearance of this tale is in Petrus Damianus, Opusc. xxxiii, "De bono suffragiorum," cap. 5, Migne, cxlv, col. 567); 96 (No. 36, Sloane, 3,102, "Tractatus de Abundantia Exemplorum," the story is here told of "an imprisoned miner saved by his wife's masses," the present version is that of Peter of Cluny, who is cited); 383 (No. 159, "Speculum Lai-corum," same as last); 463 (No. 118, Harley, 3,244, same as last); 480 (No. 24, Royal 7 D. 1, same as last); 525 (No. 70, Harley, 2,385, same as last); 549 (No. 120, Arundel, 506, same as last); 608 (No. 33, Add. 18,364, told of "Alexander III, Emperor of Constantinople," Nos. 67 and 115 of same MS. give story of miner). See *Liber de Abundantia Exemplorum*, s. a. et l. fol. 58. There is also a version in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, No. cxxxi. In a note Mussafia says that he knows of no printed version of this miracle.

Cap. VII. De muliere que alteri virum auferebat.

Fuit quidam peccator qui quamdam puellam defloravit et uxore propria derelicta eam sibi in amasiam sociavit. Uxor autem eius de hoc valde afflicta, de illa muliericula ante ymaginem Beate Virginis cottidie conquerebatur dicens: Sancta Maria, mater domini, fac mihi

iustitiam de meretrice illa que mihi abstulit virum meum. Peccatrix autem illa ante eandem ymaginem frequenter in die dicebat: Ave Maria, etc. Illa clamabat, hec salutabat, donec sic agendo annum peregerit. Illucescente autem die dominice resurrectionis, apparuit Beata Virgo mulieri que ab ea iustitiam exigebat et dixit ei: Mulier, quere alium qui tibi de peccatrice illa iustitiam faciat. Ego enim eam tibi facere non possum. Illa vero ut sibi videbatur respondebat dicens: Quomodo celi regina potestatem habes in celo et in terra et super demones, dicis te non posse mihi iustitiam facere de meretrice illa que peccat in filium tuum et in te auferendo mihi maritum meum. Cui Virgo: Verum dicis, mulier, de potestate mea, sed quia peccatrix illa cottidie me devote salutatur, non possum pati ut aliqua adversitas sibi contingat. Et his dictis visio disparuit. Mulier autem illa extimans se fantastica illusionem deceptam ivit mane ad ecclesiam sed ante ymaginem Virginis minime⁵ presentavit se. Mansit autem diu in ecclesia nesciens quid ageret. Egrediens tandem de ecclesia obviam habuit adversariam suam in porta ecclesie, contra quam clamavit dicens: O infelix mulier, quomodo in ecclesia presumis intrare que mihi maritum tulisti et ipsam dei matrem incantationibus tuis adeo seduxisti ut de te nullam mihi possit facere vindictam. Peccatrix autem illa nil respondens sed patienter concitatam fugere volens, in medio populi se ingerebat. Sed illa furibunda et vociferans insequabatur eam, vix a percussione continens manus suas. Fit concursus clericorum: propter causas clamoris inquirunt. Refert mulier visionem quam viderat. Ubi vero peccatrix illa se exauditam cognovit, ante ymaginem Virginis genuflexit et audiente populo perpetuam continentiam deo vovit,⁶ seque sanctimoniam fieri postulavit. Quod consecuta cellulam iuxta predictam ecclesiam h edificari fecit, et in ea usque ad terminum vite sue in omni sanctitate permansit.

NOTES

Cap. VII. Husband deserts wife for mistress. Wife complains to image of Virgin, who answers in a vision that she can do nothing as mistress salutes her devoutly. Wife meets mistress in church and upbraids her, accusing her of enchanting the Virgin. When mistress hears vision she is converted and spends remainder of life in a cell built near the church.

Mussafia I, pp. 13 (No. 12, Guibert de Nogent, *De laude S. Mariæ*, cap. 12), 15 (No. 2, Gautier de Cluny, *De miraculis beatae Virginis*

⁵ Gautier de Cluny, Migne, clxxiii, col. 1,382, *intime*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 1,383, *devovit*.

Mariae, No. 2); IV, p. 22 (No. 48, Salisbury MS. 97, "Willelmus Meldunensis"); V, p. 5 (No. 16, Paris, Fr. 818); Ward, pp. 621 (No. 30, Arundel, 346, Ward cites Guibert de Nogent and Gautier de Cluny *ut supra*, and Duplessis, *Le Marchant, Miracles de N. D. de Chartres*, pp. xxiv-xxviii), 627 (No. 14, Add. 15,723, Ward cites *Spec. hist.*, VII, should be VIII, 100, and, *Scala celi*, f. clxiv, Ulm, 1480, f. 115), 665 (No. 28, Arundel, 406), 675 (No. 34, Add. 33,956), 715 (No. 34, Egerton, 612, Adgar, p. 209), 722 (No. 24, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy), 733 (No. 53, Royal, 20, B. xiv). See also Mussafia, *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 25. The miracle is also in Mielot, No. xv, and *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lxviii. A version not cited by Mussafia, Ward, or the Bollandists, is in my edition of the *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, No. ccxxiii. See Herbert, p. 550 (No. 135, Arundel, 506). Our version seems to be a slightly condensed form of Gautier de Cluny's legend.

Cap. VIII. De quodam monacho sacrista in cuius lingua nomen Virginis aureis litteris scriptum inventum est.

In quodam monasterio fuit quidam sacrista levitate locutionis et operis nimis⁶⁶ notabilis. Sed spem habens in auxilio Beate Virginis, horas eius devote et reverenter dicebat et eam cottidie frequentissime salutabat, et omnia que ad sacrum cultum pertinebant sollicitè munda tenebat. Hic quadam nocte perpetrato cum muliere libidinis scelere cum ad monasterium remearet nave labente in flumine mersus est. Qui diu quesitus inventus est. Et quia mersus in profundo inferni credebatur, extra cimiterium monachi corpus eius posuerunt. Sequentè autem nocte Beata Virgo cuidam antiquo monacho apparens ait: Servum meum qui me humiliter salutabat et moriens se mihi totaliter commendavit extra cimiterium posuistis. Sciatis quod dolor cordis et tormentum mortis crimen diluerunt. Ite ergo et eum in loco debito honorifice tumulate. Invenietis autem tria lilia ex eius hore precedentia et in lingua ejus nomen meum aureis litteris scriptum. Et post hec disparuit Virgo, et inventum est ut dixerat et factum ut jusserrat.

NOTES

Cap. VIII. Sacristan is drowned returning from mistress and buried without the cemetery. Virgin appears to monk and commands sacristan's body to be buried in consecrated ground. Three lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name written in golden letters on tongue.

⁶⁶ MS. ymnis.

There are several versions or variants of this miracle, usually confused in the references in Ward and the Bollandists. These versions generally have in common: the death (by drowning, or assassination) of a person (cleric, monk, sacristan) in his sins; his soul is saved from damnation by intervention of Virgin (whom he has devoutly greeted, etc., during lifetime); sometimes by prayers of friend; sometimes angels and demons dispute over soul; sometimes a new lease of life is granted for repentance; usually he is buried without the cemetery and the Virgin orders him to be buried in consecrated ground; and as proof of his repentance lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name written on tongue in golden letters. Sometimes the *ave* half uttered at death is completed when mouth of disinterred body is opened. Frequently the miracle is localized, as in No. X, at Chartres, etc.

I shall confine myself in this note to the versions which contain practically all these traits: lewd sacristan (cleric, monk) drowned while returning from mistress; invokes Virgin in moment of death; buried without cemetery; Virgin orders body to be disinterred and placed in consecrated ground; as proof of repentance three lilies are found growing from mouth and Virgin's name written in letters of gold on tongue.

Mussafia, I, p. 33 (No. 47, MS. 638, Admont in Steiermark); 53 (No. 86, Paris, 12,593), 76 (No. 40, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, p. 15 (No. 3, Toulouse, 478); 84 (No. 55, Florence, Camald, 747, D. 3); III, p. 24 (No. 4, Paris, Lat., 10,770); 41 (No. 18, *Scala Celi*, 116vo, belongs more properly to No. X); 42 (Nos. 45-47, same source, variants); 50 (No. 71, Herolt, *Promptuarium*); IV, p. 21 (No. 35, Salisbury MS., 97); V, p. (No. 19, Paris, Fr., 818). Mussafia in last references cites MS. Ambros. D. sup., which our miracle follows at beginning, but soon differs. Ward, p. 604 (No. 8, Cotton, Cleop. C, x); 676 (No. 48, Add. 33,956); 678 (No. 2, Royal, 8, C. 12); 723 (No. 33, Harley, 440); 731 (No. 16, Royal, 20, B. xiv). See also Mussafia, *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 7 (I, 33). Herbert, p. 395 (No. 378, "Speculum Laicorum"); 467 (No. 13, Add. 16,589); 557 (No. 224, Arundel, 506); 570 (No. 160, Harley, 268); and 607 (No. 14, Add. 18,364, a variant of our story).

Cap. IX. De quodam alio reprehensibili monacho cui Beata Virgo Maria salutem impetravit.

Fuit in quodam monasterio monachus quidam qui fere in cunctis que agebat reprehensibilis erat. Tamen Beate Marie Virgini multum devotus erat et eius missam ter vel bis in septimana reverenter dicebat. Infirmatus autem et mori timens, misit pro abbate et monachis ut eos

sibi reconciliaret quos malo exemplo frequenter turbaverat. Quo facto, monachos affectuose rogavit ut ecclesiam intrantes dei misericordiam et beatam Virginem pro se devotis precibus exorarent. Quod dum fieret, loquelam amisit et quasi mortuus effectus est. Quod audientes, monachi ad eum currunt tristes quam plurimum quia nec communionem nec unctionem acceperat. Cumque circa eum merentes astarent et quid agerent ignorarent, subito respiravit infirmus qui mortuus putabatur, et cepit clara voce nomen Beate Virginis nominare, eique gratias immensas referre quod sua pia intercessione eternam dampnationem evaserat. Post sancta vera confessione et corpore Christi et sacra unctione accepta, absolutus ab omnibus et benedicens omnibus totus exilaratus migravit ad dominum, et monachi eum in capitulo sepellierunt, gloriosam Virginem collaudantes que ei in tanta necessitate affuerat.

NOTES

Cap. IX. A monk of evil life feeling his end approach and fearing to die, asks his fellow monks to pray to the Virgin for him in the church. While they are doing this he apparently dies, but revives to thank the Virgin for saving him from damnation by her intercession. He receives the sacraments and makes an exemplary end.

This is a version of the widespread story technically known as the "Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne." A monk of St. Peter's at Cologne leads an unseemly life and dies without receiving the sacraments. The devil carries his soul off to hell, and St. Peter in vain entreats the lord for him. The Virgin at last interferes and obtains pardon for the monk, who is rescued from the devil and permitted to live for a time in order to do penance for his evil deeds.

The legend in the text is not localized and lacks the consequent intercession of St. Peter. The seizure of the monk's soul by the devil is also wanting. I have not found any other version like the one in the text.

Sufficient references to the version known as the "Monk of St. Peter's at Cologne" may be found in Mussafia's note to *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, XIV, and in the Bollandist, *Init. Mirac.*, 103, 460, 819, 1216, 1375, 1495, and 1778.

Cap. X. De monacho in cuius ore inventus est flos pulcerimus.

Quidam clericus fuit in civitate Carnotensi qui levis erat moribus, seculi curis deditus, carnalibus desideriis totus accensus. Tamen gloriosam Virginem in memoriam frequenter habebat et ei salutationem suam sepiissime trans mittebat. Hic dum ab inimicis suis peremptus

esset, socii sui clerici credentes eum male vitam suam finisse, corpus eius extra cimiterium sepelliri fecerunt. Quod dum illic diebus xxx iacuisset, Beata Virgo apparuit cuidam clerico dicens: Cur sic iniuste egistis erga meum cancellarium ponentes eum extra vestrum cimiterium qui mihi devotissime serviebat. Citius ergo in loco debito cum reverentia sepelite eum. Quod dum fieret invenerunt in eius ore florem pulcherrimum et linguam eius sanam et integram quasi ad laudandam deum paratam. Quod videntes deum et matrem eius plenissime laudaverunt.

NOTES

Cap. X. A cleric of Chartres devoted to the Virgin leads an evil life, is killed by his enemies, and buried without cemetery. Virgin orders honorable burial and a beautiful flower is found growing from mouth and the tongue with which he praised the Virgin sound and whole.

This miracle resembles in many features No. VIII. The original of the present version is probably the form in Pez, No. 3, reprinted by Pfeiffer in his *Marienlegenden*, p. 269. As usual our version is a condensation of the original. This miracle has always been a popular one and versions are found in French, Italian, Spanish, and German. See Mussafia, I, p. 24 (No. 3, Pez); II, p. 4 (No. 11, Paris, Lat. 5268); III, p. 14 (No. 3, MS. Ampl. 44); IV, p. 19 (No. 9, MS. Salisbury, 97); V, pp. 7 (No. 32, Paris, Fr. 818), 11 (No. 68, same source as last reference, but here the miracle is localized at Rouen: "Fuit . . . in Rotomagensi ecclesia clericus quidam"). Ward, pp. 605 (No. 9, Cotton, Cleop. C. x), 619 (No. 3, Arundel 346), 623 (No. 5, Add. 15, 723), 641 (No. 22, Royal 6, B. xiv, scene laid at Rouen, as above), 674 (No. 24, Add. 33, 956), 720 (No. 6, Harley, 4401), and 731 (No. 17, Royal 20 B. xiv). Neuhaus in *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 32, prints the version in Cleop. C. x. See also Mussafia *Gautier de Coincy*, p. 7 (I, 6). Copious references to other versions by Monaci, D'Ancona and Mussafia will be found in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, XXIV. The Bollandist *Init. Mirac.* registers as usual all the above references, see No. 339 and versions there cited. See P. Meyer in *Romania*, vol. XXIX, 27, "Miracles de la Vierge par Everard de Gateley," MS. Rawlinson, Poetry, 241, Cambridge. Meyer publishes Latin text similar to Pez, and French version in verse. A Latin version from MS. B. IV. 19, Library of Durham Cathedral may be found in A. G. Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum*, Aberdoniae, 1908, cap. 40, p. 23, see notes, p. 132. To the versions in

Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 467 (No 3, Add. 16589); 546 (No 71, Arundel 506); and 570 (No. 161, Harley 268).

Cap. XI. De latrone suspenso et a dei genitrice adiuuato.

Fuit quidam latro qui Beatam Virginem venerabatur et salutavit ex corde. Hic deprehensus in furto ad suspendendum est ductus. Cumque jam pedes eius penderent, ecce mater misericordie adueniens per biduum eum ut sibi videbatur, suis manibus sustentavit, nec eum aliquam lesionem pati permisit. Illi vero qui eum suspenderant casu transeuntes per locum videntes eum ylari vultu viventem et nil mali patientem, putaverunt eum non plene laqueatum fuisse. Et dum guttur eius gladio vellent transfigere, Beata Virgo gutturi manum imposuit nec eum transfigi permisit. Cognoscentes vero illi, latrone referente, quod Beata Virgo auxiliaretur ei, demiserunt eum. Qui factus monachus donec vixit deo et matri eius in omni sanctitate servivit.

NOTES

Cap. XI. A robber devoted to the Virgin is caught committing crime and straightway hanged. The Virgin supports his feet with her hands for two days, and when his executioners passing that way find him alive and are about to cut his throat, the Virgin interposes her hand and saves him again. The robber makes known the miracle, is released and turns monk.

Singularly enough this miracle is one of the most popular of mediæval legends. It is found in all the great Latin collections, and there are versions in French, Spanish and German. Pfeiffer in his *Marienlegenden*, p. 269, prints the version in Pez, of which the miracle in the text is an unskilful condensation. Pez is probably also the source of the *Spec. hist.*, VIII, 116, and *Legenda aurea*, CXXXI, 5, as well as the other printed Latin versions in Wright's *Latin Stories*, CIX, Etienne de Bourbon, cxix, and Herolt, v.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 24 (No. 6, Pez), 59 (No. 2, MS. Leipzig, 819), 64 (No. 43, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 72 (No. 52, Paris, 18,134), 77 (No. 45, Paris, 5,267); II, pp. 5 (No. 28, Paris, 5,268), 44 (No. 12, Paris, Lat. 5,562), 54 (No. 116, *Spec. hist.*), 64 (No. 5, *Legenda aurea*), 66 (No. 109, Wright, *Lat. Stories*), 75 (No. 30, Paris, Ars., 903), 82 (No. 26, Laurentiana, Camald., 747, D. 3); III, pp. 14 (No. 6, MS. Ampl. 44), 25 (No. 8, Paris, Lat. 10,770), 27 (No. 2, Gil de Zamora), 37 (No. 119, Etienne de Bourbon), 43 (No. 54, *Scala celi*), 44, No. 7, *Alphabetum narrationum*), 46 (No. 5, Herolt); IV, pp. 7 (No. 3, MS. Darmstadt MS. 2,777), 20 (No. 14, Salisbury MS. 97); V, p. 7 (No.

35, Paris, Fr. 818). Ward, pp. 606 (No. 12, Cotton Cleop. C, x, printed by Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 35), 671 (No. 8, Harley 2,851), 676 (No. 51, Add. 33, 956), 678 (No. 4, Royal 8 C. xii), 680 (No. 5, Add. 19,908, Herolt), 707 (No. 61, Royal 8 C. iv), 721 (No. 21, Harley 4,401), 731 (No. 20, Royal 20 B xiv). See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 58.

There are versions also in Gautier de Coincy, I. 21; *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, xiii; Gil de Zamora, vii; Berceo, vi; and *Libro de Exemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio (*Romania*, vii, pp. 481-526), xlviii, ed. Gayangos, cci. The Bollandist *Init. Mirac.* register the above and give a few additional references, among them Budge, *Lady Meux MSS.* Nos. 2-5, *The Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, London, 1900, Chap. XXX, p. 85, "The Virgin Mary and the widow's son who became a thief." Generally the thief is hanged and the Virgin supports his feet with her hands: here he is crucified and the Virgin holds back the nails from touching his feet. There is a similar story in Chap. XXXI, p. 88, "The Virgin Mary and the Lady Euphemia." The son is captured and hanged on a fig-tree. The mother steals the image of Jesus from the church and holds it as a hostage. The Virgin cuts down the thief on the third day. This version is evidently taken with some changes from the *Legenda Aurea*, Chap. CXXXI, no. 4.

See also Little, *Liber Exemplorum ad usum Praedicatorum*, cap. 42, p. 42, and notes, p. 132. To the versions in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 466 (No. 47, Add., 27,909 B.), 467 (No. 14, Add., 16,589); 513 (No. 6, Sloane, 2,478); 546 (No. 64, Arundel, 506); 558 (No. 229, Arundel, 506); 608 (No. 20, Add., 18,364); 614 (No. 109, Add., 18,364); and 685 (No. 47, Harley, 1,288).

Cap. XII. De clerico cui Beata Virgo proprio lacte labia et linguam perunxit.

Fuit in quadam ecclesia clericus quidam decanus homo sanctus et sapiens et Beate Virgini valde devotus, de ea libenter predicans et devotos sermones componens, et quotiens ante eius altare transibat ipsam affectuosissime salutabat. Hic post multorum annorum felicem decursum infirmatus est graviter et angustiabatur precipue in scissura quam patiebatur labiorum et lingue. Cumque iam prope esset ad exitum Beata Virgo cum magno splendore ei apparuit ita dicens: O bone fili, quomodo ferre possum huius lingue et labiorum scissuram quibus me devotissime salutabas! Et hoc dicens stillavit lac mamillarum suarum in labiis eius et lingua, et digito proprio delinivit, et sic eum perfecte reddidit sospitati. Qui liberatus sanctissime vixit et gratiam sibi factam frequenter populo predicavit.

NOTES

Cap. XII. A cleric devoted to the Virgin falls ill and suffers from a fissure in his lips and tongue. The Virgin anoints them with milk from her breast and restores the cleric to health.

This very popular miracle is found in a number of forms, of which the principal feature is the healing of the diseased lips and tongue of a cleric by the Virgin's milk. The simplest version (*a*) is that in the text; sometimes (*b*) the cleric is so ill that in his frenzy he bites off his lips and tongue; sometimes (*c*) he is apparently dead and laid on the bier; sometimes (*d*) he has a cancer of the lips and sees a vision of flowers symbolizing the Psalms, the Virgin later appears and heals him with her milk, he dies presently a happy death (Adgar, p. 27).

It is impossible to give here full references to all forms. I shall mention those relating to (*a*), and a few to the other forms. Mussafia, I, pp. 28 (No. 30, Pez), p. 65 (No. 79, Paris, Lat., 17,491); II, pp. 4 (No. 10, Paris, 5,268), 14 (No. 29, Bern MS. 137), 16 (No. 40, Toulouse MS. 478), 30 (No. 38, Oxford MS. Balliol, 240, perhaps this belongs rather to form (*c*)); III, p. 16 (No. 26, MS. Ampl. 44); IV, pp. 14 (No. 13, Adgar, belongs rather to (*c*)); 83 (No. 13, references to the sources of Adgar).

Spec. hist., viii, 84, Herolt, xxxii, *Scala celi*, f. 113vo, Gautier de Coincy, I, 8 all belong to (*b*); Gautier de Coincy, I, 31, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, liv, Gil de Zamora, 29, Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 63 all to (*c*). To (*d*) belong Mussafia, II, pp. 29 (No. 72, Toulouse MS. 482); 35 (No. 5, Cambridge MS., 6, 15); III, pp. 5 (No. 12, Brit. Mus. Vesp. D., 19); IV, p. 83 (No. 6, Adgar). The references in Ward all belong, so far as I can judge, to the forms *b*, *c*, and *d*. See also P. Meyer in *Romania*, XV, 327, Cambridge MS. GG 1, 1., version (*d*), p. 272, MS. E.E. b 30, version (*a*); and *Romania*, XXIX, 27, "Miracles de la Vierge par Everard de Gateley," MS. Rawlinson, Poetry, 241, version (*d*) in French verse. To the references in Ward may now be added a number in Herbert: 512 (Nos. 1 and 3, belonging to *c* and *d*); 546 (No. 69, apparently to *a*); 661 (No. 195, apparently to *a*); 696 (No. 10, apparently to *c*); 697 (No. 27, a variant of the legend, told of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres).

Cap. XIII. De quodam monacho quem Beata Virgo a demonibus liberavit.

In ordine Cartusiensi fuit quidam monachus valde religiosus et Beate Virgini specialiter devotus, pro cuius amore jejunia et orationes

genuflexiones et multa bona opera faciebat. Huic antiquus hostis invidens taliter eum voluit terrere. Quadam enim nocte cum in cella sua vigilans jaceret, multitudo demonum in specie porcorum sibi apparuit, qui magnum strepitum per totam cellulam facientes dentibus acutis et furentibus in ipsum impetum minabantur. Cumque totus tremebundus jaceret, ecce demonum princeps in similitudine hominis enormis magnitudinis eveniens ad ad porcos: Quid pigritatis et istum cito non rapitis et totum discerpitis? Responderunt: Multum conati sumus sed facere non potuimus. Et ille: Ego, inquit, iam faciam quod vos facere nequivistis, et uncinum magnum ferreum ad eum rapiendum et discerpendum adaptans, ipsum in tantum exterruit ut pene exanimis fieret. Et ecce mater misericordie demonum inimica visibiliter affuit et cum magno imperio ait ad demones: Quid miseri et super omnia detestandi huc ausi fuistis intrare et hunc servum meum vestris terroribus molestare? Et his dictis totum illud nefandum collegium velud fumus evanuit. Post quorum fugam perstitit cum homine adhuc trememente Virgo sanctissima et eum est taliter consolata: Placet, inquit, mihi quid facis et de his ad meliora semper stude proficere, et ut tibi aliquid singulare in mandatis tradam, utere vilibus escis et vestibus, operibus manuum aliquando devotus insiste. Et sic totum confortatum in domino Beata Virgo reliquit.

NOTES

Cap. XIII. A monk of the Carthusian order devoted to the Virgin is visited in his cell by a band of demons in the form of swine. The Virgin appears and frees him from their persecution.

Mussafia, II, p. 53, No. 112, cites the *Speculum historiale*, viii, 112, but curiously enough in I, p. 17 overlooks the fact that this miracle is found in Petrus Venerabilis, *De miraculis*, cap. 29, Migne clxxxix, col. 946. The latter version is very prolix and the *Spec. hist.* has condensed it considerably. A much shorter version still is in the *Scala celi*, f. 120vo, which cites "Legitur in Mariali magno." Ward, p. 631 (No. 26, Add. 15,723), cites the *Spec. hist.*, *Scala celi*, Petrus Venerabilis, and *The miracles of our Lady*, printed by W. de Worde, 1514.

Cap. XIII. De monacho cui oranti Beata Virgo apparuit.

Fuit in quodam monasterio quidam monachus Beate Virgini valde devotus, qui cum in devotis orationibus et laudibus Virginis pernottaret, ei cum suis virginibus benignissima Virgo apparuit, dicens ei: Tu per me filium meum collaudas in terris, ego te ante illum perducam in celis. Ex quo ille letificatus ferventior factus est.

NOTES

Cap. XIII. The Virgin appears to a devout monk: You praise my son through me in your heart: I will lead you to him in heaven.

I have not found any parallel to this vision.

Cap. XV. De monacho quem Beata Virgo ammonuit.¹

Aput Saxoniam fuit in quodam monasterio quedam sanctimonialis religiosa valde famosa et Beate Marie specialiter devota, que propter nimium numerum genuflexionum et salutationum sancte Marie quem sibi assumpserat *Ave Maria* etc. aliquantulum cursim dicebat. Huic vigilanti et cogitanti quid honoris quidve servitii sibi gratis posset impendere, apparuit Virgo gloriosa et ait: Confortare, O filia, et si vis quod mihi placeat tuum servitium, salutationem meam non ita velociter proferas. Quo illa audito diminuit de numero et deinceps cepit dicere rarius.

NOTES

Cap. XV. Virgin reproves nun in Saxon convent for repeating too rapidly the *Ave Maria*, etc.

Mussafia, I, pp. 28 (No. 28, Pez, the nun's name is Eulalia, and the scene is "apud S. Cadowardum Cestione"), 42 (No. 52, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 49 (No. 36, Paris, 12,593), 61 (No. 15, Paris, Lat., 16,498), 64 (No. 52, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 72 (No. 51, Paris, Lat., 18,134); II, pp. 6 (No. 47, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 48 (No. 16, Charleville MS. 168), 83 (No. 39, Laurentiana, Camald., 747, D. 3); III, 16 (No. 28, MS. Ampl. 44); IV, p. 8 (No. 9, Darmstadt MS., 2,777); V, p. 8 (No. 48, Paris, Fr., 818, "Or dit que el mostier le Scetoine, etc."). Ward, p. 614 (No. 34, "apud sanctum eaduardum sceftoniae," Cotton, Cleopatra C. x), p. 655 (No. 4, Arundel, 407). See also Gautier de Coincy, I, 20, and *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 56vo. The *Init. Mirac.* cites (241) Petrus Caelestinus, cap. 10, and (522) Isnard, *Miracles*, 50-52, I have not seen these.

To the references in Ward may now be added a number in Herbert: pp. 397 (No. 397, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"); 523 (No. 38, Harley, 2,385); 585 (No. 3, Harley, 495); 560 (No. 12, Harley, 268); 605 (No. 14, Add., 18,349); 638 (No. 1, Harley, 1,022); 697 (No. 23, Sloane, 4,029).

Cap. XVI. De quodam ceco nato cui Beata Virgo Maria reddidit visum.

Tempore Sancti Bonifatii pape extitit Rome quidam cecus Victor

¹I have left the title of this chapter as it is in the manuscript.

nomine, Beate Marię Virginis valde devotus et eius in omnibus quibus poterat assiduus famulator. Hic cum quadam die ante altare ejus devotus adstaret amore Virginis debriatus et dei sapientia illustratus, cepit cogitare de edictione unius responsorii quod esset ad laudem ipsius Virginis et ad destruendam pravitatem hereticam et iudeorum perfidiam confutandam. Unde divina gratia et virtute edidit illud responsorium cum suo versu: Gaude, Maria Virgo, cunctas hereses sola interemisti. Que Gabrielis Archangeli dictis credidisti. Dum virgo deum et hominem genuisti et post partum virgo inviolata permansisti. Gabrielem Archangelum scimus divinitus te esse affatum uterum tuum de spiritu sancto impregnatum. Erubescat iudeus infelix qui dicit Christum ex Josep semine esse natum. Cum igitur hoc cum magna mentis exultatione cantasset subito oculos et lumen recepit.

NOTES

Cap. XVI. In the time of Saint Boniface the Pope a blind man composes the response Gaude Maria and recovers his sight by singing it before the altar of the Virgin.

This miracle appears in three forms: (a) as in the text, where a devout blind man invents the responsorium Gaude Maria and recovers his sight by singing it before the altar of the Virgin; (b) where the blind man disputes with the Jews, who reproach him with his blindness and the powerlessness of his god; he puts them to confusion and recovers his sight when he sings the response which he has invented; and (c) a brief version in Etienne de Bourbon, p. 99, where a blind man given to the invention of new and vain songs, repents and recovers his sight by singing in the church of "Santa Maria Rotunda" (The Pantheon) the response in question. It is evident that the version (a) is a condensation of (b), for the contents of the response shows its polemic nature.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 32 (No. 47, Kremsmünster MS. 114, version (b)), 36 (Salzburg, St. Peter, MS. a, V. 3, version (b)), 51 (No. 54, Paris, Lat., 12,953, the blind man is named Victor, the church is the "Rotunda," this version corresponds to (a)), p. 55 (No. 101, same as last citation, but version (b)); II, p. 61 (Thomas Cantipratanus, version (a)); V, p. 10 (No. 61, Paris, Fr., 818, version (a). Ward, p. 648 (No. 47, Add., 18,346, version (b), Ward cites Herolt, 31, and has a note on "Didymus"), p. 655 (No. 6, Arundel, 407, probably version (b)). The *Init. Mirac.*, 959, cite Caesar Heisterb. *Mirac.*, iii, 27, version (b), and Herolt, *ut supra*, 1707, cite two versions to be mentioned presently. Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, No. iii, contains version (b). See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 57.

The two versions cited by the *Init. Mirac.* are both (b) and are found in *Analecta Boll.*, vol. IV, p. 168, and vol. XVII, p. 154.

To the versions in Ward may now be added those in Herbert, pp. 468 (No. 19, Add., 16,589, the blind man is here named Basil); 546 (No. 67, Arundel, 506); 570 (No. 159, Harley, 268, blind man here named Victor).

Cap. XVII. De monacho qui nomen Beate Virginis diversis scribebat coloribus.

Extitit quidam monachus in quodam monasterio qui intimo cordis affectu gloriose Marie Virginis serviebat, eam sepius salutando, eius horas devotius cantando et eius nomen affectuosius reverendo et ipsum corde et ore portando. Et quia sacrarum scripturarum scriptor erat, quotiens nomen Marie eum scribere oportebat, ipsum in quantum poterat adornabat et pro nimio amore osculabatur. Hic dum infirmatus iam esset penitus in extremis, quidam frater in dormitorio, quod ab infirmaria erat longinquum, dum semivigil jaceret, vidit Beatam Virginem yleri vultu iuxta lectum illius adstantem et talia proferentem: O bone fili ne paveas, quia enim nomen meum venerabile tibi fuit, in terris nomen sanctum accipies et in libro viventium conscriberis. Surge, karissime, et sequere me. Et sic discedebat Virgo Beata. Frater autem qui hoc viderat evigilans surrexit et ad infirmariam velociter ivit et fratrem morientem invenit. Et veram de illo esse visionem intelligens cuncta que viderat fratribus enarravit.

NOTES

Cap. XVII. A devout scriptor who honored the virgin by writing her name in various colors is *in extremis*. A brother monk beholds a vision of the Virgin standing at the scriptor's bed and telling him that his name was written in the Book of Life.

Usually it is specified that the scriptor writes the Virgin's name in three colors, "auro, minio, croco," etc. See Mussafia, I, p. 76 (No. 39, Paris, Lat., 5,267, printed in Mussafia, V, p. 36); II, p. 5 (No. 20, Paris, Lat., 5,268, printed by Mussafia, *ut supra*), p. 85 (No. 60, Paris, Ars., 903), III, p. 39 (Etienne de Bourbon, p. 119); V, p. 6 (No. 22, Paris, Fr., 818, on p. 37 Mussafia prints the French miracle in verse, and as has been said above the two Latin versions, from which, or from similar ones, the version in our text may have been condensed). The *Init. Mirac.* cite Etienne de Bourbon and Budge, *Miracles*, xxxi-xxxii. The miracle is also found in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ccclxxxiv.

The miracle in Budge is Chapter III, p. 28, "The Virgin Mary and the Scribe Damianus." The scribe writes the Virgin's name in gold.

Cap. XVIII. De quodam abbate cui dictum est diem conceptionis Sancte Marie sollemniter celebrandum.

Tempore quo Anglia ad fidem Christi conversa est, abbas monasterii Remensis vir religiosus et bonus, Helsinus^a nomine, dum de Dacia per mare cum pluribus sociis pro quodam Anglorum negotio iret in Angliam, orta tempestate prevalida, ipse cum sociis periclitari cepit. Cumque iam essent omni humano auxilio et remedio destituti et de salute corporum peniter desperati, animas deo maximis clamoribus et lacrimis commendabant et reginam misericordie invocabant. Et ecce inter undas maris navi periclitanti, proximus quidam episcopus apparuit, qui vocans ad se abbatem dixit ei: Scias me ad te missum a dei genitrice Maria, quam pio cordis affectu clamatis. Et si mihi credere volueris istud periculum totaliter cum omnibus sociis evadetis. Et illo confestim promittente, ait episcopus: Volo et consulo ut diem conceptionis domine nostre annuatim vi. idus decembris firmiter celebrare proponas et celebrandum aliis predicare. Et ille libentissime annuens ait: Dicatis mihi, obsecro, de quo officio utemur in ipso festo. Respondit: Omne officium quod dicitur in eius nativitate dicatis in isto festo, excepto quod nomen nativitatis in nomine conceptionis mutabitur. Et his dictis disparuit. Et statim omni tempestate sedata, abbas cum sociis ad optatum portum felici cursu pervenit. Et supra dicta adimplens in suo monasterio perpetuo statuit adimplenda.

NOTES

Cap. XVIII. A certain abbot on his way to England is overtaken by a storm and in danger of his life. A bishop appears to him and says he can escape the danger by celebrating every year on the sixth of December the conception of the Virgin and urging others to do the same.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 26 (No. 19, Pez), 35 (No. 29, Munich MS. 13,588), 36 (No. 42, Reun MS. 16), 37 (No. 37, Ambros. C. 150), 39 (No. 10, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 46 (No. 8-10, Paris, Lat., 16,056), 48 (No. 20, Paris, 12,593), 57 (No. 21, Copenhagen MS. Thott 26), 59 (No. 16, Leipzig MS. 819), 62 (No. 11-12, Cambray MS. 739), 65 (No. 66, Paris, Lat., 17,491); II, pp. 4 (No. 14, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 13 (No. 14, Vat. Regina 537), 14 (No. 26, Bern MS. 137), 30 (No.

^aThe name is usually Elsinus, but there are variants: Elisinus (Gil de Zamora), Egelsinus (Ward, 653), etc.

39, Oxford, Balliol MS. 240), 36 (No. 38, Cambridge, MS. 6, 15), 40 (No. 64, *Leg. aurea*, Appendix, clxxxix); III, pp. 15 (No. 18, Ampl. MS. 44), 36 (No. 106, Etienne de Bourbon, cap. 106); IV, p. 19 (No. 3, Salisbury MS. 97). Ward, pp. 614 (No. 36, Cotton, Cleop. C. x, printed in Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 69, Ward gives a long note on the history of the feast), 653 (No. 14, Royal 5 A. viii), 676 (No. 65, Add. 33, 956), 704 (No. 34, Royal 8 C. iv), 707 (Add. 15,606, a French metrical version by Wace), 713 (No. 22, Egerton 612, printed in Adgar, p. 135), 732 (No. 40, Royal 20 B. xiv). The *Init. Mirac.*, Nos. 404, 405, 1698, give historical references; 714, cite Gil de Zamora, 51; 1702, cite *Anal. Boll.* iii, 208-9, a version of the miracle contained in a MS. of the city and academy of Ghent, No. 499 (17), "Lectiones sex de historia feste concep. B. M." See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 56.

To the references in Ward may now be added those in Herbert, pp. 523 (No. 29, Harley 2,385, Egelsinus); 540 (No. 33, Roy. 12 E. 1, Egelsinus of Ramsey); 608 (No. 30, Add., 18,364, Abbot Elsinus); 697 (No. 14, Sloane 4,029, Egelsinus).

Cap. XIX. De Papa Leone cui Beata Virgo Maria manum restituit.

Sicut in commentariis pontificalibus dicitur esse scriptum, fuit Rome quidam nobilis adolescens Cesareus nomine, valde luxuriosus sed Beate Virginis multum devotus, quam pro dono continentie frequenter et humiliter precabatur. Cui hoc in oratione petenti Beata Virgo apparuit dicens: Quia iustum queris iustum est ut tibi prestatetur quod queris. Unde scias quod tantam carnis molestiam de cetero non patieris sed castitatem servando ad summum perveheris. Et sic Virgo disparuit. Cesarius vero bonus, penitens, et continens factus in tantum in virtute profecit, quod summus pontifex factus papa Leo vocatus est. Sed antiquus hostis contra eum surrexit in prelium et eum de peccatis preteritis temptare presumpsit. Cum enim in assumptione Beate Virginis missam sollempniter celebraret, mulier quedam que in adolescentia ipsum amaverat, cum oblatione inter alias mulieres ad altare accessit et eius manum osculata recessit. At ille diabolica persuasione ductus illecebrosa quondam gesta ad memoriam revocavit. Nam facie pulcritudinem aspiciendo labiorumque molliem manibus sentiendo, cogitationibus iniquis assensum parum prebuit. Sicque nocivo calore repletus ad altare rediit, et Virginis ymaginem intuens de tam scelesti cogitatione amarissime flere cepit. Et dum fleret in excessu mentis sanctus quamdam reginam ante se transeuntem et minime respicientem conspexit. Ad se autem reversus dei genitricem

fuisse intellexit. Unde plus doluit et uberius flevit. Quamobrem venerabilis Virgo rediit et flentem conspiciens de misericordia securum reddidit. Et sic ipse quam citius potuit missam perficiens ad suam cameram rediit. Et familiarem amicum secretius vocans, manum per quam malum venerat sibi abscidi fecit et eam mirra balsamoque perunc-tam servavit. Et aliquo tempore aliam infirmitatem simulans in lecto decubuit. Quem Romanus clerus ut de lecto consurgeret et missam pontificaliter celebraret sepe multis precibus imploravit. Quo semper renuente, populus Romanus eum hereticum credens in suum consilium ipsum venire fecit. Cui primates civitatis dixerunt: Non te, pater, accusamus, sed cur missam non celebras scire volumus. Ipse autem quid responderet ignorans, ingemuit et tacita obsecratione dei genitricis consilium et auxilium invocavit. Tunc ecce mater misericordie in medium veniens et manum pulcerimam afferens, ait ad presulem: Quo-niam pauperibus meis misericordiam facere non cessasti et a te manum scandalizantem castitatis amore abscidisti, ecce pro carnali manu celestem restituo, et sic disparuit. Circumstantes vero non personam sed claritatem viderunt et verba et voces ammirantes audierunt. Ponti-fex autem rei ordinem enarravit et celestem manum altera graciliorem et decentiorem et illam quam absciderat evidenter ostendit. Et ad dei laudem et honorem Virginis matris missam pontificaliter celebravit.

NOTES

Cap. XIX. A noble Roman youth named Cesareus, who has led a sensual life, but is devoted to the Virgin, prays that she will make him continent. His prayer is answered and he later becomes Pope Leo. While celebrating mass a woman who had loved him kissed his hand. The pope is so disturbed by memories of the past that he cuts off his hand. He is obliged to explain why he no longer celebrates mass and the Virgin restores his hand.

See Mussafia, I, p. 75 (No. 7, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, p. 4 (No. Paris, Lat., 5,268), 88 (No. 77, Laurent. Camald., 747 D. 3); III, p. 24 (No. 7, Paris, Lat., 10,770), 42 (No. 39, *Scala celi*, f. 121v), 44 (No. 4, Etienne de Besançon, *Alphabetum narrationum*), 53 (Herolt, *Prompt. Exemp.* L. 26); V, p. 5 (No. 20, Paris, Fr., 818, Mussafia prints on p. 33, the versions from the Paris, MSS. Lat., 5,267 and 5,268, probably the source of our miracle, which, however, is somewhat condensed. Ward, pp. 674 (No. 23, Add. 33,956), 675 (No. 40, *ibid.*). The version in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. LXXXVIII, is even more condensed, the source is given "ut in miraculis beatae virginis legitur." See also *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, No. 4,817, sub Leo I, where

are cited the *Leg. aur.*, Mombricitus, II, 55-56, and *Bibl. Casin. I, Floril.* 269.

There are Spanish versions in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, ccvi, and *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, cccxxxv; and an Italian one in *Miracoli della Madonna*, xxxiii and xxxvi. The reference in the notes to the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* to Braga, *Contos tradicionaes*, 233, does not seem to me pertinent.

There is an Ethiopic version in Budge, Chapter IV, p. 28, "The Virgin Mary and the Bishop Abbâs of Rome."

Cap. XX. De rege Ungarie cui Beata Virgo apparuit.

Fuit in Ungaria quidam clericus frater carnalis regis Ungarie a quo Beata Virgo exorata ipsum liberaverat a gravi infirmitate, propter quod ei devotissimus factus. Cottidie horas eius sollempniter decantabat, et ad suam laudem castitatem devovit. Contigit autem ut rex frater suus sine herede moriretur aliquo. Ob quam causam a principibus et populo patrie coactus est ut curam regni susciperet et rex factus desponsaret uxorem. Quo facto, dum cum sponsa missam nuptialem audiret, recordatus est quod illo die horas Beate Virginis non cantaverat. Unde finita missa, omnes de ecclesia exire fecit et ipse solus ante altare remanens matutinas et omnes alias horas Virginis submissa voce cantavit. Cum autem antiphonam ad nonam, scilicet: Pulcra es et decora, etc., diceret, ecce Virgo decora cum duobus angelis super altare apparuit, dicens ei: Si pulcra sum et decora ut asseris quidem, quid me dimittis et aliam accipis? Numquid non ego pulcrior illa? Ubi pulcriorem vidisti? Nonne mihi castitatem tuam vovisti? Numquid te a magna egritudine liberavi? Quantum distat ortus ab occidente tantum distas ab amore filii mei. At ille: Piissima domina, quid placet vobis ut faciam? Et illa: Si sponsam istam amore meo dimiseris et festum mee conceptionis et sabbata mea celebraveris, me sponsam in celesti regno habebis. Et his dictis Beata Virgo disparuit. Et rex vestibus regalibus uni pauperi datis secreto recessit ab urbe. Et Aquilegiam peregrinando pervenit, et super ripam quamdam ix annis vitam heremiticam traxit. Et post factus est Aquileie patriarcha. Et quamdiu vixit in cunctis ecclesiis suis ipsum festum celebrari precepit.

NOTES

Cap. XX. The brother of the king of Hungary is delivered from a severe illness by the Virgin and vows to remain chaste. He becomes the heir to the throne owing to his brother's death and is forced to marry. After the nuptial mass he remembers that he has not that day

repeated the Virgin's "hours," and remains alone in the church to do so. The Virgin appears to him, upbraids him for his faithlessness and promises to lead him to heaven if he will forsake his earthly bride. He does so and wanders away to Aquileja, where he later becomes patriarch.

The miracle is attributed here to a brother of the king of Hungary. Sometimes it is attributed to a cleric of Pisa, and sometimes to an indefinite "cleric." There are other versions, in one of which the cleric uses magic arts to obtain the love of a woman, in another the cleric places a ring on the finger of a statue of the Virgin and subsequently marries. The Virgin appears to him and he forsakes his bride and becomes a monk. I shall not consider here the last two versions, but only those which are practically the same as those in the text, although attributed to others than to the brother of the king of Hungary.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 17 (No. 2, Anselm, *Sermo de Concep. B. M.*), 25 (No. 16, Pez); V, p. 8 (No. 45, Paris, Fr. 818). This miracle is first found, I believe, in the sermon attributed to Anselm of Canterbury (Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, clix, 320), whence it passed into certain versions of the *Legenda aurea*, ed. Graesse, cap. CLXXXIX, p. 870. A similar story told of a cleric is found in the same work, cap. CXXXI, p. 592. Ward, pp. 609 (No. 20, Cotton Cleop. C. x, printed in Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 47), 732 (No. 30, Royal 20, B. xix).

There are three similar miracles in Mielot, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, ix, xx, and xxv, see Warner's note to ix. The miracle is also in Gautier de Coincy, II, 17; *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, cxxxii (cp. XLII); Gil de Zamora, 43; Berceo, xv; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, ccii; and Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, No. vii.

The *Init. Mirac.* cite (964) *Scala celi*, f. 117vo, (691) Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 50; and (1713) a number of historical references to the Feast of the Conception, with which the present miracle and the Elsinus legend (No. xviii) are connected.

Cap. XXI. De ymagine Beate Virginis incarnate que salutiferum liquorem emittit.

Tempore quo Greci terram Syrie inhabitabant fuit apud Damascus quedam nobilis domina que in religionis habitu devote domino serviebat, que vi. miliario ab urbe predicta locum et oratorium in honore Sancte Marie sibi constituens pauperibus et peregrinis hospitalitatis gratiam exhibebat. Contigit autem quemdam monachum de Constantinopoli causa devotionis Ierosolimam pergere et ad locum predictae domine declinare. A qua devote susceptus rogatus est ut sibi unam yconam Beate Marie portaret quam in suo oratorio collocare volebat. Qui eius

precibus annuens et Ierosolimam vadens et oratoriiis visitatis oblitus-que promissi egressus civitatem redibat. Et ecce vox de celo dicens: Quomodo sic redis vacua manu? Ubi est ycona quam te delaturum illi devote domine promisisti? Tunc regressus Ierosolimam emit yconam, cum qua civitatem egressus ferocissimo obviavit leoni a quo per misericordiam dei nil mali passus, inde procedens incidit in latrones, a quibus dei virtute nec se movere nec loqui valentibus illesus evasit. Et sic liber deambulans cogitare cepit et credere quod ycona illa quam ferebat aliquid divine virtutis haberet. Unde deliberavit se predictæ domine non daturum sed ad suam patriam delaturum. Intrans autem navi orta tempestate periclitari cepit ita quod singuli sua queque proiciebant in mari. Volens autem monachus yconam in mari prohibere audivit vocem angelicam dicentem sibi: Noli yconam prohibere sed eam ad celum erige. Quod illo faciente statim cessavit tempestas. Errantes autem per mare et nescientes quo pergerent ad Achon civitatem unde exierant reversi sunt. Tunc monachus dei voluntatem intelligens predictæ domine retulit yconam, retardans aliquantulum proferre ei ipsam. Ipsa autem eum non recognoscens yconam non querebat ab eo. Quod ille attendens cogitavit yconam non dare sed secum portare. Licentians se itaque a predicta domina intravit oratorium ut facta brevi oratione cum ycona pergeret viam suam. Sed dei voluntate hostium horatorii unde exiret invenire non potuit, deponens autem yconam hostium videbat. Resumens autem et exire volens hostium non videbat et sic per totum diem inutiliter laboravit. Tandem dei voluntatem intelligens, predictæ domine yconam protulit, referens que gesta fuerant cuncta per ordinem. Que gaudens yconam suscepit et reverenter in suo oratorio collocavit. Monachus vero in predicto loco donec vixit deo servivit. Cum autem predicta ycona in magna reverentia haberetur a populo cepit liquorem quemdam emittere et sudare, quem cum sindone munda predicta domina colligebat et infirmantibus ministrabat, quos dei virtute sanabat.

NOTES

Cap. XXI. A noble lady founds an oratory and hospice near Damascus, where she entertains pilgrims and poor. A monk of Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem promises to bring back with him an image of the Virgin to place in the oratory. He forgets his promise and is reminded of it by a voice from heaven. The image protects him against lions and robbers and he concludes that he will keep the image for himself. A violent storm arises and the passengers throw over their goods, but a voice directs the monk to hold the image up to heaven; he does so and the storm ceases. He takes the image to the

lady who does not recognize him or ask him for it. He again determines to keep it and enters the oratory with it, but cannot get out until he leaves the image. It becomes an object of reverence and emits a liquor which heals diseases.

This is the legend technically known as the miracle of Sardenai, a place near Damascus, where during the middle ages was an abbey with a wonder-working image of the Virgin. The historical element in the legend is fully treated by G. Raynaud in the *Romania*, vol. XI (1882), pp. 517-537, "Le miracle de Sardenai," see also a supplementary article by the same writer in vol. XIV (1885), pp. 82-93. See also for historical references the *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina*, Nos. 5408-9.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 36 (Salzburg MS. a, V 3), p. 50 (No. 47, Paris, 12,593), 67 (No. 1-2, Paris, 2,333); II, pp. 38 (No. 53, Cambridge Univ. Mm. 6, 15), 87 (No. 73, Laurent. Camald. 747, D. 3, a variant in which a heathen woman asks her brother to bring her an image of the Virgin from the holy land. The image calms a storm and subsequently "de figure mamilla—olei manat copia"). See Ward, pp. 655 (No. 1, Arundel, 407), 723 (No. 36, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy). The miracle is in Gautier de Coincy, II, 18, and *Cantigas de Santa Maria* ix. There is a brief reference to the image in Caesarius Heisterb. *Dial. Mirac.*, vii, xxiv.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, p. 561 (No. 22, Harley, 268).

Cap. XXII. De nummulario punito qui iuravit per ubera Virginis.

Nummularius quidam malignus fuit qui pro augendis lucris suis per Christum et membra eius frequenter iurabat. Dum autem semel iuraret per ubera Beate Virginis, tendens manus ad celum, Christus qui iniurias suas patienter substinuit matris iniurias noluit substinere. Nam mox miser retio corruens et linguam nigerrimam emittens et labia torquens divina ultione miserabiliter vitam finivit.

NOTES

Cap. XXII. A money-changer swears by the members of Christ, who bears his wrongs with patience; when, however, the blasphemer swears by the breasts of the Virgin he dies a miserable death.

There are many similar legends turning on the punishment of blasphemy; sometimes the one punished is a gambler, sometimes a dishonest merchant, etc. See Mussafia, I, p. 78 (No. 59, Paris, Lat., 5,267, a dishonest merchant), II, pp. 51 (No. 104 b, *Spec. hist.*, a gambler is punished), 79 (No. 47, Paris, Ars. 903, a merchant swears by the breasts of

the Virgin); III, pp. 8 (No. 3, Paris, Lat., 14,857, a gambler swears by the Virgin and receives a heavy blow and dies), 38 (No. 133, Etienne de Bourbon, an innkeeper swears by the Virgin's tongue and dies). Ward, pp. 628 (No. 18, Add. 15,723, a gambler at Lausanne), 696 (No. 3, Add. 32,248, apparently like the last). This last form is in the *Spec. hist.*, VIII, 104 cited above. In the *Magnum Speculum Exemplorum*, s. v. *Blasphemia*, Ex. iv, v, are two stories, one of a gambler pierced by a celestial sword, the other of a certain blasphemer whose tongue is punished as above. The source of these stories is "Ex hist. viris illust. ord. Cisterc."

Cap. XXIII. De Johanne Damasceno cui Beata Virgo restituit manum.

Regnante Theodosyo imperatore fuit apud Damascum iuvenis quidam, Iohannes nomine, morum honestate ornatus, liberalium artium scientia plenissime eruditus, eloquentia et verborum facundia et dicandi ac scribendi scientia excellenter ditatus, et nobilium filios sibi ad docendum commissos doctrinis et exemplis sufficienter informans. Hic amore dei et matris eius accensus in sua virginitate habitum monachalem suscepit et horas Beate Virginis die et nocte devotissime decantabat, orationes et antiphonas, responsoria, prosasque ad laudem Beate Virginis faciebat, et cum dulcedine et devotione mirabili personabat. Hic etiam inter alios quos habebat, quemdam discipulum de Persida habuit, quem formam suam in dictando, scribendo, cantando, ita sufficienter edocuit ut sibi similis videretur. Contigit autem ut fama eius ad aures predicti imperatoris Constantinopolim perveniret. Qui ipsum ad curiam suam cum honorabili comitatu adducens ut quiete deo serviret monasterium ei dedit et cum eo de salute anime sue frequenter et devote tractabat. Iohannes autem in sua humilitate et devotione perdurans et laudibus Beate Virginis totus intentus studebat cottidie ad eius laudem novi aliquid invenire, et in hoc totum gaudium suum erat. Interea discipulus ille de Persida nolens (l. volens) in sua scientia habere (l. haberi) meliorem vel similem, spiritu diabolico instigatus cogitare cepit de morte magistri. Et cogitando taliter ad effectum perduxit. Nam sub nomine Iohannis monachi dictavit et scripsit litteras in forma et stilo eius, in quibus continebatur quod cum Theodosius imperator ivisset in expeditionem cum toto robore exercitus sui, et Constantinopolis et alie civitates imperii habitatoribus vacue remansissent, poterant Persi libere venire et civitates imperii invadere et tenere. Prohicitur littera clam in imperiale palatium et inventa imperatori presentatur, et lecta clamor mortis contra monachum Iohannem attollitur. Qui vocatus

scripsisse se denegat. Obicitur ei forma et stilus finis (sic). Et sic nulla sibi excusatione valente dextra manus truncatur et manus abscisa ante ecclesiam ad terrorem aliorum suspenditur. Hanc penam Iohannes deo gratias patienter substinuit hoc solum precipue dolens quod ad honorem Virginis celebrare non posset amplius. Sic igitur ante Virginis ymaginem mancus adveniens familiari quodam affectu cum ea disceptare cepit, dicens vulnere scoperto: Heccine sunt, domina, meorum premia meritorum. Hec est tuorum beatitudo servorum. Esto, domina mea, digne pro meritis me peccatorem flagellari voluisti! Sed ut quid laudis tue instrumentum abscidi permisisti? Cur propter artificis meritum periit divine operationis instrumentum? Hec manus sepius scribendo tuorum ymnorum et laudum cantica preperabat. Hec in honore tuo corpus et sanguinem filii tui frequenter pro salute populi offerebat. Hec autem et his similia dicente, recessit. Et nocte quadam cum in lecto pausaret apparuit ei regina virginum cum immenso lumine et yleri vultu dicens: Quid agis, fili Iohannes? Cui ille: Cur me quid agam interrogas? Immo interrogo ego te. Cum hoc paterer ubi eras? Cum sim mancus servus tuus gaudebit cum me viderit quicumque inimicus tuus. At illa confortans ait: Fili mi, citius tibi manum restaurare poterit qui totum corpus fecit ex nichilo. His dictis, eo vidente, ad ecclesiam accessit et manum suspensam detulit et brachio Iohannis apposuit. Et confestim fuit coniunctioni et sanitati pristinae perfectissime restituta. At ille Virgini gratiam agens facto die fratres convocat manum hostendit et ecclesiam intrans missam in honorem Virginis celebrat et clara voce in affluentia lacrimarum. Fama pervolat ad imperatorem facti miraculi. Qui veniens et predictam manum deosculans facta inquisitione maligni discipuli proditionem invenit. Iohannes autem in omni sanctitate perdurans in senectute bona quievit in pace.

NOTES

Cap. XXIII. Saint John of Damascus has a pupil whom he has instructed to write in a way similar to his own script. The pupil, envious of his master's favor with the emperor, writes in the manner of the saint a letter betraying the emperor's military plans to his enemies. The saint is accused and his hand cut off. The Virgin, to whom the saint was devoted, appears to him and restores his hand.

Mussafia gives no reference to this miracle as being found in the manuscript collections in Latin; he cites (V, p. 6, No. 30) the French collection, Paris, Fr., 818. He also cites (II, p. 57) the *Speculum historiale*, xvii, 103-105 (III, p. 42, No. 38), the *Scala celi*, f. 120, and (III, p. 48, No. 33) Herolt's *Mirac.* 33. Ward (p. 683, No. 33) cites

only Herolt. The *Init. Mirac.* cite (15) Petrus Caelestinus, see *Bib. hag. lat.*, No. 5,371; (905) Herolt, *ut supra*; (906) Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 38; and (1009) *Scala celi*, *ut supra*. The official life of the saint is in the *Acta Sancti*, May 6. See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 57.

The miracle is in Mielot, No. 43, p. xxviii, in a very brief version, see Warner's note. There are two Spanish versions, one in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, cclxv, and the other in *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, cciv. There is a French dramatic version in the *Miracles de Nostre Dame par personnages*, vol. I, p. 251, where, however, the story is told of Saint John Chrysostom.

I am unable to give the immediate source of our miracle, and cannot find the authority cited by Herolt, "Prudentius ex gestis Damasceni." The version in Herolt in places follows the version in the *Spec. hist.*, or Vincent's original, "ex gestis ejus." I give the passages from Vincent, cviii, cap. cv, which are like our miracle: . . . discooperto vulnere et extento brachio cum ea pie rixabatur, inquiens: Heccine domina nostrorum premia sunt meritorum? Heccine tuorum beatitudo servorum? Est o domina mea (text has domin. ami) digne pro meritis peccatorem (sic) meum (sic) flagellari voluisti. Sed ut quid instrumentum officii tui permisisti penitus abscidi? Hec quippe manus himnorum laudis tue cantica sepius scribendo parabat et deo patri sacratissimum corpus et sanguinem filii tui multotiens in honore tuo ad omnium peccatorum salutem offerebat. . . . Et ecce regina virginum affuit cum ingenti lumine hilarique facie tali consolans eum affamine. Quid agis, inquit, puer meus fidelissime? Heu, inquit ille, domina, quid me interrogas? Quinimmo interrogo te ego. Cum hec paterer ubi eras? Ecce ad meum immo ad tuum dedecus in ecclesia pendet abscisa clientis tui manus. At illa, confortare, inquit, fili in domino, manum tuam tibi restaurare potest qui totum hominem plasmavit ex nichilo. His dictis, eo vidente, illa ecclesiam petiit delatamque inde manum ejus brachio cum mira benignitate in momento restituit. . . . It should be said that the rest of the miracle is quite different in wording, etc., from Vincent.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, p. 663 (No. 221, Add. 27,336, "agrees almost verbatim with Vincent of Beauvais," cited above).

Cap. XXIV. De puero quem Beata Virgo a demonibus liberavit.

Contigit in quodam castro episcopatus Toletanensi quod cum matrona quedam filium de suis insolentiis et malitiis reprehenderet, ille indignatus dementitus est eam. Et illa irata commendavit illum demon-

ibus, dicens: Quidquid ego iuris in te habeo totum relinquo et dono quinquaginta milibus demoniorum. Euntes autem cubitum cum iam in lectis suis essent, venerunt demones et puerum de lecto tollentes per domus fumerium efferebant. Sed in ipso exitu fumerii exclamavit puer, dicens: Sancta Maria adiuva me. Et statim demonibus fugientibus cecidit in focarium domus. Ad cuius planctum excitati parentes et tota familia domus cucurrerunt et ipsum iacentem in focario repperunt, et rem gestam audientes deo et matri eius devotas gratias retulerunt.

NOTES

Cap. XXIV. An angry mother commends her undutiful son to the devils. He is carried off at night through the chimney, but calls on the Virgin and is delivered.

I have not found any other version of this miracle. There is a story in *Caes. Heisterb. Dial.* v, cap. xii, of an angry father who tells his son to go to the devil. The boy was soon carried off and never appeared again.

Cap. XXV. De milite monacho de cuius ore post mortem processit lilium.

Miles quidam dives valde ac nobilis ordinem Cisterciensium introivit, et quia litteras nesciebat erubescens monachi tam nobilem personam inter laycos deputare, dederunt ei magistrum si forte modicum addiscere posset et sic inter monachos permaneret. Sed cum diu cum magistro fuisset et nichil omnino preter hec duo verba Ave Maria discere potuisset, hec tam avide retinuit ut quocumque iret, quidquid ageret, ea incessanter ruminaret. Tandem moritur et in cimiterio cum aliis fratribus sepellitur. Et ecce super eius tumulum lilium speciosum excrescit et quodlibet folium Ave Maria litteris aureis habebat inscriptum. Currentes autem omnes ad tam grande spectaculum, terram de tumulo effoderunt, et radices lilii de ore defuncti procedere repperunt. Intellexerunt ergo cum quanta devotione illa duo verba dixerit quem dominus tanti horis (l. honore) prodigii illustravit.

NOTES

Cap. XXV. An illiterate nobleman enters the Cistercian order and is unable to learn more of the service than the two words Ave Maria, which he incessantly repeated to himself. After his death a lily grows out of the grave with the words Ave Maria written on the leaves in letters of gold. The roots of the lily are found growing from the mouth of the monk.

This version is almost literally the same as that in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. LI, 2, p. 221, ed. Graesse. See Mussafia, II, pp. 45 (No. 23, Paris, Lat., 5,562), 61 (No. 9, Thomas Cantiprat. II, 29, 9), 62 (No. 2, *Legenda aurea, ut supra*). See Ward, pp. 654 (No. 21, Royal 5 A. viii, cites *Scala celi*, f. 116ro, *Gesammtabenteuer*, iii, p. 587, and Mielot, No. vii), 658 (No. 13, Add. 18,929), 665 (No. 26, Arundel, 406), 671 (No. 12, Harley, 2,851), 672 (No. 5, Add. 33,956), 697 (No. 8, Add. 32,248), 735 (No. 5, Harley, 2,277), 737 (No. 5, Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix; No. 5, Add. 10,301), 738 (No. 4, Cotton, Julius D. ix). The *Init. Mirac.* cite (1084) Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 71; (1068) Budge, *Miracles*, xlv; (1078) Gil de Zamora, 54, same as in *Legenda aurea*; (837) a very similar miracle in Caes. Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 3, and 49. See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 57vo.

There is an Italian version in *Miracoli della Madonna*, iii. I have not been able to see Bonvesin da Riva, *Laudes de V. M.*, and Franco Sachetti, *Sermoni evangel*, ed. Gigli, xxvii, both cited by Mussafia in his note to *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lvi, where a somewhat similar miracle is told of a monk who sang constantly five psalms beginning each with one letter of the name Maria. After his death a rose-bush grows out of his mouth with five roses. An English version of our miracle is to be found in *Anglia*, iii, p. 320, No. xi, and German versions in Floss, *Neun Marienlegenden*, p. 11, No. iii; and Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, p. 105, No. xv.

There are two Spanish versions in the *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, No. xliii, ed. Gayangos, cclxiii. I have not considered above the variant of our miracle contained in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and elsewhere.

An Ethiopic version is in Budge, Chapter XXXIX, p. 137, "The Virgin Mary and Nicodemus the Horseman." A tree grows from grave, on leaves in gold ink the words: "Salutation unto thee, O my lady Mary!"

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 342 (No. 17, Add. 32,678), 344 (No. 29, a similar tale from the same manuscript), 607 (No. 15, Add. 18,364), 614 (No. 111, Add. 18,364), 638 (No. 4, Harley, 1,022), 679 (No. 43, Roy. 8 F. vi), 696 (No. 7, Sloane, 4,029), 708 (No. 1, Harley, 2,391).

Cap. XXVI. De milite quem Beata Virgo a demone liberavit.

Quidam miles quoddam in via communi habebat castrum et omnes transeuntes sine miseratione aliqua spoliabat. Virginem tamen dei matrem cottidie salutabat nec pro aliquo negotio ab ipsa salutatione

aliqua die cessare volebat. Accidit autem ut quidam religiosus vir sanctus inde transitum faceret et ipsum predictus miles continuo expoliari iuberet. Vir autem sanctus rogavit predones ut ipsum ad domum suam deducant quia ad ipsum habet secreta que perferat. Adductus autem rogavit militem ut omnes de familia sua et castro congregari faceret ut eis verbum domini predicaret. Cum autem congregati fuissent ille ait: Nequaquam hic omnes estis, sed aliquis adhuc deest. Cum autem omnes se esse ibidem assererent aiebat: Diligenter perquirite et aliquem invenietis abesse. Tunc unus exclamans dixit quod solus canavarius non venisset. Ille autem dixit vere ipse est qui solus deest. Pro eo igitur cito mittitur et in medium deducitur. Cum autem virum dei vidisset, revolutis terribiliter oculis, caput instar insani agitabat nec propius accedere audebat. Vir autem sanctus dixit ei: Adiuro te per nomen domini nostri Jesu Christi ut quis sis nobis edisseras et ob quam causam huc veneris palam pandas. Cui ille respondit: Heu adiuratus prodere cogor invitus. Ego enim non sum homo sed demon qui formam hominis accepi et xiiii annis cum hoc milite permansi. Nam princeps noster me huc misit ut die qua hic sue Marie salutationem non diceret, diligentius observarem, ut in eum potestate accepta ipsum continuo strangularem et sic in malis operibus vitam finiens noster esset. Quacumque enim die illam salutem dicebat in ipsum potestatem habere non poterat. Ecce autem de die in die diligentius observavi et nullum diem quin eam observaverit pretermisit. Hec miles audiens vehementer obstipuit et ad pedes viri dei se proiciens veniam postulavit, et in melius deinceps vitam mutavit. Vir autem sanctus dixit demoni: Precipio tibi, demon, in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi ut hinc statim abscedas et talem actenus locum possideas ut nulli dei genitricem invocanti nocere presumas. Hec ubi iussa dedit demon ascendens (l. abscedens) evanuit.

NOTES

Cap. XXVI. A knight who is devoted to the Virgin and salutes her daily, robs travellers who pass his castle on the highway. He has in his service a valet who fails to appear when a priest robbed by the band asks to be sent to their leader and requests him to collect all his servants and the people of the castle in order that he may preach to them. The valet finally appears and acts like a demoniac. On the priest's adjuration he confesses that he is a demon who assumed the form of a man and served the knight fourteen years in the hope that some day his master would omit his salutation to the Virgin and he would have power to kill him. The demon disappears and the knight changes his life.

The source of this miracle is the *Legenda aurea*, cap. LI, 3, ed. Graesse, p. 221. See Mussafia, I, pp. 49 (No. 34, Paris, 12,593), 65 (No. 69, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 73 (No. 55, Paris, 18,134); II, pp. 51 (No. 101, *Speculum hist.* viii, 101), 62 (*Legenda aurea, ut supra*); III, pp. 25 (No. 17, Paris, Lat., 10,770), 31 (No. 4, Gil de Zamora, 34), 38 (No. 129, Etienne de Bourbon, 129), 41 (No. 30, *Scala celi*, f. 1190); IV, p. 8 (No. 8, Darmstadt MS. 2,777); V, p. 15 (No. 29, Paris, Fr. 818, in reality Gautier de Coincy, I, 29). See Ward, pp. 628 (No. 15, Add., 15,723), 661 (No. 1, Arundel, 406), 675 (No. 36, Add., 33,956), 686 (No. 69, Add., 19,909, the *Promptuarium de Miraculis* of Herolt), 722 (No. 29, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy), 735 (No. 3, Harley, 2,277), 737 (No. 3, Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix; Add., 10,301), 738 (No. 2, Cotton, Julius D. ix). The *Init. Mirac.* cite (1439) Caesar Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 78 (245), Petrus Caelestinus, 27; (346) Caesar Heisterb. iii, 43, a miracle very similar to the one cited above from the same author, the second belongs to the class where the master is a pious man.

Mussafia in Gautier de Coincy, pp. 30-42, prints the versions in the Paris, Lat., 12,593, 17,491 and 2,333, they are quite different from our version, more full and concern a pious man. There is another French version in Mielot, No. 8, same as our miracle and evidently from the *Legenda aurea*.

Spanish versions are in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lxvii (pious master), *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Morel-Fatio, xlv, ed. Gayangos, cxcvii. Italian versions are in Bonvesin da Riva, *Vulgare de Eleemosynis*, ll. 610-737 (Monatsbericht der konigl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, Nov. 1850, pp. 438-464), and *Miracoli della Madonna*, ii. A Portuguese version is in Braga, *Cantos tradicionaes do Povo Portuguez*, II, 54 (No. 145). German versions are in Floss, *Neun Marienlegenden*, No. v, p. 15, Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, No. xiv, p. 94, and von der Hagen, *Gesammtabentheuer*, III, No. lxxxvi, p. 563, see note p. cxxvi.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 395 (No. 377, Add. 11,284, "*Speculum Laicorum*"), 506 (No. 36, Harley, 2,851), 537 (No. 2, Roy. 12 E. i.), 557 (No. 222, Arundel, 506), 638 (No. 5, Harley, 1,022), 648 (No. 11, Add. 27,336), 685 (No. 48, Harley, 1,288).

Cap. XXVII. De puella Musa nomine cui Beata Virgo apparuit.

Sicut beatus Gregorius narrat in iiii. libro dialogorum fuit quedam puella, Musa nomine, cui quadam nocte Beata Virgo Maria apparuit

adque coevas et in albis vestibus puellas ostendit. Quibus cum illa ammisceri appeteret, sed se eis iungere non auderet, Beate Marie est voce requisita an vellet cum eis esse adque in eius obsequio vivere. Cui cum puella diceret volo, ab ea mandatum protinus accepit ut nil ultra leve vel puellare ageret, a risu et iocis abstinere, sciens quod inter easdem virgines quas videret ad eius obsequium die tricesimo veniret. Quibus visis, in cunctis suis moribus puella mutata est, omnemque levitatem puellaris vite removit. Cumque eam parentes eius eam (l. tam) mutatam esse mirarentur, requisita rem retulit, quid sibi Beata Dei Genetrix iusserit, et quo die itura esset ad omsequium eius indicavit. Que post vicesimum et quintum diem febre correpta est. Die autem tricesimo cum hora exitus eius propinquasset, eandem Beatam Genitricem cum puellis quas per visionem viderat ad se venire conspexit. Cui se etiam vocante respondere cepit et depressis reverenter oculis, aperta voce clamare: Ecce, Domina, venio. In qua etiam voce spiritum reddidit, et ex virgineo corpore habitatura cum sanctis virginibus exivit.

NOTES

Cap. XXVII. The Virgin appears to a young girl and asks her if she wishes to join her band of maidens in white robes; if so, she must refrain from childish follies. In case she does this she will join the band of virgins in thirty days. She is seized with a fever the twenty-fifth day and expires the thirtieth in an ecstatic vision.

The source of the miracle as is stated in the text is Gregory's *Dialogues*, IV, 17, in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.*, vol. LXXVII, col. 348. The story was a favorite one and is found in nearly all the great collections. See Mussafia, I, pp. 37 (No. 19, Ambrosiana C. 150, inf.), 41 (No. 31, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 46 (No. 21-22, Paris, Lat., 16,056), 55 (No. 103, Paris, Lat., 12,593), 67 (No. 6, Paris, Lat., 2,333), 76 (No. 19, Paris, Lat., 5,267), 79 (No. 60, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, pp. 6 (No. 46, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 10 (No. 24, Arundel, 346, Paris, Lat., 18,168, Montpellier, 146), 12 (No. 19, Charleville MS. 79), 18 (No. 26, Brit. Mus. Cleopatra C 20, Toulouse, 482), 30 (No. 31, Oxford, Balliol, 240), 38 (No. 50, Cambridge Mm. 6. 15), 45 (No. 29, Paris, Lat., 5,562), 73 (No. 14, Arsenal, 903); V, p. 10 (No. 60, Paris, Fr., 818). See Ward, pp. 620 (No. 24, Arundel, 346, printed by Neuhaus, *Lat. Vorl.*, p. 54), 657 (No. 11, Add. 18,929), 676 (No. 45, Add. 33,956), 712 (No. 14, Egerton, 612, printed by Neuhaus in Adgar's *Marienlegenden*, p. 72), 732 (No. 34, Royal 20 B. xiv).

The *Init. Mirac.* cite (1240) Caesar Heisterb. *Mirac.* iii, 19; (1245) Herolt, *Prompt. Exempl.* G. 16, "Gaudia mundi"; the same story is

told with slight changes and emphasis laid on dancing in C. 11, "Chorea."

A French prose version is in Mielot, No. 21; and Spanish versions are in *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, lxxix, and *Castigos y documentos*, ed. Gayangos, p. 216.

An Ethiopic version is in Budge, Chapter VII, p. 33, "The Virgin Mary and the Child Mary."

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 454 (No. 2-7, Cotton, Vesp. D. ii), 461 (No. 78, Harley, 3,244), 523 (No. 40, Harley, 2,385), 608 (No. 21, Add. 18,364), 680 (No. 48, Roy. 8 F. vi).

Cap. XXVIII. De sancto Bonifatio episcopo cui Beata Virgo Maria duodecim aureos misit.

Fuit quidam presbiter, Constantius nomine, nepos sancti Bonifatii episcopi Ferentis et cum eo in episcopio commorans. Qui equum suum xii aureis vendidit. Quos in propriam arcam ponens ad exercendum aliquod opus discessit. Tunc subito ad episcopum pauperes venerunt ab eo elemosinam postulantes. Sed vir dei quod tribueret non habebat, extuare (aestuare) cepit in cogitatione ne ab eo pauperes vacui exirent. Cui repente ad memoriam rediit quod Constantius presbiter nepos eius equum suum vendidisset et pretium in arca haberet. Absente igitur eo, adcessit ad arcam et seram comminuens xii aureos tulit eosque indigentibus dedit. Quod ille inveniens cepit magna voce perstrepere et cum furore nimio clamare: Omnes hic vivunt, solus ego in hac domo vivere non possum. Ad cuius vocem advenit episcopus omnesque qui in episcopio aderant. Cumque eum vir dei locutione blanda temperare voluisset, cepit ille cum iurgio respondere, dicens: Omnes tecum vivunt, solus ego hic ante te vivere non possum. Redde mihi solidos meos. Quibus vocibus commotus episcopus, Beate Marie semper virginis ecclesiam intravit, et levatis manibus et extenso vestimento, stando cepit exorare ut ei redderet unde presbiteri furentis insaniam mitigare potuisset, repente in sinu suo xii aureos invenit ita fulgentes tanquam si ex igne producti hora eadem fuissent. Qui mox ecclesia egressus, eos in sinum furentis presbiteri projecit, dicens: Ecce habes solidos quos quesisti, sed tibi notum sit quia post mortem meam tu huic ecclesie episcopus non eris propter avaritiam tuam. Ex qua simonie veritate colligitur, quia eosdem solidos presbiter pro adipiscendo episcopatu preparabat. Sed viri dei sermo prevaluit quia idem presbiter in presbiteratu vitam finivit.

NOTES

Cap. XXVIII. Boniface, bishop of Ferentino, takes a sum of money for the poor from the strongbox of his nephew Constantine, who was hoarding the money to purchase the bishopric at his uncle's death. The nephew flies into a passion when he discovers the loss of his money and upbraids his uncle. The bishop enters the church and entreats the Virgin to give him the means wherewith to mitigate his nephew's rage. The Virgin puts into his lap the money, which he gives to his nephew, telling him that he never will be bishop on account of his avarice. The nephew consequently dies a priest.

The source of this miracle, as of the last, is Gregory's *Dialogues*, I, 9, Migne, vol. lxxvii, col. 193. This miracle occurs but seldom. See Mussafia, II, pp. 4 (No. 4, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 79 (No. 48, Arsenal, 903); V, p. 6 (No. 21, Paris, Fr., 818). For St. Boniface, bishop of Ferentino, who flourished about 519, see *Acta Sanctorum*, May 14 (May, vol. III, pp. 371-73).

Cap. XXIX. De Theophilo.

Fuit in quadam urbium Sicilie clericus quidam, nomine Theophylus, tam prudenter et utiliter res ecclesiasticas dispensans quod eum, mortuo episcopo, dignum episcopatu omnis populus acclamavit. At ille contentus vice dominatu, alium maluit ordinari in episcopum. A quo ab honore suo injuste depositus, ad tantam impatientiam devenit ut, conducto quodam magno Hebreo ad recuperandum honorem suum, opem quereret a principe demonum. A quo iussus est negare filium dei et matrem eius cum omni proposito christiani, et ipsam abnegationem scribere et sibi tradere, et sic ejus servitio se addixit. Qui in crastino recuperato honore suo non multo post reversus ad se, in ecclesia Beate Marie omni penitentia se affligit, primo sibi piam matrem dei reconciliavit, eaque sibi apparente, abrenuntians diabolo, Christum filium dei verum et ex Maria virgine natum et omne christiani propositum proficens, per eam et Christi filii eius gratiam recuperavit. Et ad indicium indulte sibi venie rursum ei dormienti apparens Christi mater etiam scriptum abrenuntiationis quod signatum diabolo dederat super pectus eius reposuit. Quo Theophylus recepto, in crastinum dominico die coram episcopo et omni ecclesia pandens ordinem rei omnes ad stuporem et laudem dei et genitricis Christi Marie commovit et in eodem loco quo sibi pia Virgo apparuit perstans, ibidem post triduum mortuus est et sepultus.

Expliciunt Miracula Beate Virginis Marie

NOTES

Cap. XXIX. Theophilus, vicedominus (of the city of Adana in Cilicia), declines the bishopric in favor of another, by whom he is later deposed from his own office. In his resentment he makes a compact duly signed with the Devil and recovers his office. He repents and the Virgin obtains his compact and returns it to him.

This is perhaps the most popular of all the miracles of the Virgin, and there is an extensive literature on the subject. I can here refer only to the sources of information and mention, as I have previously done, the collections in which the miracle is found.

For the history of the legend in general see: Ulysse Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources histor. du Moyen Age*, Nouvelle ed., Paris, 1907, vol. II, col. 4439-40; E. Sommer, *De Theophili cum diabolo foedere*, Halae, 1844; G. W. Dasent, *Theophilus in Icelandic, Low-German and other tongues*, London, 1845; F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1850, vol. III, pp. clxvi-clxxx; *Dictionnaire des Mystères* par le comte de Douhet, Paris, 1854, coll. 933-968; *Dictionnaire des Légendes*, by the same, Paris, 1855, coll. 1169-1176; A. D'Ancona, *Sacre rappresentazioni dei secoli xiv, xv, xvi*, Florence, 1872, vol. II, pp. 445 et seq.; W. Meyer, "Radewins Gedicht über Theophilus" in *Sitzungsberichte der phil. Classe der Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 1873, pp. 49-120, Meyer prints the original Greek and Latin versions; E. Kölbing, "Ueber die englischen Fassungen der Theophilussage" in *Beiträge zur Vergleichenden Geschichte der romant. Poesie*, etc., Breslau, 1876, pp. 1-41; same author's "Die jüngere Englische Fassung der Theophilussage" in *Englische Studien*, i (1877), pp. 16-57; F. Ludorff, "William Forrest's Theophiluslegende" in *Anglia*, vol. VII (1884), pp. 60-115, containing a convenient list of the versions in Latin, French, German, Dutch, Icelandic and English; a résumé of the literature may be found in Neuhaus, *Adgar*, p. 81; H. Strohmayer's review of M. Sepet's *Le Miracle de Théophile*, in *Romania*, vol. XXIII (1894), pp. 601-606, contains a convenient conspectus of the literature of the legend; and, finally Ward, vol. II (1893), pp. 593-597, gives valuable references.

The Greek and Latin texts will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 4 (Feb. vol. I, pp. 483-487), in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. CLXXI, coll. 1593-1604, and in Dasent and Meyer cited above.

The source of our miracle is apparently the version in the *Legenda aurea*, cap. CXXXI, 9, somewhat abbreviated.

See Mussafia, I, pp. 32 (No. 45, Kremsmünster MS. 114), 34 (Mölk MS. E. 81), 39 (No. 8, Paris, Lat., 14,463), 59 (No. 9, Leipzig MS. 819), 65 (No. 71, Paris, Lat., 17,491), 76 (No. 8, Paris, Lat., 5,267); II, pp. 4 (No. 5, Paris, Lat., 5,268), 11 (Montpellier MS. 146), 17 (No. 2, Brit. Mus. Cleopatra C. 20, and Toulouse MS. 482), 44 (No. 15, Paris, Lat., 5,562), 64 (No. 9, *Legenda aurea*), 70 (No. 1, Arsenal, 903); III, pp. 4 (No. G, Brit. Mus. Vesp. D. 19), 18 (No. 46, Ampl. 44), 21 (Charleville MS. 106), 44 (No. 10, Etienne de Besançon, *Alphabetum narrat.*); IV, pp. 6 (No. 15, Darmstadt MS. 703), 8 (No. 14, Darmstadt MS. 2,777), 19 (No. 1, Salisbury MS. 97); V, p. 10 (No. 58, Paris, Fr., 818).

See Ward, pp. 595-600, where are given five independent versions of our miracle, contained in: Harley, 3,020; Cotton, Nero E. I., printed by Neuhaus in *Lat. Vorl.*, pp. 12-21; Harley, 4,719; Additional, 10,050; *ibid.*, 18,365. For the versions forming part of collections of Miracles of the Virgin, see Ward, pp. 602 (No. 2, Cotton, Cleopatra C. x), 618 (No. 40, *ibid.*, see Mussafia, II, p. 17, note 3), 675 (No. 33, Add. 33,956, the same miracle is repeated in No. 44), 677 (No. 5, Harley, 2,316), 684 (No. 42, Add. 19,909, Herolt, *De Miraculis*, 42), 693 (No. 1, Cotton, Vespasian D. xix), 706 (No. 60, Royal 8 C. iv), 713 (No. 17, Egerton, 612, printed by A. Weber in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, I (1877), pp. 525-30, and in Adgar's *Marienlegenden*, p. 79), 719 (No. 1, Harley, 4,401, Gautier de Coincy), 730 (No. 2, Royal 20 B. xiv), 735 (No. 1, Harley, 2,277, see Horstmann, *The Early South-English Legendary*, Early English Text Society, 1887, p. 288), 736 (No. 1, Cotton, Cleopatra D. ix), 737 (No. 1, Add. 10,301), 738 (No. 5, Cotton, Julius D. ix), 739 (No. 1, Harley, 4,196), and 740 (Cotton, Tiberius E. vii). See *Liber de abundantia Exemplorum*, fol. 58vo.

A. Weber in the periodical cited above prints the version in Paris, Lat., 2,333A. See also Mussafia, Gautier de Coincy, I, 1 (p. 6), and the same editor's copious notes to *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, III. Roswitha's poem "Lapsus et conversio Theophili vice-domini" may best be found in *Hrotsvithae opera*, ed. K. Strecker, Leipzig, Teubner, 1906, pp. 67-80. Two other Latin versions are in the *Speculum hist.*, xxii, cap. 69-70, and Gil de Zamora, No. 2.

Spanish versions are in the *Cantigas* cited above, in *Castigos e documentos*, ed. Gayangos, lxxxii, p. 215; *Libro de los Enxemplos*, ed. Gayangos, cxcii, p. 493; and Berceo, xxiv. Italian versions are in *Miracoli della Madonna*, cap. xxxvi, and a dramatic one in D'Ancona, *Sacre Rappresent.*, cited above. A German version is in Pfeiffer, *Marienlegenden*, xxiii, p. 193.

For the dramatic form of the legend see D'Ancona, cited above, and *Dictionnaire des Mystères*, cited above, where, coll. 933-968, is printed Rutebeuf's "Le Miracle de Théophile," which may also be found in Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre Français au Moyen-âge*, Paris, 1870, pp. 136-156, and in Rutebeuf's works in the *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne*, Paris, 1874, vol. II, pp. 230-262.

To the references in Ward may now be added Herbert, pp. 395 (No. 370, Add. 11,284, "Speculum Laicorum"); 454 (No. 1, Cotton, Vesp. D. ii, the same text as Harley, 3,020, see Ward, 595), 523 (No. 45, Harley, 2,385), 534 (No. 2, Harley, 495), 543 (No. 34, Arundel, 506), 608 (No. 22, Add. 18,364), 696 (No. 3, Sloane, 4,029), 717 (No. 28, Add. 38,010).

APPENDIX

Correspondence between Cornell MS. and principal printed Collections of Miracles of the Virgin.

	Cantigas	Coincy	Mielot	Pez	Pfeiffer
I					
II	XXXIII	II, 16	XXXIII	27	
III	XXXVI	I, 26	XXXIII	28	XII
IV					IX
V			I		
VI	CXXXI				
VII	LXVIII	I, 24	XV		
VIII			XXXVI	cp. 2	
IX		I, 15		7	
X	XXIV	I, 6		3	XI
XI	XIII	I, 21		6	VI
XII	LIV	I, 8		30	
XIII					
XIV					
XV		I, 20		32	
XVI					III
XVII	CCCLXXXIV				
XVIII				19	
XIX	CCVI				
XX		II, 17	{ IX, XX XXV	16	
XXI	IX	II, 18			
XXII					

Miracles of the Virgin

279

	Cantigas	Coiney	Mielot	Pez	Pfeiffer
XXIII	CCLXV		XLIII		
XXIV					
XXV	cp. LVI		VII		XV
XXVI	LXVII	I, 29	VIII		XIV
XXVII	LXXIX		XXI		
XXVIII					
XXIX	III	I, 1			XXIII

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BECERRO DE BENVIVERE: THIRD PART

CONTAINING THE "VIDA DE EL SEÑOR DIEGO MARTINEZ SALVADOR
FUNDADOR DE BENEVIVERE LLAMADO EL SANTO."

(S. XVI cursive.)

The Archivo Histórico Nacional contains among its treasures two MSS. with the same signature 927—B, one of which bears the additional name of Becerro de Benevivere (or Bembivere). My attention was called to it by a learned note in J. Amador de los Rios, *Historia critica de la Literatura Española*, tom. II, p. 249, note 1, where after mentioning the existence of several Latin poems on Spanish subjects he adds: "no siendo menos notable el *Poema de Benevivere*, en que se celebra la fundacion de este monasterio por don Diego Martinez de Villa Mayor, obra debida á Pascasio, primer abad de dicha casa. Guárdase este raro monumento en la Real Academia de la Historia entre otros códices, traídos de Benevivere; y carece de principio, tratandose en el cuerpo del poema de las virtudes de don Diego, su valia, su poder, y su piedad; y narrandose la fundacion, dotacion, eleccion de abad, y confirmacion apostolica, amonestase por ultimo á seguir honesta y santa vida, dándose noticia de la cristiana muerte de don Diego, de la adopcion que hace Alfonso VIII del monasterio y de la visita, con que le honra y favorece." None of the books to which I have access state when this *fondo* was transfered to the *Archivo*.

The MS. in question is not a true Becerro at all, but merely contains a series of works written at or about that Convent.

Part I. *Joannes de Vxigualle Apostolicus bibliothecarius in laudem sacri canonici ordinis* (B. was a convent of Canons Regular) *et de ipsius ortu et monachorum. s. XVI*, bound in parchment, four quires of paper, twelve leaves to a quire, all unnumbered and unsigned, measures mm. 144 × 100.

Part II, a work ascribed to Paschasius, abbot of Benevivere, about A.D. 1200; 189 leaves of parchment, in quires of six or eight leaves, with rubrics and hyphens. This work interesting in many ways says fol. 11 Ro. in red letters: *Incipit liber .II. consuetudinum ecclesie beate marie debeneuiuere. Qualiter hij de seculo ad conuer-*

sionem uenire desiderant inmonasterio recipiendi sunt uel instruendi.

Part III consists of 19 leaves of parchment plus another (9 bis) only one side of which contains any text; in disorder and with only one indication of former quire numbering, without running title; has rubrics and some large red initials. Fols. 1-14 contain the unpublished "Poema de Benevivere," while the remainder of the MS. contains chiefly a Castilian version of the Statutes of the Order of Santiago whereof D. Diego was Grand Master, see the last p. of the complete text.

As for the earlier history of this MS. and its abiding place I can merely quote Antonio, *Bibliotheca Vetus*, second ed., Tom. II, p. 28, section 106. "Sub eodem floruit PASCHASIUS primus abbas monasterii canonicorum regularium S. Mariae de Bene-vivere diocesis Palentinae, qui distichis latinis non omnino incultis conscripsit *Vitam Didaci Martinez de Villamayor* huiusce monasterii fundatoris, viri nobilissimi & optimi. Ea latet, nec proripuit se hactenus è curiosorum manibus, cuius carmina aliqua leguntur in libro D. Iosephi Pellizerii ita nuncupato: *Informe del origen, antiguedades, calidad, y sucesion de la excelentissima casa de Sarmiento de Villamayor*, fol. 32. & 33."

The text 561-64 gives the exact date of the Founder's death, viz.: Friday the fifth of November A.D. 1176. The MS. has furthermore, from time to time, some annotations done in the sixteenth century which throw light on the man and the use this book was put to at his convent. They are as follows:

Fol. Ro. topp. Vida de el Sr. Diego martinez salvador | fundador. de Beneuiuere, llamado el santo (flourish). | Righthand margin, and partially injured by abrasion not to mention the binder's clipping: El Señor D(ie) | go Martinez Sal | udor | murio Era | 1214. quitan | se 38 años y | quedan de (1a) | quenta | 1176 este | año fue el | qu e murio | el Fundador. Foot of the page by the first scribe: murio el sr. diego martinez salvador deelsobrado | (de) | Va. (i. e. Villa) mayor fundador de Beneuiuere llamado (el santo) | Conde de la Bureba encastilla año de (1176) | uiernes en las nonas de nobienbre en (siendo) | Abbad Pascosio y Fernando | entola | el Rey D alfonso el 8o esto entero | su conbento de Beneuiuerenlacapilla | y capitulo de S miguel.

In the lefthand margin opposite Conde and uienes: y so | brado. Fol. 2 Ro. opposite l. 66: Afonsus 8, Fol. 14 Ro. foot: aqui acaba Lauida de diego martynez fundador de BeneViure | llamado el *santo* fue tmbien gran. Fol. 19 Vo. finis de la uida de nuestro fun | dador de BeneViure Diego | martinez el noble caba | llero y gran maestre de la orden de caballe | ria de santiago y sus establecimien-
tos (y an-) | tiguos *conbentos*. All these notes are by the scribe of the entry at the top of fol. 1. Foot of fol. 19 Vo. (probatio pen-
nae) se ningun pueblo.

An entirely different hand, but likewise s. XVI, has added, fol. 8 Vo. opposite l. 422: (confir)mat Papa. Fol. 9 Ro. opposite l. 456: (f)undatorem.; opposite 461: Amonitio. Fol. 9 Vo. opposite l. 483: Notatu digna. Fol. 13 Ro. opposite ll. 663-65, Viene el Rey | ausitar ycon | solar asuntos. Fol. 13 Vo. opposite ll. 673-74: y Propio | cantar ypre; and opposite ll. 690-91: Viene ElRey | ausitar ycon | solar asunto.

As regards the MS. itself, it has already been noted as dating from the XIIIth Century: furthermore it is not an autograph but a first hand copy from an archetype in Visigothic characters assignable to about 1180 or the years immediately succeeding the demise of the Fundador. Observe the following significant errors: l. 218, *ferax* has been corrected from *ferux*, and at 650 *relauxantur* has been changed to *relaxantur*, both cases due to the very easy confusion of *a* and *u* in the old National hand of the Iberian Peninsula. Likewise the original error of *deferit* corrected to *deserit* implies a resemblance of *r* and *s*, another well known peculiarity of the Visigothic script. As is well understood, this hand dies out in most of Spain and Portugal by at least the middle of the XIIth C., but may survive in the products of the Northwest provinces till about 1175-80 in books and (in some places) later in charts. This survival of a *book* in the old National hand of Spain is mute yet eloquent testimony to the reverence in which D. Diego was held.

Some orthographic peculiarities of the MS.: double *c* in *paucca* etc., 137, 143, 170, 369, 460, 493. Prothetic *e* 220 and 293. *Sc* for *c* 33, 550: *d* incorrectly doubled 91, 132, *h* erroneously employed, 69, 133.

*Palaeographical edition from a photographic facsimile*¹

Fol. I.

- In dextera largus. in uerbo uerus. in ore
 Simplex. in mente religiosus erat
 Mores seruauit. uirtus innata benignos.
 Nec didicit titulis ebrius esse suis
 5 Sors sibi non peperit per dona sophistica fastuM.
 Nam cognouit eam dando referre datum
 Dictus erat didacus. quasi dans decus. aut quia diues!
 Dapsilis. 7 custos religionis erat
 Expositiua sui fuit nominis. illum.
 10 Cunctis testatur fama dedisse decus
 Non fuit obsequio pigra gratia. set magis illi!
 Quam sua mens peteret officiosa fuit
 Blandus in excelsis stabat. quasi stratus in imis
 Sors non mouit eum prospera. siue grauis
 15 Marte ferox. sensu prediues. stirpe serenus.
 Mente bonus. placidus moribus. ore pius
 In terra celestis erat. terreque relegans!
 Delicias. terris ut peregrinus erat
 Non habuit tellus mentem. que corpus habebat.
 20 Hospes erat mundi. compatriota dei
 Cur in laude moror. laudem laudabilis iste
 Excessit meritis. laus mea nulla sibi
 NVlli prosperitas manet integra. prosperitatem
 Siquis habet. leuiter prosperitate caret
 25 Seua nouercatur mors omnibus. omnia turbat.
 Omnia consumit. omnia dente uorat
 Gaudia compensat lacrimis. 7 comoda dampnis.
 Fortia nutare.² sana dolere facit

Fol. I. Vo.

- Vite metat(i)s fit semper auara beatis.
 30 Prodigia fit miseris. nec miseretur eis
 Inuidet claris. facit argumenta sophistis
 Cunctis concludit. nemo repugnat ei
 Castellę sepelit piscea sub nube nitorem
 Atque sui solis lumine priuat eam

¹ Italics indicate abbreviations completed, parentheses enclose corrections in the MS., while brackets contain the editor's emendations.

² Corr. from nuptare.

- 35 Principe flet uidua. *non* principe *set* patre. princeps!
 Iustici(a)^a fuerat. 7 pietate pater
 Cernere mors gaudet lacrimas, audire querelas,
 Nilque doloris habet. *dum* fit ubique dolor
 Preda grauis sibi grata. magis. *quia* cuncta grauare!
 40 Nititur. atque studet publica dampna dare
 Patria *cum* patre. *cum* preside iura. benigna!
 Cum iusto. regna rege cadente cadunt
 Non patitur lugere suos diuina colonos.
 Gratia. que grato principe ditat eos
 45⁴ Sanctius est dictus *quasi sanctus*. *sanctaque* seruans,
 Qui *sanctis* inhiat. sanctior esse studens
 QUID referam laudes. laudatur *cum* patre natus
 Et natum perhibent que[m] libet esse patrem
 Natus patrissat. *patrisque* resuscitat acta.
 50 Spernit quod spreuit. et quod amauit amat
 Patria *cum* nato. patrem putat esse renatum
 Hoc mens. hoc mores. hoc pia facta probant
 Plura suo patre perficiens. *patre* plura meretur.
 Letatur factis. facta preire patris
 55 Ampliat imperium bello. bellisque quaternis!
 Bella quater faciens. regna quaterna capit

Fol. II. R^o.

- Qui placuit patri. didacus nato placet illum
 Consulit in dubijs. que sibi dictat! agit
 Degener esse patri metuit. *nam* cui pater ante!
 60 Gratus erat. natus gratior esse studet
 Est breuis omnis honor. sibi terminat annus honorem.
 Terminat et uitam. terminus ille suam
 Dampna sue mortis compensat munere nati
 Quj post fata patris. regna paterna regit
 65 Nomen aui retinet. *non* solum nominis heres!
 Set *morum* mores exsuperare studet
 Languescit splendor candeles solis in ortu
 Laus patris est nati languida laude sui
 Lucifer ille suum solem precessit hanelus

^a Corr. from justice.

⁴ Large initial S.

- 70 Fugit ad occasum sole micante nouo
Rege bono uidua. diues meliore superbit!
Terra. facit melior(rex) dampna minora boni (regis)
Gratia larga patri fit nato prodiga. mores!
Illius ditat uberiore bono
- 75 Preditat mentem sensus. facundia linguam
Preditat species ora. manumque uigor
Commodus obsequio. sermone benignus honore
Congruus. ore placens. consilioque bonuS
Promittit lete largitur letius actis!
- 80 Splendidus. horrendus marte. rigore graujS
Heret ei didacus. 7 firmus amore tenetur
Co[n] siliumque probat. consilioque iuuat
Iustus in e[x]cessu rerum castigat honeste,
Mentem ne rapiat fastus iniquus eam
- 2 Vo.
- 85 Nam sibi luxus opum generat fastidia. spernit!
Delicias. spernit gaudia. spernit opes
Iam piger est regis tractare negotia. mundi!
Se dolet errorem sustinuisse diu
Vicini ledunt egri contagia sanum.
- 90 Sepe malus socium dedocet esse bonum
Ergo ne redeat ad blandim [en]ta bonorum!
Exule(a)t a rerum culmine. spretor opum
Pauperat ut sese locupletet. seruit ut inde!
Imperet. ut uiuat: abstinet ille cibis
- 95 A mundi penitus curis absoluitur. una!
De curis remanet cura. set illa dei
Forcius exurgit rerum breuitate uoluntas!
In minimis christo plenius ille uacat
Mentem cura terit. azimant ieiunia corpus
- 100 Insipidusque suo plus sapit ore cibis
Delicias tenere castigant hec tria carnis.
Vita grauis. uestis aspera. cura uigil
Sic celo floret qui mundo marcet. amorem
Mundi postponit totus amore dei
- 105 Plurima nascuntur de grani semine grana.
Sic bona plura parit. ex bonitate bonus
Iste boni lampas uite spendore serenat!
His iter. ad uitam quos uia recta uocat.
Vult eterna sui monumenta relinquere terris!

- 110 *Exemplumque* dare. *per* sua facta boni
Famosi iactura loci sibi cognita mentem
Concitat. 7 refici postulat eius ope

3 R^o.

- TVrba^s *benignorum* fuit olim ualle benigna.
Dum*que* bonos habuit floruit illa bonis
115 Sunt bona lapsa sibi numero labente bonorum.
Hospita facta malis transit ad omne malum
Que modo munda fuit. fit sordida. que modo clara
Fit nigra. que sana nunc erat. egra iacet
Successit facinus pietati. crimen honori.
120 Fraus fidei paci prelia. praua bonis
QVI timidis securus erat locus iste. timendus
Nunc est securis. profuit. ecce nocet
Quem coluere sacri. colit execrabilis. errat!
Hic latro. pollutus sanguine cede nocens
125 Hic homines mactat furor infernalibus. agnos
Quo mactare solet turba benigna deo
Orba bono uallis sine iure benigna uocatur
Plena malis dici. iura maligna potest
Destinat hec didacus sibi da[m]pna repellere. uotum:
130 Prom[p]tius exequitur officiosa manus
Predonum rabies excluditur. exulat ensis
Pristina forma loco pristina fama reddit
Religionis opes uirtute resuscitat. hōrnat!
Quantum paupertas sustinet egra: locum
135 Firmior est regis libertas facta fauore
Carta sigillatur uerba fauores habens
Quosdam set pauccos. sibi federet equa uoluntas.
Quos doctrinali uoce magister alit
Exiguo contenta cibo. toleratur egestas.
140 Corda deus pascit ex(s)uriente gula

3 Vo.

- Sepe famem radice leuant. radicibus herent
Rodunt radices. nec meliora rogant
Ditatur paucis paciencia pauca requirens
In paucis fortes. se pacienter habent
145 O stabilis didaci constancia. uita modesta
Mens fortis. sancta gloria. purus amor

* Large initial T.

- Carnis contemptor. anime famulatur. eamque,
 Conatur meritis adsociare deo
 In casu positos. docet ille resurgere muros
 150 Templā renascuntur. redditur ara deo
 Nulla retardat eum torporis inertia. penam!
 Non refugit. pene fert mala. pena iuuat
 Sole redit redeunte labor. uix sole laborem!
 Terminat occiduo. raro quiete manet
 155 Pro lecto se crate locat. reparatque soporis
 Obsequio. uarijs robora fracta malis.
 Vestibus irsutis carniq̃ue nocentibus. artus!
 Induit. hos uestis asperitate terit
 Quemlibet offendunt misere dispendia uite
 160 Dum sibi dona parant. dona parata fugit
 Lucratur uictum sibi pena. docetque futuros
 Euitare cibos absque labore datos
 Omnibus exponit que possidet. omnibus offert
 Sic iubet ut socijs possideantur opes
 165 Ampliat omne bonum. su[m]mus largitor alumpno
 Donaue restituit uberiore bono
 Tanta fit illustri spacio sibi copia rerum!
 Quod miseros (ras. 1 litt.) omnes sufficienter alit
- Fol. 4. R^o.
 Plura uidens superesse parat dare pluribus illa
 170 Plura licet teneat. pauca tenere iuuat
 Consulit ergo suos fratres blandóque fauorem
 In petrat alloquio. cognita uota placent
 Paupertatis amor. rerum condempnat amorem!
 Cuj satis est modicum nil sibi plura ualent
 175 Cur fugit ullus opes. si postea diligit illas
 Euomit atque canis more reiecta uorat
 Esse^{*} cauens talis didacus. talique sodales!
 Peste tra[h]i nolens diligit esse miser
 Nam uicina sibi fuerat bona uallis. ad illam!
 180 Se facilis transfert. uota replere studens
 Cui datus abbatis honor est quam uexat honoris!
 Pondus. Willermo supplicat. orat opem
 Annuit abbatis didaco clemencia, suplex!
 Oranti. iustas cum uidet esse preces

*Large initial E.

- 185 Ergo suis recitat secretum fratribus. omnes!
 Pro prietate stupent. 7 pia uota probant
 Non caret assensu tam iusta peticio iusti
 Conuentus fratrum traditur. ergo redit
 His loca comitit. cum fertilitate locorum
- 190 Inquirique nouum fratribus ipse locum
 Tola^r locus breuis est. quem nomine iacobus hospes!
 Intitulat. locus hic arta sacella tenet
 Eligitur dadaco locus iste. sibi^{que} uidetur
 Gratus. nam minimum gratuitatis habet
- 195 In paupertatis pena sibi gloria crescit
 Sustinet ille malum letus. 7 absque malo
- 4 Vo.
 Est sibi potus aqua. uictus faba. lanea uestis
 Fenum puluinar. uirga^{que} texta thorus,
 Pena diurna grauis. sibi nox est parca soporis.
- 200 Et sic pene labor. continuatur ei
 Fama uiri leuibus se circumfuderat alis.
 Finitimis^{que} uiri predicat acta locis
 Poncius illustris comes 7 st[e]phania marita!
 Vicini gaudent de bonitate uiri,
- 205 Ambo pij. sunt ambo sacri. sunt religiosi
 Vnde placet poncius religiosus eis
 Sepe^a uirum temptant prece uincere. sepe fatigant,
 Vt^{que} locum mutent. pro meliore rogant
 Hinc genus hinc pietas. comendat uerba rogantum.
- 210 Compellunt precibus. ista fauere uirum
 Ergo locum subit ille nouum quem rustica lingua!
 Dicit sotnoual. quem situs ipse probat.
 Planicies diffundit humum quam fertilis herba
 Vestit. quam florum pingit odor honor,
- 215 Laci^{us} arbor ibi diffundit in aere ramos
 Fructus larga potest uix tolerare suos
 Hic ulmo uitis solidis complexibus heret
 Atque feraux sterilem. fructificare docet
 Luxuriat riguis genus omne leguminis ortis
- 220 Hic folijs latis espaciatur olus
 Flumina concurrunt. et se per pascua fundunt.
 Rore^{que} fecundant uberiore locum.

^r Large initial T.^a Large initial S.

Felix prosperitas comitis. qui prosperitate
In proprio fundo dat tria templa deo

Fol. 5 Ro.

- 225 Gratia quo didaco *semper* se plenius offert!
His bona cuncta locis accumulare studet
Pauperie fugiente dolet. *quam* copia rerum!
Expulit 7 pauper ut prius esse cupit
Perficitur lustrum didaco loca plena tenente.
- 230 Iamque negat spacium multiplicare more
Ergo recessurus fratres consultat. 7 illos!
Agnoscit penitus in sua uota datos
Ad⁹ loca se transfert. que gens contermina dicit
Petri de spina. grex sacer illa colit
- 235 Aggregat hic bona prosperitas. blanditur amico
Risu fortuna non inimica loco
Res dignos habet heredes. quia plurima plures
Largos prelarga. liberiorque pares
Est templi decor imodicus. dispensat in eius!
- 240 Sumptum thesauros religiosa manus.
Non sapit ipocrisim. mens sancte consona uite.
Est malus ipocrita mente set ore pius
Cui labor est templo uoci sunt ocia¹⁰ claustro.
Set requiem refugit mens. in utroque loco
- 245 Carnibus absumptis cutis ossibus heret. amicis.
Pesnudus. crinis est brevis. alba toga.
Sunt per multimodos soliti sudare labores
Rara sibi transit absque labore (ras. 1 litt.) dies
Vel feno p—ratum. uel messibus arua. uel uuis!
- 250 Orbant uineta. tot capit illa domus
Curarum labor excessus castigat agentum
Luxurie remouet pena recepta malum

5 Vo.

- Notificat sua fama locum. fit splendi[d]a (ras. 3 litt.) fratrum
Religio. minor est fama canora bono
- 255 Audita didacus fratrum pietate.¹¹ petendum
Hunc sibi cognouit gratius esse locum
Fratribus accipitur quasi frater eique ministrant!

⁹ Large initial A.

¹⁰ Corr. from ociosa.

¹¹ Pietate repeated and cancelled.

- Vt serui, ponunt plurima, pauca capit
 Ille suo licet acceleret, piger esse uidetur
 260 Proposito. nimium fit breue tempus ei
 Fratribus adiunctis. abbate sedente. resurgit
 Voceque dulcissima uerba benigna parit
 Cum iustum petitur decet exaudire petentes.
 Vos mihi si iustum quero fauere decet
 265 Instimulare pios pietas iubet. ergo piorum
 Conuentus faueat si sibi quero pium
 Res minimas mihi cura dei studiumque laboris
 Produxit. set plus. quam labor: ipse deus.
 Plurima res plures heredes postulat. in re!
 270 Inmodica. plures insimul esse decet
 A uobis petit heredes cui deficit heres
 Hinc monachi dentur. hinc prior hincque pater.
 Annuit huic fratrum comunio sancta petenti!
 Conuentum. fratres ergo sequuntur eum
 275 Prouidus abbatem statuit. cui dona locorum
 Liberat. et cuiquam ferre tributa uetat
 His ita dispositis. cum fratribus exulat. aptum
 Carrioni iunctum respicit esse locum¹²
 Strata uiatorum gressu contrita frequenti
 280 Hinc abit ad templum iacobe sancte tuum
- 6 Ro.
 Estimo quod didaci fuit hec intentio. gratum!
 Cum plures ueniant. pluribus esse locum.
 Et merito locus hic. beniuere nomen haberet
 Omnibus officium. posse suo tribu(e)ns
 285 Hic siciens potum. ieiunus prandia. fessus
 Hospicium. uestis munera nudus habet.
 Hic medicum lesus. hic inuenit hostis amicum
 Ad sua quisque uenit. 7 capit inde suum
 Tot prodest domus una bonis. tot plena bonorum.
 290 Jure datur tanto copia tanta uiro
 Religionis¹³ odor. pietatis dulcor honoris
 [E]Splendor. uirtus feruor. honestus amor.
 Vox humilis. sincera fides. faciesque benigna!
 Hec fiunt didaci. pignora certa boni

¹² This line enclosed between lines.¹³ Large initial R.

- 295 Furantur multos fidei preconia mundo
 Quos uir lucratur per sua uerba deo
 Diuersis di(c)tat diuersa negotia. clerum!
 Intus cura tenet officiosa deo
 Nocte deo uigilant. diuinis laudibus instant
 300 Se minima nocte(j)s parte sopore fouent
 Que recitant templo precontant singula claustro.
 Sic labor inmodicus est in utroque loco
 In uarijs rebus laicorum turba laborat
 Et motus animi multa ferendo domat
 305 Liur in omne bonum grauiter conspirat. honorem!
 Dedecorat. fedat splendida. sacra terit
 INsidias¹⁴ metuens didacus liuris acerbas
 Predonumque manus. rem solidare parat
- 6 Vo.
- Ergo petit licet atritus languore coronam.
 310 Scilicet egregium religione locum
 Sancta reuelatur humili sermone uoluntas
 Set steriles fructum non habuere preces
 Sic labor in primis fuit irritus. ergo secundo
 Impetrare studet multiplicando preces
 315 Maiestate loci firmare locum petit actor
 Vult hujus fratres ordinis esse suos
 Esse uidetur eis iterata peticio firma
 Ergo fauor precibus subditur absque mora
 Omnes mirantur quod eos rogat ille rogandus.
 320 Tantum letantur se meruisse decus
 Dantur ei fratres sancti documenta daturi!
 Ordinis. oblati gratibus ille credit
 Hinc prior extrahitur quem ditat gratia sensus.
 Cura benigna. grauis vita. pudica caro
 325 Ordinis exponit legem. fratresque sequuntur
 Quedam mutantur. ut petit ipse locus
 Regula signatur. scripto discernitur eius
 Vlacio. si temere. fregerit ullus eam
 Ordine dictato dictata lege refertur
 330 Cum socijs primis ad loca prima prior
 Nescit¹⁵ sub modio sepeliri flama lucerne
 Nescit honestatis fama latere sacrae

¹⁴ Large initial I.¹⁵ Large initial N.

- Predicat actorem sua gratia. splendet in orbe!
 Laus didaci. quamuis laude carere uelit
 335 Gaudet honore sui rex aldefonsus amici
 Gaudet eum tantus conualuisse bonis

7 Ro.

- Argumenta sacre sunt facta sacerrima mentis
 Fructibus est arbor queque probata suis
 Rex placidum comendat opus. gratosque paratus
 340 Offert plura. quibus perficiatur opus
 Hunc facit heredem multorum nam sine multo
 Grata domus multis non ualet esse bono
 Sjluijeros montes. uestitaque gramina prata
 Datque molendinos redditus unde datur
 345 In minimis sudare studens minus optat habere!
 Magna. tamen magno magna labore facit
 Non monet ut faciant fratres. set eos faciendo!
 Cogit. nam primum cogitur ipse malo
 I ure monet qui primus agit quod dictat agendum
 350 Serui cum domino queque libenter agunt
 Ne sit sanctorum manus irrita. ne sine fructu!
 Pena lucri pensat fenore christus opus
 Plures expendunt paucorum lucra. laborant!
 Pluribus. 7 plures plura f(o)endo fouent
 355 Sustinet assidue domus officiosa trecentos
 Subtrahit 7 reddit quelibet hora nouos
 Legitimo panis datur hic libramine. sola
 Migranti. reliquis est data libra duplex
 Quos tenet in lecto constricto compede morbus!
 360 Ponitur his quod amat deliciosa fames
 His ter in ebdomada dat regula carnibus uti
 Pisces aut reliquis oua diebus habent
 Vtile metitur opus actor. et amplior illi
 Cura boni fertur cum bona facta uidet

7 Vo.

- 365 Quemque probat facti perfectio. nemo probatur!
 Ex merito donec perficiatur opus
 Prouida metitur rerum sapientia finem
 Facta nisi fuerint integra laude carent
 Pauca¹⁶ uidens restare suis uir prouidus actis

¹⁶ Large initial P.

- 370 Ne *quicquam* restet. addere pauca cupit
 Ad cepti. *properat* finem. finire laborat
 Quod cepit. ceptum nit sine fine iuuat
 Hec igitur *fratrum* recipit comunia uerba
 Nam nisi *quisque* probet nil sua facta probat
- 375 O *fratres* quos norma deo peperisse fatetur
 Vos quasi priuignos uictricus orbis habet
 Vos iunxit mihi uera fides. pietate sodales.
 Obsequio *fratres*. religione pares
 Vnio uotorum nos unit. nec decet unum
- 380 *Quicquam* uelle. nisi cetera turba uelit
 In uobis ego sum: uos in me que uolo uultis
 Que facio facitis. que dare (ras. 4 litt.) curo datis
 Bona relegastis mundi maiora sequi
 Hic fauus est. ibi (mundo) fel. hic amor *hicque* dolus
- 385 Prefertis paleis granum. certissima falsis
 Firma uagis. nigros candida. grata malis
 Fructificet celo plantatio uestra. feratur
 Ad celum mentis fructificantis odor
 Quo pastoris abest protectio. sepius instat
- 390 Predo gregem uiduum preside. sepe uorat
 Pastor oues nutrit defendit ab hoste uagantes!
 Castigat. uigilat nocte. luposque fugat

8 Ro.

- Vos mihi pastores. uobisque fui quasi pastor
 Actenus. in nobis floruit (ras. 1 litt.) equus honor¹⁷
- 395 Intonat hec fratrum responsio. publica. frater
 Qu(e)re bonum nobis. tu bene quemque uides
 In uotis sunt nostra tuis. circumspice dignum!
 Et qui dignus erit preficiamus eum
 In nullis gaudet fratres reperire rebelles
- 400 Set sibi si dicit ulla placere placent
 Totus in aspectu mentis. per singula fertur
 Singula conlibrat. singula mente notat
 In meritis maior. in sensu maximus esse
 Apparet. minimus corpore. stirpe minor
- 405 Eligit hunc didacus. paret concordia fratrum
 Laus christo fertur nomen honoris ei
 Quem preponit honor. pia cura minoribus equat
 Et saluo decore quod fuit ante manet.
 De minimo magnus factus de paupere diues

¹⁷ After this line a cross.

- 410 Et modo subiectus culmen honoris habet
 Sic didacum sua facta probant per cuncta probandum
 Qui tulit abbat^{is} primus habere iugum.
 Ne¹⁸ grauis infirmet occasio facta. laborat!
 Posse relegare quicquid obesse potest
- 415 Sumi pontificis opus hoc immune fauoris!
 Ne foret assensum captat habere suum
 Ergo quibus fuerat opus infirmare potestas!
 Auxiliatores imperat esse suos
 Hij prodesse student qui posse nocere uidentur
- 420 Vir prius ex ipsis scripta fauoris habet

8 Vo.

- Curia consentit precibus romana duorum.
 Confirmatque suo papa fauore locum.
 Ista palentinus. legionensisque sacro!
 Pontifices precibus promeruere loco
- 425 Ne cadat in uanum uox pape uerba sigillo!
 Signatur. sic est libera facta domus
 Nulli subicitur cunctis subiecta. tributa!
 Nulla dat. 7 quiu^{is} inde tributa capit
 Subdita pauperibus nescit seruire iubenti
- 430 Nescit se iussu flectere. flexa. prece
 Hinc nichil extorquet manus exactors iniqua
 Impetrat hic quisquis supplice uoce rogat
 Proposito didacus patrato gaudet 7 actu!
 Consumatiua non eguisse manu
- 435 Post mala mendicat. homo blandimenta quietis
 Ieiunusque diu uult alimenta cibi
 Pauper opes. lesus medicinam. gaudia tristic
 Debilis exoptat robora magna breuis
 Iam didaco sua uita parit fastidia. captat!
- 440 Iam satur in terris hic alimenta poli
 Celestes mendicat opes. mendicus in orbe.
 Et requiem celi fessus in orbe cupit
 Inmodici tormenta mali tenuisque ciborum
 Vsus. mole grau^j languida membra premunt
- 445 Pregrauat hunc morbus. torpor grauis alliga artus
 Pes renujt gressum. nit agit egra manus
 Languidus exultat. iam gaudia celica spet
 Proxima spe uite tempora mortis amat

* Large initial N.

9 Ro.

- Compatitur fratri fratrum comunio. morbo
 450 Quisque dolet. confert gaudia morbus ei
 Est merito letus qui premia scit meritorum.
 Prom[p]ta sibi. non est mors metuenda bonis
 Dampna brevis uite solatur uita futura
 Hec breue fert dampnum multa dat illa lucra
 455 Abbas^{18a} canonicum. natum. pater. imo parentem
 Natus consultat. hunc quasi natus amat
 Quid sibi. quid socijs sit agendum postulat. eius!
 Consilij agere semper. agenda studens
 Quamuis sit tenuis sibi uox. 7 parca loquendi
 460 Pauca tamen socijs nititur ille loqui
 Cernite quid sit homo. quid corpus. quid sua uita.
 Vilis homo. corpus debile. uita breuijs
 Quid sit homo nescit. qui uitam diligit. hore
 Momento. quiuis adnichilatur homo
 465 Quid sit homo nescit. qui uitam spernit. 7 orbis
 Diuicias. transit gloria, diues obit
 De nichilo factus. cito fit nichil. 7 quasi numquam.
 Extiterit. ! penitus labitur ipse suis
 Par homo candeles. prebet candela nitorem
 470 Set minimus uentus. lumine priuat eam
 Hic nichil eternum. nichil est durabile. quamuis!
 Decipiunt agiles. dum cupiuntur opes.
 Hec uite breuitas est cuique probatio. quisquis!
 Spernet eam. celo uiuere dignus erit
 475 Aut emit. aut demit. hic hic uitam uita futuram.
 Hanc emit accepta. noxia demit eam

9 Vo.

- Vita quidem fallax. 7 uite terminus. horam!
 Mor[s] habet incertam. morsque repente uenit
 Nulla super lapidem bene crescunt semina. nec uox!
 480 Surdorum corde. fructificare potest
 Interimetque meas uoces intentio uestris
 Auribus. ut uobis fructificare queam
 Sit pietas uobis. sit amor. sit norma. sit ordo,
 Sit stabilis uirtus. mens bona. recta fides
 485 Viuite set caste. disponite res. set honeste
 Cernite cui detis. nec nisi danda date.

^{18a} Large initial A.

- Nudos induite. ieiunos pascite. flentes!
 Mulcete. infirmos ferte. iuuate pigros
 Sufficiat uobis possessio *uestra*. caute!
 490 *Luxum. prohibite uana. tenete modum*
Vita sit exemplar pietatis. uosque probate
Actis. non uerbis. quelibet acta probent
Pauca sibi teneat. alijs det plurima uestra
Simplicitas. dare plus. quam retinere decet
 495 *Vestra sit in christo totalis gloria christum!*
Commoditas uobis religionis emat
Est leuis est fragilis. est fallax gloria mundi
Durat in eternum gloria sola dei
Vos plusquam uiuis moneo prodesse sepultis,
 500 *Cum sit mortalis quisque sepultus erit*
Ergo tricene[a]rium statuatur comunio uestra
Hecque sepulcorum turba tributa ferat
Verba recessurus. hec uobis desero. uestram!
His studeo uerbis. consolidare fidem.
- 10 Ro.
 505 *Mortem preuideo. iam mortis agone laboro*
Set quamuis moriar parte superstes ero
Pro me uiuetis. sic uiuere me facietis
Sic uiuam parte! pars nequit ista mori
Ducet in eternum uitam successio fratrum
 510 *Consimilesque mihi. tempora longa dabunt*
Hec habeo mortis solata. glorior isto
Vobiscum moriens. uiuere posse modo!
Saluo patre precor. 7 saluis fratribus ista!
Priuari uita. restituique noua
 515 *Exaudit¹⁹ diuina preces clementia seruj*
Hunc uocat ad celos ille uocatus abit.
Fratribus exoritur de morte molestia fratris
Qui quasi pastor erat et quasi frater eis.
Exequias celebrant. ca(n)tatur missa. sepulcrum!
 520 *Corpus habet. gaudet spiritus ante deum*
Argumenta deus noua dans in funere seruj!
Nos docet. hunc celi participare bonis.
Nam qua constituit mendicos ueste iuuari!
A tulit ipsa dies tempora mortis ei

¹⁹ Large initial E.

- 525 Que meruisse probat sibi lux *commencia* reddit!
 Ille bonis moriens ad bona *summa* uenit
 Patre miser. tristis solamine. *preside* lesus
 Consilio dubius. indiget eger ope.
 Fulgurat in celis. qui *perdit* in orbe nitorem.
- 530 *Fratres* lugentes. *fratre* carere dolent.
 Felix [uita] uiri. qui uite tempore. *templa*
 Trina. dedit trino. per tria lustra deo

10 Bis.²⁰

Non sine re debet locus hic *benujuere* dici!
 Hic melius languens. hic bene ujuat inops;
 Hic siciens potum. *ieiunus* prandia sumat;
 Hic nudum uestis. *quantulacumque* tegat;
 V Hic medicu[s] lesum *hostemque* receptet amicus.
 Omnis ut *omnia* sit. *omnibus* ista domus.
 [L]egitimo panis. *detur* libramine. sola!
 Migranti. reliquis. sit data libra duplex.
 [Q]uos tenet in lecto constricto *compede* morbus
 X *Detur* eis *quod* amat *deliciosa* fames
 [H]is ter in ebdomada. *det regula* carnibus utj!
 Pi[s]ces. aut reliquis. oua diebus eis;

11 Ro.

- Comendat uotum uox consentanea *fratrum*
 Comendat *fratres* quem sta[t]uere locum
- 535 Ampliat ardorem *fratrum* scintilla fauoris
 Quelibet assensu res *alimenta* capit
 Festinant *templique* modum tellure figurant
 Largo (ras. 1 litt.) *producta* limite fossa patet
 Sunt²¹ semper recitanda boni *preconia*, uirtus!
- 540 In promptu radios debet habere suos
 Ad bona co[m]pellunt nocuos. *exempla bonorum*
 Ergo decet *quoduis* enucleare bonum.
 Quid nitor occultus. *probitas* sine laude. quid aurum.
 In latebris prodest? *quid* sine teste bonum?
- 545 *Aquibus* excipitur iactantia laudis auara.²²
 Pictuarare decet laudis honore bona
 Prodeat in lucem didaci noua gloria. cuius!

²⁰ These lines are an appendix to, or rather a variant of, 283-87 and 357-63.

²¹ Large initial S.

²² Dots over iactantia and auara are signa coniunctiva.

- Sedulitas. proprio nescit abesse loco
 Cernit in errorem fratres procedere. cernit!
 550 Illos mandatum dediscisse suum
 Non sinit in cassum labi que iusserat. ipsos
 Fratres erroris non sinit esse reos
 Dum nox et noctis sponsus sopor ocia rerum!
 Producent. nutrix dum tenet omne quies
 555 Dum torpor sompni blanditur fratribus. frater!
 Peruigil in curis. plurima mente rotat
 Accedit didacus. eiusque cubilia tangit
 Nil terroris habens set uelut ante. pius
 Non ignoratur hic fratri. nec frater illi
 560 Hoc presente. frater exhilaratus. ait
 O frater potiusque pater. qui patris honore. Natum docuisti
 Nam tibi natus eram. (In a fine hand, one line, at the foot of
 the page.)

II Vo.

- Nascitur in sexta feria. nonis que nouembris!
 In celis. terra mortuus astra colit!
 Vndecies. centum. sex anni. septuaginta!
 Hic numerus christi carnis habendus erat
 565 Cum datus est terre. bona qui terrena refugit.
 Et quem post uitam uiuere fama facit.
 Dum²⁸ terrenus erat. terram signauerat. ipso!
 Tollere templa parans nobiliora loco
 Fata nouercantur gratis. parcuntque malignis.
 570 Plus licet ingrato uiuere. gratus obit
 Parce (ras. i litt.): dicuntur. set nolunt parcere. nolunt.
 Nominis explere significata sui
 Sunt mala fata bonis. sunt fata benigna malignis.
 Nil malus hec metuit. sunt metuenda bonis
 575 Vita bonis brevis est. set prodiga uita malignis.
 Plus durat gratis spina nociua rosis.
 Compositurus erat didacus. dictamina mentis.
 Set mors preueniens irrita uota facit . .
 Que sibi non licuit. socijs facienda reliquit.
 580 Propositi memores. esse rogauit eos.
 Proposito fratris. non est mens consona fratrum . . .
 Dicta probant grata non satis esse loca,

²⁸ Large initial D.

- Eligitur locus alter eis. qui gratior esse
 Creditur. inque bonis fertilis. esse patet
 585 Qui sine consilio timet euacuare statuta!
 Fratrum cetus. opem consiliumque rogat
 Confluit huc patrie prudentia. quemque locorum
 Metitur. pensat quam. sit uterque bonus.
- 12 Ro.
 Ergo decet regredi ueniamque precando mereri
 590 Atque uiri iusti. iusta statut sequi.
 Traxit in errorem stolidas transgressio mentes.
 Quod ratio dampnat. nil rationis habet . . .
 Cepta remittantur .cadat actio. uota quiescant.
 Res interdicta non ualet esse rata.
 595 Soluite promissum. didaci patrate statutum.
 Nos labor illius extulit. atque locum.
 Non caret effectu. blande facundia uocis.
 Fructificant uerbi semina. mentis agro
 Tempa loco surgunt predicto. clastra columpnis
 600 Tolluntur uarijs. sic opus haurit opes.
 Iam locus ad plenum traducitur omnia plene!
 Comoda plenus habet. munere quemque fouet
 Omnibus illa domus exponitur. omnibus ampla.
 Omnibus omne ferens. omnibus equa manet.
 605 Perpetuum nomen sibi contrahit actor ab actis
 Defunctus uite dona perhennis habet
 Nvnciat²⁴ ocasum didaci. fratrumque dolorem!
 Vnde facit regem fama dolere nocens
 Siccasset lacrimas fratrum gemitusque leuasset!
 610 Set sibi proposito marte remotus erat.
 Hostibus in conca clausis. castrisque locatis
 Astringebat eos obsidione grau
 Vocis opem. sensus lucem. morumque rigorem
 Hec tria rex didaci. mortua .morte dolet
 615 Ne loca turbet predonum turba ueretur
 Neue ferat dampnum preside nuda domus
- 12 Vo.²⁵
 Vite subductus in uitam duceris. imo,
 Penis non uite: uita fit ista labor . . .
 Plenius esse facit. tua me presentia letum

²⁴ Large initial N.

²⁵ 12 vo. should be followed by 14 vo.

- 620 Votis occurris uotaque plena facis . . .
 De teneb[r]is dubij me subtrahe. lampade digni!
Consilij. mentem dirige queso meam
 Sollicito fer opem. *tristem* solare. labentem.
Confirma .penam deme. reflecte uagum.
- 625 Clareat et dubium tollat de mente uoluntas!
 Alleuiet curas cognita cura meas.
 Est ne nouis discors tua cura paratibus. errant!
Fratres. qui minime iussa tenenda tenent?
 Subicit ista suis didaci responsio uerba.
- 630 Si sequéris que sunt tradita gratus eris.
Quid tibi post uitam. bene. *quid mihi*: fac bene uiues.
 Dic facienda *mihi*. iussa tenenda tene
 Me penitus tua iussa sequi promitto. *set* edas
 Quo melius templa constituenda putas . . .
- 635 Propositum didacus primum docet esse tenendum.
 Post hec uerba fratrem deses(r)it atque locum
 Impiger. 7 uisis hilaratus surgit. ad illum!
Conueniunt fratres. incipit ergo loquj
 Indico uerbis noua gaudia. gaudeat ergo.
- 640 Vnio conuentus. leta referre paro.
 Uos gaudere iubet didacus. qui gaudet in astris.
 Quj sua descripsit gaudia nocte *mihi* . . .
 Vos sua *conqueritur* excedere iussa suumque.
 In uobis uotum non habuisse statum (locum)
- 13 Ro.
 645 Premittit fomenta sui ieiunia. uentres!
 Euacuat .uires eripit. ora citat . . .
 Acrior ense fames. telóque nocencior. arma!
 Non timet. armatis! imperiosa manet
 Offert se regi uictoria. supplicat hostis
- 650 Claustra relaxantur.²⁶ opida uictor habet
 Plus amat armorum lucrum. quam lucra locorum . . .
 Plurima lucra (a ras.) tur arma. lucrando locum
 Omnibus accumulatur stipendia. sufficit omni
 Quod recipit. nullus munere plura cupit
- 655 Edicit redditus tuba .preuia signa feruntur,
 In patriam redeunt. plausus ubique datur . . .
 Plebis in ore sonat laus regis. facta recensat

²⁶ Corr. from relaxantur.

- Et maiora suis laudibus illa uident
 Nescit amor labi. quem mente sigillat honestas!
 660 Quid decet 7 gratum est pulcrius omnis amat
 Post reditum. regi sunt prima negocia. fratres!
 Solari. penas alleuiare mali.
 Gaudia fert secum regis presentia. letos!
 Se perhibent regi. set dolor angit eos.
 665 Rex^{26a} non ignorans uultus mendacia leti
 Verbis solamen his sibi ferre cupit
 Cum dampnum mortis sit ineuitabile cunctis!
 Est uanum quemquam pro moriente queri.
 Est nobis generale mori. communio mortis!
 670 Equales miseros regibus esse facit.
 Mors mihi. mors uobis. mors omnibus inuida! uobis!
 A ustulit auxilium. consiliumque michi
- 13 Vo.
 Ergo iubet peditem subcingi. uerbaque di(c)tat,
 Que uoti fuerant expositiua suj . . .
 675 Hec erat illius intencio ne bona fratrum!
 Corruerent. set se preside tuta forent . . .
 Est data prefectis sententia. quod bona demi!
 Si paciantur. erunt lumina dempta sibi
 Sic fragiles protemsa iuuant munimina regis.
 680 Rex licet amotus nescit abesse suis
 Grande ueretur honus. tenuis uigor. absque uigore!
 Vox mea materie grande ueretur honus
 Non²⁷ bene mendico resonat laus regis in ore.
 Dissona sunt uoci regia facta mée
 685 Me tamen in regis transfert presumptio laudes
 Gratibus est dignus qui tribuit quod habet
 Comodus est humili collectus ab arbore fructus . . .
 Voce licet tenui commoda uerba damus
 Rex cuius meritis uictoria semper adheret!
 690 Non nisi perfecto marte redire solet,
 Edicit uineta iugis. 7 semina campis
 Committi. messis prouenit. uua tumet
 Quadrantur lapides. quos tollit in acra turris.
 Tectorum struitur ordine uicus ibi.
 695 A quibus excludunt loca premunita timorem!

^{26a} Large initial R.²⁷ Large initial N.

Bella fame[i]s uictu deficiente timent
 Sola famis clausis *dominatur* uincere. clausos!
 Sola potest. *regem* uincere sola studet
 Expugnare locum soli datur. unica fortes!
 700 Debilitat. pingues rodit. obestque probis

14 Ro.

Que iuris iuris. patet *esse*[uiri] mei iure reguntur,
 Ad mea iura redit quod fuit ante meum
 Confiteor uos esse meos. letorque meorum,
 Hanc sibi particulam constituisse .deum
 705 Vos non dico meos quasi princeps. *set* quasi custos
 Vos custodire. non remouere paro
 Prode[r]o plus didaco. *quia* plus pr[o]desse licebit
 Nam quodcumque datur me sibi dante dedit
 Ame .dona tulit. quotiens sibi dona petiuit
 710 Dicia sunt donis. hec loca facta meis
 Quid moror in uerbis: nil uerba ualent sine factis,
 Se debet factis quisque probare suis
 Plurima donat eis. minor est *promissio* donis.
 Redditus augetur comoditate maris.
 715 Plena bonis sub patre bono. patre sub meliore!
 Fit melior. recipit dum meliora domus.
 Cum grauet expensis loca cetera religionis.
 His penitus uitat *gratius* esse locis.
 Vtilis aduentu loca sepius ista reuisit.
 720 Plurima largitur. *set* nichil inde capit
 Sit felix *per* quem loca sunt felicia. sit rex
 Ille diu. blande qui sua regna regit . . .
 Qui uita prodest. est dignus uiuere. uiuat
 Rex longum. *cujus* comoda uita patet
 725 Sit locus eternus. bona sint eterna locorum.
 Permaneant sancti. qui loca *sancta* colunt.
 Quam meruit *terris*. didaco sit gloria celis.
 Cum *christo* uiuat. cui pia uita fuit Explicit.
 (Cursive s. XVI) aqui acaba la uida de diego marty
 nez fundador de Beneuiere
 llamado el santo fue tambien gran²⁸

²⁸ Remainder cut off by binder's knife: the text must have added "maestre de la orden de caballeria de santiago". See last page of the complete text.

14 Vo.

- A misit pius exemplar. speculumque benignus.
 730 Tristis solamen consiliumque reus
Cum blando blandus. pauper *cum* paupere. letus!
Cum leto. sapiens *cum* sapiente fuit.
 Frena dabat uicijs. pietate timendus iniquis.
 Calcar erat pigris. reticulumque uagis.
 735 Palpabat miseros. culpabat uoce superbos.
 Deque malis studuit mundificare malos
 Mors nostris hilarata malis *cum* substulit illum!
 Dampna tulit uobis! plurima. multa *mihi*
 Non fuit huic *precio* polluta loquutio. fraudes!
 740 Munificas spreuit. iuris amauit opes,
 Sic mors cuncta rapit. sic ledit cuncta rapinis,
 Post didaci raptum. sic rapiemur ei
 Ne mala sutineat. domus hec mendica patrono!
 Orba suo. saluo *patre* patronus ero.
 745 Defunti redimet mea cura uicaria dampnum
 Preside me. *cumulus* non minuetur opum
 Libera sub didaco. plus libertatis habebit
 Et sub maiori *preside* maior erit.
 Plus erit illa potens. *quia* nostra potentia maior
 750 Fures proscribam corripiamque malos
 Me faciam uobis didacum. didacique recepto!
 Officio. didaco non minus aptus ero
 Vester ero. uestri custodia. uestra fouebo
 Vt didaco uestrum cuique benignus ero
 755 Me tria luquantur uobis loca subdita iuri
 Compositoris amor. religionis honor

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GESTES DES SOLLICITEURS—A SIXTEENTH CENTURY
METRICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ABUSES OF LAW
COURTS, BY EUSTORG DE BEAULIEU

ONE of the most popular subjects of late fifteenth century "Farces et sotties" was the abuses of every-day life, and of those abuses, the injustice of judges, lawyers and other court officials, and above all, the long and tedious delays of court proceedings came in for a large share of popularity.

It is not our purpose here to give a study of that phase of literature. We are all familiar with Gringore's "Abus du Monde,"¹ and his advice:

Baillifz prevostz lieutenants aduocas
Et procureurs pensez bien a voz cas
Que voz langues ne soient en deux parties
.....
Quant soustenez faulz et mauuais proces
Ceulx qui le font commettent maintz exces.

The "sot corrompu"² who harangues the "procureurs, advocatz," is voicing a very common sentiment. The collections of "moralities" abound with examples.

From the "farces et sotties" these subjects found their way into the poetry of the early part of the sixteenth century. (In another study we shall see the close relationship between the subject-matter and vocabulary of the stage and the poetry of that period.)

Meschinot, in the "Lunettes des Princes"³ exclaims:

Iuge qui est sans equite
Cuydes tu auoir paradis
Estre absoulz remis & quitte
Si tu trompes gens par addis

¹ Gringore.—*Les Abus du Monde* (par Pierre Gringore) novel/ement imprimé a Paris//s. l. n. d in-8 goth. B. N. Rés. p. Ye. 420.

² Picot, Émile.—*Recueil général des sotties*. Anciens textes fr. T. II, p. 30.

³ Meschinot, *Les lunettes des princes* . . . 1495. in-8. B. N. Rés. Ye. 1313. Fol. E. iiiii. v°.

De proces mal prepara dis
 Qui griefue aultruy pource entence
 De fol iuge briefue sentence.

Collerye,⁴ too wrote on that subject. *Jean Bouchet*⁵ devotes many strophes of his "Temple de bonne Renommée" to lamenting the vices of judges, and in his short poems we find such titles as: "Rondeaux aux praticiens; aux juges; balade touchant les procureurs & praticiens," and others.

In prose, *Rabelais*⁶ puts in the mouth of a judge who is of Pantagruel's convictions: "ces replicques, duplicques, reproches, salvations, et aultres telles diableries, n'estoient que subversion de droit et allongement de proces." Finally, in the seventeenth century, *Molière* takes the opportunity in the "*Fourberies de Scapin*,"⁷ of ridiculing these same abuses: "Jetez les yeulx sur les détours de la justice. Voyez combien d'appels et de degrés de juridiction; combien de procédures embarrassantes; combien d'animaux ravissants par les griffes desquels il vous faudra passer: sergens, procureurs, avocats, greffiers, substituts, rapporteurs, juges, et leurs clerks . . . C'est être damné dès ce monde que d'avoir à plaider; et la seule pensée d'un procès serait capable de me faire fuir jusqu'aux Indes . . ."

Eustorg de Beaulieu,⁸ an obscure poet of the beginning of the sixteenth century, had a very personal experience with such law-courts and left a vivid description of them in a poem entitled, "Les

⁴ Collerye, Oeuvres, Paris, Roffet, 1536. in-8. B. N. Rés. Ye. 1411. (Rondeau xxxii).

⁵ Bouchet . . . "Cy apres/suyuent xiii. Ron/deaulx . . . 1536. Paris, Denys Ianot. B. N. Rés. Ye. 1637. Fol. A. v. v°. Cf. also: Le Temple de Bonne Renommée, etc. Paris, Galliot du Pré, 1516. B. N. Rés. Ye. 357. Fol. xxj. r°, etc.

⁶ Rabelais, Oeuvres, ed. Moland. Pantagruel, Bk. II, Ch. xi, p. 140.

⁷ Molière, Oeuvres, Paris, ed. Garnier. Bk. II, p. 586.

⁸ *Beaulieu* was born at the end of the fifteenth century and died in 1552. The "Gestes" was first printed at Bordeaux in 1529, a second edition by the same printer (Jehan Guyart) in 1530, a third in 1537, and it was reproduced, remodelled, in a volume of poems by Beaulieu entitled "Les Divers Rapportz," Lyons, 1537. (*Library of Versailles, Fonds Goujet No. 248.*) The text given here is from the Divers Rapportz. A ballad precedes the "Gestes."

A dissertation on *Beaulieu* for Columbia University by the writer of this article will appear in the course of the year.

Gestes des Solliciteurs de Proces." In a "rondeau" following the poem he concludes :

Est pis que femme, que de proces auoir.

LES GESTES DES SOLLICITEURS DE PROCES, CEST A SCAUOIR, LA DESCRIPTION DAULCUNS LABEURS, TANT DE LESPERIT QUE DU CORPS OU CEULX QUI SOLLICITENT/ MESMEMENT EN LEUR NOM & CAUSE PROPRE/ SONT CONTINUELLEMENT, COMPOSEES PAR LAUC-TEUR, LUY ESTANT A BORDEAUX. LAN MILLE CINQ CENS VINGT & NEUF, LA OU IL SOLLICITOIT POUR RECOUURER SON PATRIMOINE.

Lorsque Vesta la mere de Cibelle
Comme iadis ne se monstroit si belle
Ayant perdu Ceres et Priapus
Et que Thetis ne nous rendoit repeuz
Ains oublyant la terre Francigene
Portoit pasture a Lalienigene
Ie fuz forcloz de toucher plus des mains
Mon Espinette ou souloye iouer maintz
Petis motetz de la douce Musique
Mon Harpe (aussi) comme une chose oblique
Pendis au Croc veu laffaire ou ie suis
Et lors, pensant a ce que ie poursuis
Rememoray les pertes et dommages
Et les trauaulx de plusieurs personnages
Qui sont contraintz chascun en son degre
Solliciter (voire outre leur bon gre)
Pour recouurer ce (comme ilz maintiennent)
Contre raison les autres leur detiennent
Aussi d'aucuns qui pour garder leur bien
Leur fault souffrir de mal Dieu scait combien
Soy deffendant par voye de iustice
De leurs hayneux plains de plaict et malice?

Et comme serf des moindres serviteurs
Des surnommez que on dit solliciteurs
Desquelz me tiens (a grant regret) du nombre
Ay entreprins, son ne me faict encombre
Mettre en escript ung peu des malheurtez
Ung peu (dis ie) dont nous sommes heurtez
Car qui voudroit entierement escripre

Tout le travail que un tout seul de nous tire
Ie ne croy point qu'au vray eust de cent ans
Descriptz les maulx que nous sommes sentans.

Premierement voulente forcenee

Dient devers nous comme une ame damnee
Et nous incite a commencer proces
Nous remonstrant que pour le moindre exces
Qu'on nous a fait ou qu'on pretend de faire
Nous deuons plaindre, ou au juge ordinaire
Au senneschal ou bien au parlement
Mais la meschante en ce trop parle et mente.

Vengeance apres, malveillance et malice

Et fol espoir d'avoir briefve iustice
Et nous enuoyent aux Salles et parquetz,
Ou l'on desduict noz causes, promouantes
A plaidoyer (souuent mal apparentes)
Et plusieurs foyz a tort et sans raison
Nous trouuons la qui n'en fust pas saison
Et mesmement quant on Appointe au Iuge
Contre ung de nous qui y attendoit reffuge
Ce que voyons bien souuent advenir.

Or est il vrai (pour au propos venir)

Qu' apres avoir noz causes recitees
D'un coste et d'autre et au long discutees
Le Iuge (alors), qui bien escoute aura
Noz advocatz apres appointera
Ce que (ie croy) il verra le plus licite
Mais quoy qu'il fasse, ne de bouche recite
Entre autres cas tant de delays donra
Que Teste, Corps et Piedz nous en doulera.
Pource que (lors) pendant ses entrefaictes
Perdrons le temps, tant iours ouvriers que festes.

Or ce voyant devers nous vient soucy

Malayse avec, qui sont gens sans mercy
Et ne fault point (pour croistre nostre peyne)
D'estre avec eux, ennuy leur cappitaine
Lesquelz souldars nous fault entretenir
En attendant que puissons parvenir
Hors de leurs mains par arrest ou sentence
Mais cependant faisons grant penitence
Et ne fust il que l'aller et venir

Que nous faisons sans pouvoir paruenir
(Que sur le tard) a fin de nostre entente
Dont n'avons membre au corps qui s'en contente.

Nostre dict Iuge apres fault supplier
Qu'a ce besoing ne nous vueille oublyer
Luy presentant corps, biens, et tout service
Pour que luy plaise estre envers nous propice
Mais nonobstant, souvent tel preschement
Nous sert autant comme au commencement
Et plusieurs foys a son logies on trote
Qui nous faict faire a son huys la marote.

Nos advocatz et procureurs aussi
Nous fault prier qui'lz prennent du soucy
Pour nostre affaire, et si bien nous deffendent
Que noz Hayneux en fin ne nous gourmandent
Et les en fault iour et nuit sans cesser
Importuner, requerer, et presser
Car si de ceulx ne nous vient l'auditoire
Mal nous ira comme il est tout notoire.
Aussi ne fault se monstrier negligent
A leur bailler toutz les iours (presque) argent
Et a leurs clerks pour doubler prothocolles
Du faire extraictz de lettres & vieulx rolles.

Semblablement maintesfois au greffier
Nous fault aller, qui de son gre fier
Ne nous veult piece ou sac qu'on luy applique
Non pas souffrir qu'entrons en sa boutique
Ains descouuers, (et son argent au poing
Pour l'Acte auoir) nous faict parer de loing
Et a l'attendre ainsi sommes seruiles
Quoy que soyons loing de nos domiciles.

L'acte levee, il nous conuient huyt iours
Quinze, ou ung moys, sans prendre aulcuns seiours
Estre attendans tant qu'au parquet on sonne
La dicte cause, ou le iuge encore donne
D'autres delays qui nous font enrager
Veu que souuent n'auons plus que menger,
Mais il est force (eussions nous mal de ventre)
D'attendre encore que le dict Iuge rentre
Dans le pretoire, ou bien peu pensera
De nostre cas qui ne l'en pressera

Et si sans craincte (a quelque'heure oportune)
Trois iours devant on ne l'en importune
Ce que faisons de vouloir courageux
Combien qu'il die trop vous estes fascheux
Venez demain, vous me rompez la teste.

Ce neanmoins ne fault point qu'on s'arreste
Ne qu'on estime a commetre pesche
Pour le presser d'estre tost despeche
Voire trotter iusques a son habitacle
Six foyz le iour, encor sera miracle
S'en noz patoys il nous escouterà
Et ces Moyens de delays durera
Non pas une foyz, ne deux, ne troys, ne quatre,
Mais si souuent qu'on se peult bien esbatre
A veoir la ville et les beaulx bastiemens
Quoy qu'on vouldist d'autres esbatemens.

Payer nous fault aussi force escriptures
C'est à scauoir instrumens, et procures
Appointemens, contractz, lettres royaulx
Et tant d'exploictz de ces sergens loyaulx
Congez, deffaulx, demandes et deffenses,
Seaulx, contredictz, actes, signetz, dispenses
Doubles, rapportz, cas d'opposition
Causes aussi, de recusations
Auec moyens de faulcete, memoires
Forse d'objectz, reobjectz, inuentoirs
Chercher partout Cedulles et Terriers
Sans reposer non plus que gabarriers
Saluations, corrigez, et replicques
Proces Verbaux, raisons de droit dupplicques,
Cryees et bans et subastations
Et de decretz interpositions
Rolles, papiers, ethiquetes et cartes
Vieulx bulletins, registres et pancartes
Et autres cas, selon les grans excès
Et qualite d'aucuns diuers proces
Ausquelz n'a trou qu'on ny trouue cheville
Dont d'auoir droit chascun raille et babille.

Toutce bagaige (en payant) fault lever
Ou bien souuent ne faisons que resuer
Et maintes foyz en la nuyt taciturne

Repetissons nostre faict diurne
Et caquetons (dormans comme souris)
De noz proces, faisant gestes et rys.
S'enqueste ya, Tirer la fault du Greffe
Laye ou Cothee ou par D, E, ou F.
Et la leuer pour produire ung matin
Dont les greffiers recoyuent bon butin
Aussi leurs clerks n'ont pas moindre spectacle
Que leur donnons d'argent quelque signacle.
Ce que faisons ou serions mal venus.

Or apres ce, s'en noz faictz maintenus
N'auons este en la court subalterne
Et que vueillons que le cas se discerne
En parlement, ou serons appelez
Ou appellans, et souuent compellez
A comparoir sur peyne de l'emende
Dire on pourroit Freres ie vous demande
Que faictes vous au beau commencement
Si de la cause ayez l'auancement.

Quant a ce point nous disons pour responce
Que tout premier chascun d'entre nous fonce
Or ou argent pour faire visiter
Noz, Cartipeaulx, et au long consulter
Et choisissons pour faire cest office
Des clerks scauans au faict de la iustice
Lesquelz nous dyent les pieces plus nuisans
Qui sont es sacz de noz contredisans.
Et a quelz fins contre nous les produisent
Pour y deffendre au cas qu'elles nous nuisent
Monstrent aussi le droit du deffendeur
Tout aussi bien comme du demandeur.
Voyant les sacz de chascune partie
Dont pour ce faire (auant la departie)
Ilz ont de nous Chascun deux beaulx Testons
Ou plus, ou moins, selon que les mettons
Parfond en danse & leur donnons de peyne
Quoy que souuent nous mectent hors Dalayne
En nous disant—Vous n'y avez nul droit.
Dont ce voyant pensez si l'on voudroit
Rire, chanter, ne autre passetemps prendre
Veu le Rapport qu'ilz nous font lors entendre.

Et en faisant ces consultations
Ces resultatz, & probations,
Ne cuidez pas qu'en ayons assez d'une
Non pas de dix selon l'oeuvre importune
Et que a tout iour ne nous faille foncer
Or ou argent et par tout desbourcer.

Après cela, si le conseil ordonne
Que poursuyuons et la matiere est bonne
Nous enuoyons (dans trois moys ou plus brief)
De nostre appel querir ung beau relief
Lequel nous couste ou parchemin ou cyre
Ou les exploitz au moins si l'on desire
De s'en ayder, une somme d'argent
Comptant les iours de l'huyssier ou sergent.

Tout cella faict, il nous conuient conclure
Metant au greffe (a coup) nostre procure
Et de rechef a d'aultres aduocatz
Et procureurs, remonstrer nostre cas
Les abreuuant, non de vin ne de biere
Ains de litige, hayne, noyse, et misere
Or après ce (qui n'est que commencer)
Nous est besoing mieulx que iamais penser
De nostre affaire, et en forme notoire
Leuer ung grant libelle appellatoire
Pour que court voye au long mieulx noz cas
Lequel feront noz susdictz aduocatz

En y couchant (s'ilz ont bonne cervelle)
Loix et decretz en forme la plus belle
Que en tout leur sens peuent ymaginer
Tant que a le voir ne scaurions mal finer
Comme il nous semble, au motz tant auctentiques
Qui sont dedans et les belles replicques
Mais maintesfois nonobstant tout cela
L'on nous condempne et demourons de la
Ce neantmoins ne fault estre rebelle
En beaulx escus payer le dit libelle
Non luy (ie resue) ains cil qui l'aura faict
Quoy que souuent ne serue a nostre faict.

Puis est besoing de faire noz sacz mettre
Entre les mains de quelque Homme de lettre
Le quel soit l'ung des Messieurs de la court

En luy priant qu'il nous en fasse court
Et luy baillant tous ses matins requeste
Le supplyant que au nom de Dieu s'apreste
Pour iceulx veoir, puis est tout cuident
Qu'il fault aller au premier president
Ou au second, au tiers, ou au quatriesme,
Et luy compter nostre affaire de mesme
Mais ce faisant Si passons oultre a l'huys
Souuent ung gueux nous dit pour tous deduitz
Vuydez dehors iusques que monsieur sorte
Vous estes sotz, et de mauuaise sorte
D'entrer ceans sans y estre appelez.

Lors appellans (soyons) ou appelez
Nous conuiendra boyre ceste amertume
Quoy que iadis ne l'eussions de coustume.

Mais si quelcung de nous donne ung grant blanc
A ce Gaultier il yra iusques au bancq
Dudit seigneur, trenchant du varlet sage
Et faignant estre ung tres loyal messaige
Disant, Monsieur, il y a des gens icy
Pieça actendantz que vous signez cecy
Ou qui vous prient escouter leuraffaire
Et en cella nous sert de commissaire.

Souuent aussi de nous ne luy souuient
Parquoy nous fault veoir si nul autre vient
Actendant l'heure (encor) ioignant la porte
Que de monsieur nouuelle on nous apporte

Puis vient quelcung qui dict qu'il n'y est pas
Ou qu'il repose, ou qu'il prent son repas
Dont nous convient, soit vray ou non, le croire
Sans plus penser, ne mettre inuentoyre
Le vent, le froit, la pluye, ou le grant chauld,
Qui deuant l'huys de cil a qui n'en chault,
Aurons souffert (ie ne scay combien d'heures)
Sans auoir veu ne dict mot de noz heures,
Voyant cela, il nous fault cheminer
Iusques au logis pour soupper ou disner.

Mais s'il est cas qu'ayons faict grant demeure
Garde n'auons que l'hoste nous demeure.
Ains le Repas que apreste nous aura
Souuent trouuons que autrui le mengera

Et sur ce point si rencontrons l'hostesse
Elle nous chante (en note) une grande messe,
Non de Requiem, ains de payer d'escot
Allegant plus que maistre Iehan Lescot.

Et s'on luy dit qu'il n'y a apparence
A ung ieuneur de payer sa despence
Par sa logique elle vient arguer
Tout au contraire, et nous redarguer
Si haultement que n'auons Bec ne langue
Qui souldre sceust sa furieuse harengue
Dont nous conuient a la laisser bellement
Crier (& brayre). Or apres ce torment
Nous descendons iusque a l'establierye
Veoir si cheval est qu'en l'estable rye
Pour son avoyne, ou la moytie du temps
(Dont ie ne scay ceulx qui en sont contens)
Nous les trouuons debout sans foing ne paille
Court estachez par ung tas de fripaille
Et meschans gars, a qui l'hoste se entend
Qui est Larron s'il y est consentant.
Mais quoy qu'il soit nosditz cheuals endurent
Plusieurs desrois et mainte nuyt demeurent
Scellez, bridez, et gras comme ung Tretteau
En contemplans la facon du rasteau.

Et tout cecy (ou ne serions pas sages)
Humer nous fault malgre de noz visages
Cerchant moyen, tant par montz que par vaulx
(Si argent nous fault) de vendre iceulx cheuaulx
Pour que du pris (entre autres entrefaictes)
Passons le temps a faire des requestes
Puis tous les iours actendre en quelque coing
Le president et les luy mettre au poing
Luy requerant de pouruoir au malayse
Que nous souffrons, et que pour Dieu luy plaise
Nous despecher, veue la longue saison
Que nul de nous ne fut a sa maison.

Maint autre ennuy, labeur, et patience,
Nous fault souffrir pour avoir audience
Et n'est celuy quel qu'il soit d'entre nous
Que pour l'auoir ne s'en mette a genoulx
Soit il seigneur ou porteur de bezasses,

Encor s'il la peult bien rendre a Dieu graces
 Et si cuydons l'auoir souuentes fois
 Que ne l'auons apres de quatre moys
 Ains y musons, voire si tres long terme
 Que n'auons Pied, que nous soubstienne ferme
 Et ne soit las de courir et troter
 Oultre la peine au soir a descroter
 Noz vestementz (pour faire a maintz la suyte)
 Souuent (qu'est pis) mourons a la poursuyte.
 Aux Conseillers & gens de Parlement
 Fault chascung iour continuellement
 Bailler (aussi) tant des dictes Requestes
 Que contrainctz soyent sans user de deffaictes
 Nous despecher & metre hors de Proces

Mais leur dire est, Taisez vous, c'est assez
 Ou pouruoyra a vostre cas sans doute

Ce nonobstant, encor fault qu' on escoute
 Longtemps apres attendant quant viendra
 L'heure & le tour qu'il leur en souuiendra.

Pas ne disons que en proces ilz nous tiennent
 Et de parolle (ainsi) nous entretiennent
 Car bien voyons qu'ilz ne se faignent pas
 En nostre affaire et que en tout fault compas
 Presupposant que maintz autres affaires
 Leur fault vuyder (a eulx plus necessaires)
 Et tout chascung qui le cuyde face autrement
 Ie croy qu'il erre en son entendement.

Or apres ce et autres diligences
 Mille soucys, fraiz, mises & despenses
 Par cours de temps nostre proces est prest
 Sur le bureau, et tost apres l'arrest
 En l'audience, ou a la barre on prononce
 De peur duquel le front nous ryde et fronce.
 Car, plusieurs foyz (dont sommes estonnez)
 Perdons la Cause et sommes condampnez
 Et lors se void nostre oppiniastrierie
 Nostre malice & faulse tromperie.

Mais si gaignons, nous fault force d'escuz
 Despendre encore, pour mieulx rendre vaincuz
 Noz ennemys, et sur leur plateforme
 Les canonner de nostre arrest en forme

Qui coustera selon qu'il sera grant
Et n'est viuant qui nous porte garant
Que n'en payons (ou de la signature)
Ce que lestile apporte par droicture
Le clerc aussi qui l'aura mys au net
En aura Robe ou pourpoint ou bonnet
S'il a esprit comme maintz clerks propices.

Puis conuiendra que payons les espices
Au bon seigneur qui raport aura faict
De nostre affaire, et puis aurons nous faicts
Non pas si tost, car les droictz nous recitent
Que aux procureurs qui pour nous sollicitent
Baillons argent veu qu'ilz nous ont seruis
Contre ceulx la qui nous ont poursuyuis
Semblablement (comme est raison patente)
Noz aduocatz fault aussi qu'on contente.
Quoy que souuent maintz desditz procureurs
Et aduocat̃z (graves comme empereurs)
Nous font muser et songer a leur porte
Sans pouuoir de eulx finer en nulle sorte.
Et maintesfois comme chascun peult veoir
En noz Proces tresmal font leur deuoir
Et a leur faulte auons souuent du pire
Mais leur excuse est (apres) de nous dire
Que on nous a faict euidemment grant tort.
Pensez si c'est a nous plaisant confort.

Ou bien nous dyent que a faulte de produire
Quelque pancarte, ou pour ne les instruire
Sur quelque point et leur en souuenir
Que a noz desirs n'auons peu paruenir.
Voyla comment aucuns d'iceulx nous chargent
Du tort qu'ilz ont, et comme ilz s'en deschargent.

Il est bien vray que a faulte de monstrier
Aucune piece, ou de bien remonstrier
Aux dessus ditz noz faictz sans menterie
Voyons souuent par tel meschanterie
Perdre la cause en beau plain iugement
Mais soit ainsi ou du tout autrement
A perte ou gaing pour bien que sachons faire
Raison ne veult qu'ilz perdent leur salaire
Et chez telz gens ne fault chercher credit.

Mais si gaignons (comme est ia deuant dit)
Quant se viendra le temps que voudrions mettre
Nostre oeuure a fin et du tout s'entremettre
De executer ce que porte l'arrest,
Cuydant tout seur trouuer nostre cas prest
Et la partie au Roy obeyssante
(Comme deburoit & n'estre reffusante)
Aux mandemens de Messieurs de la Court
Le plus souuent y reculle tout court
En appellant ne feust que de la Tauxe
Des seuls despens et nous baille la saulce
Nous enuoyant de rechef rudement
Deuant lesdictz seigneurs en parlement.
Ou fault encore discuter la matiere
Diceulx despens faisant piteuse chere
Ou, se aydera d'une Appellation
Du commissaire en faisant mention
Qu'il luy faict grief & que mal l'execute
Parquoy conuient que l'affaire on dispute
Encore ung coup deuant nosditz seigneurs
On endurons (hellas) peines greigneurs
Que parauant, voyant qu'on nous retourne
Au premier lieu et que l'on nous destourne
Du bon espoir que auions de voir le bout
De nostre affaire, et en estre hors du tout.

Donq, derechef, sommes contraincts d'entendre
Plus que iamais a noz causes deffendre,
Et en ce point demeurer iusque a trestant
Joyeux & supra et tousiours escoutant
Que fine soit le terme competent
Que ung autre arrest sur ces appeaulx s'ensuyue
Auquel iamais ne trouuons fons ne riue
Et a grand peyne en pouuons veoir la fin.
Ou s'il est cas que ung de nous soit si fin
Et diligent qu'il ayt brefue iustice
Si peult
Si est il seur que encore qu'il vesquisse
Cent ans apres et tous les iours ouurer
Qu'il ne pourra la mise recouurer
Que faicte aura (pendant la playdorie)
Quoy quaye arrest selon sa fantaisie.

Parquoy disons qu'il est trop plusque heureux
Qui n'a proces. Et par trop malheureux
Qui n'en a que ung (fust il dunc alumete).
Car quelque argent que iamais l'homme y mette
Il est certain que oncques n'en tirera
Le tiers Denier, ou Miracle sera.

Pensez y doncques vous aultres folles testes
Cauillateurs, & gens plains de deffaictes
Qui ne tachez que a fuyr a raison,
Car vous voyez en tout temps & saison
Quel loyer ont ceulx qu'ont faict resistance
Contre bon droict Car pour leur penitence
Leur est enioingt destre (a la fin) rendus
A l'hospital poures et morfondus.

Dieu qui tout voit nous face a tous la grace
De nous oster l'hardiesse et l'audace
Et fol desir de poursuyre iamais
Sans le bon droict car c'est ung mauuails metz
Aussi luy plaise impartir la science
Aux gens lettrez que selon conscience
Rien nous dient contraire a verite
Car ce faisant feront grant charite
Enuers plusieurs plus durs que une massue
Qui de proces ne pensent a l'yssue.

Or (donq) vous toutz & toutes qui lirez
Ces Gestes cy, si bien vous y mirez
Vous cognoistrez la trespiteuse vie
Que nous menons dont n'aurez pas enuie
Si nous croyez car nous vous promettons
Que des trauuaulx & des fraiz mettons
En ce Libelle et de nostre infortune
Nen escripuons (non pas) des cent partz l'une.

Et entre ce que auons dessus touche
Croyez pour vray que n'auons pas couche
Touchant les fraiz, l'argent que noz requestes
Peuent couster voire apres que sont faictes
Car (comme on scait) pour les signifier
A noz Hayneux et leur notifier
Il est besoing que ung huyssier face a face
Fasse cela puis rapport nous en face
Duquel rapport a six blancz ou troys solz

Chascune foyz pour l'escripre au dessoubz.

Aussi Dieu scait si les apres dinees
 Nous coustent rien ou si nous sont donnees
 Desquelles fault que faisons plus de sept,
 Ou plus ou moins et puis encor Dieu scait
 Si les huyssiers, sergens & commissaires
 Nous presteront une heure leurs salaires
 Apres auoir faict l'execution
 Du contenu en leur commission
 Sans reciter tantd'aultres besoignetes
 Et le dangier des flateurs et foignetes
 Et d'ung grant tas de fins Inquisiteurs
 Qui font rapport a noz compediteurs,
 Et maintes fois crochetent quelque piece
 De nostre Sac, que ne voyons en piece
 Souuent (aussi) pour mieulx nous mettre a sac,
 Nous vont cacher ou desrober le sac.
 Puis n'est buffet, table, banq, coffre, ou perche
 Ou, sus & soubz, nous n'en faisons la cherche
 Et dauantaige, (quoy que nous couste cher)
 Fault que louuons des gens pour le chercher.
 Qui nous revient (s'on le veult bien noter)
 A une peyne incroyable a porter.
 Sans le salaire aux Clercz qu'en cest affaire
 Nous commectons, Qui pour le dict salaire
 Nous font muser, ayant souuent sur eulx
 Ce que cherchons (O larrons malheureux
 De quoy vous sert nostre pert & dommage
 Fors que Denfer vous donne l'heritage?
 Et que vous vault de nous faire chercher
 Ce qu'est trouue, qui nous couste tant cher?)

Voy la que c'est, Oultre mainte aultre mise
 Qui ne nous est ne rendue ne promise
 Et qui iamais en Tauxe ne reuient
 Sans tout plain d'autre affaire, qui suruiuent.

Pource seigneurs et dames de noblesse
 Aussi tout autre euitez la destresse
 Ou sont posez pources solliciteurs
 Loing de Credit & de Coadiuteurs
 Et auisez ains que prendre course
 Qu'ayez bon droict, ou au moins bonne Bourse

Sans oblyer Diligence & grand soing
Car ce sont ceulx qui seruent au besoing.
Ou aultrement, ne serez ia si fermes
Ne si remplis de propos & bons termes
Que de Ieuner n'ayez occasion
Non pas par voeu ne par deuotion
(Comme aulcuns font selon diuers usages)
Ains par contraincte & maulgre voz visages
Car plus souuent que vous ne voudriez pas
Faulte Dargent viendra sur voz Repas.

Pour faire fin, Le plus seur seroit bien
De laisser perdre une part de son Bien
Que de plaider, Veu que sans menterie
Proces n'est rien qu'une grand Diablerie
Ung Purgatoire, ou plustost ung Enfer
Que disons nous? Mais est ung Lucifer
Qui (comme on dict) tout iour ronge ses Chaynes
Et ne paruient iamais hors de ses peynes
Fuyez, fuyez, fuyez (donc) ces Proces
Et a dormir plustost vous exercez
Fuyez ces Plaidz, car c'est une despence
Dont aulcung na que Dueil pour recompense.

Or donq, a toutz & toutes souuiendra
De les fuyr, Et bien vous en viendra.

Fin, des Gestes des Solliciteurs de Proces.

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MISCELLANEOUS

DANGIERS LI VILAINS

GUILLAUME de Lorris in vv. 2932-6 of the *Roman de la Rose* (edition of Francisque Michel) described Dangiers in the following terms:

Atant saut Dangiers li vilains
De là où il estoit muciés.
Grans fu, et noirs¹ et hériciés,
S'ot les iex rouges comme feus,
Le nés froncié, le vis hideus.

French courtly poetry of the middle ages is not lacking in unpleasant portraits of the *vilains*.² But this description of Guillaume de Lorris's has some peculiar features. The "eyes red as fire" particularly attract attention as unusual,³ and raise the question whether the poet has not fused with the usual characteristics of the ill-favored *païsant* (*Rose*, v. 4280) those of a type-personnage of some other literary genre. This personnage would most likely be one whose position within his genre would be analogous to that of the *vilains* in courtly poetry, *i. e.*, one who was an object of scorn and derision, and the exaggeration of whose defects was a matter of professional pride. Such a personnage was the devil of mediaeval literature. His ugliness is exaggerated in the Latin Christian visions for the purpose of inspiring wholesome fear and an equivalent reaction in the direction of righteousness, and when he is transplanted into other literary forms, as, for example, the drama, his uncouthness becomes the comic element whose intent is to relieve

¹ Cf. v. 964, where five of the ten arrows carried by Dous-Regars are said to be *Plus noirs que déables d'enfer*.

² E. g. *Yvain*, vv. 288-302; *La Mule sans Frain*, v. 506; Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen*, i. 35, v. 25; *De Constant du Hamel*, vv. 56-57; *Du vilain au buffet*, vv. 84-91; *Du prestre et du chevalier*, vv. 109-113.

³ They form part of no other description of the *vilains* known to me in Old French literature.

the heaviness of the serious action. A comparison of Guillaume's description of Dangiers with previous and contemporary descriptions of devils in monastic literature shows significant resemblances. Vision of Drihthelm:⁴ "Interea ascenderunt quidam spirituum obscurorum de abyssu illa flammium, et adcurrentes circumdederunt me, atque oculis flammantibus et de ore ac naribus ignem putidum efflantesangebant." Vision of Fulbert:⁵

Ecce duo daemones, pice nigriores,
quorum turpitudinem totius scriptores
mundi non describerent, nec ejus pictores,
ferreas furniculas manibus ferentes,
ignemque sulphureum per os emittentes,
similes ligonibus sunt eorum dentes,
et ex eorum naribus prodeunt serpentes;
sunt eorum oculi ut pelves ardentes,
aures habent patulas sanie fluentes;
sunt in suis frontibus cornua gerentes,
per extrema cornua venenum fundentes,
digitorum ungulae ut aprorum dentes.

*Herberti de Miraculis*⁶ (A. D. 1178), liber I, caput iii: "Sed neque hoc silendum, quod hostis ille antiquus multoties et multiformiter ab eo videbatur. Una siquidem vice apparuit ei sub humana effigie in choro Clarevallensi, oculis ardentibus et vultu terribili. Erat autem statura enormis atque deformis valde." *De Sancto Bartholomeo*:⁷ "Tunc ostendit iis Aethiopem nigriorem fuligine, facie acuta, barba prolixa, crinibus usque ad pedes protensis, oculis igneis ut ferrum ignitum scintillas emittentibus, flammam sulphuream ex ore et oculis spirantem." It is unnecessary to multiply examples from Christian vision literature, nor would it be profitable to cite the less detailed

⁴ *Venerabilis Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, liber V, caput xii.

⁵ *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841. Edited by Thomas Wright. P. 95, f. Vv. 260-271.

⁶ Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, vol. 185, col. 1278.

⁷ Jacobus a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, rec. Graesse, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1850, p. 543. Jacobus died in 1298, so the version of the saint's career which he incorporates may or may not antedate the first part of the *Roman de la Rose*. The importance of the comparison lies in the fact that the devil is a stock figure of mediaeval literature, with practically constant attributes.

description of devils from contemporary French poetry.⁸ It suffices to have shown that Guillaume de Lorris in his portrait of Dangiers has drawn upon the stock features of current devil description in order to make more repellant than ever *li vilains*, always an object of interested scorn and derision to the courtly poet.

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⁸*E. g. Perceval* (Potvin's edition) vv. 39858-60:

Un grant dyable tout ardent
De fu, et ot le brac tout taint,
Et plus noir c'un carbon estaint.

JEHAN DE VIGNAY AND HIS INFLUENCE ON EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE

ALTHOUGH we find but a cursory mention of Jehan de Vignay in the works on old French literature by Petit de Julleville, Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, G. Gröber and Voretzsch,¹ he must have enjoyed somewhat of a reputation during the early part of the fourteenth century. That fact we can judge from the numerous extant manuscripts and incunabulum editions of his works. I have not been able to find any definite date for his birth or for his death. In fact what little I have been able to gather has been found mostly in his own works.

He was probably a Norman by birth, for we find from a paragraph inserted in one of his translations² that he went to school in Normandy at a little town called Molay-Bacon, which is a village not very far from Bayeux. In the same passage mentioning his school days, he tells of witnessing a miracle which occurred at a festival in honor of St. Louis. Moreover, he dedicates his *Livre des Eschez* to the Duke of Normandy, afterwards King John. In this dedication he acknowledges himself to be a monk under the jurisdiction of the duke "Jean."

I should think that he was born probably about 1275 A. D. which would make him old enough to write his first work, the Latin treatise entitled *Margarita philosophiarum*, which appeared in 1298. We also find that in 1298 he was probably an official in the monastery of Dijon.³ Twenty years later, that is in 1318, we have the record of the acquittal of a certain Jean de Vignay of hav-

¹ Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Littérature française*, Paris, 1896; vol. II, pp. 262, 270, 299, 313; Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der Französischen Litteratur*, Leipzig und Wien, 1900; opp. p. 261; G. Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, II Band, I Abteilung, Strasburg, 1902; pp. 984, 990, 1012, 1015, 1020, 1023 f., 1027, 1030; Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Litteratur*, Halle, 1905; p. 498.

² Cf. chap. XLVIII of de Vignay's translation of Robert Primat's *Chronique*.

³ Cf. Hauréau, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, Tome XXX, Paris, 1888, pp. 289 sqq.: Jean de Vignay, *Grammariens*, Professeur à Dijon.

ing murdered one called Colinet de la Ville au Bos. In the Archives Nationales at Paris there is a chart⁴ containing a full account of this acquittal. Moreover, we find that he had been held in prison for some time on this charge of manslaughter. He was completely cleared from all suspicion in 1318, the Sunday before Ascension Day. Of course, I can not be certain whether this Jehan de Vignay is the same person as the translator, but the date of 1318 and the fact that most of his translations appeared from 1326 to 1341 would make it quite possible and very plausible. A mere conjecture on my part would be that this incident had something to do with his religious bent and probably caused him to limit his translations to prayer books and similar works.

Another thing that would make it seem reasonable to think he was born in the neighborhood of 1275 is the fact (as is also interpolated in one of his translations⁵) that his father had returned with St. Louis from his crusade to Egypt. He mentioned the fact that his father was accompanied by his uncle, Guillaumes du Pont. The date of this must have been 1254, the year that St. Louis was called back to France by the death of his mother, Blanche of Castile.

After his acquittal from the murder charge we next find that Jehan de Vignay is filling a monastic position in Rouen, when in 1326 he was selected by the Pope to make a translation of the Gospels for Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne, who had appealed to the Pope for a prayer book in French.⁶ This first work in translating gave him an introduction to the royal family and put him under its protection for probably the rest of his days. The last date given for his translation is 1341⁷ and it is very probable that he died soon thereafter. Dr. Jordan in his doctoral dissertation presented to the University of Halle in 1905, wherein he publishes the text of *Mirouer de l'Eglise*, gives the probable date of his death as 1348.

⁴ I have had this chart copied in connection with my study of de Vignay. It seems to me valuable as a typical account of legal proceedings of the period.

⁵ Cf. Primat's *Chronique*, chap. XLIII.

⁶ Cf. Berger, *La Bible française au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1884; p. 221, 5 me partie: *Versions du XIV^e Siècle, Jean de Vignay*.

⁷ Cf. L. Delisle, *Cab. des Mss.*, vol. III, p. 163, where is given the following description of a lost MS.: "1070. Alixandre en prose, translaté l'an 1341 par frère Jehan de Vignay."

However, I do not know what reason Dr. Jordan has in specifying this exact date, as he gives no authority therefor.

Another fact concerning his position may be added, and that is that, as he usually states in the introduction to his translations, he was "hospitalier" of the order of "Saint Jacques du Hault Pas" in Paris.

His popularity as a translator at the Valois court is attested by the fact that, as before mentioned, he made his first translation for Queen Jeanne, the wife of Philip VI who reigned from 1328 to 1350. Moreover, it was at her request that he translated the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais. This is doubtless his largest and most important work. This large work was beautifully illustrated in its translated form, one of the original copies of which we probably have in the Bibl. Nat. Fr. 316. His next translation was also done at her command and the fourth translation was dedicated to her husband Phillip VI. His translation of *Legenda Aurea* was also made at the queen's suggestion, while his translation of *Livre des Eschez* was dedicated to their son John, duke of Normandy.⁸ The fact that his translations were, for the most part, elaborately written with floriations and beautiful illustrations proves conclusively that his books were intended for the private libraries of the royal families. This is also attested by the fact that some of the old numbers on the fly leaves also contain the private marks of one or two later kings, to whom they were doubtless handed down. Again he usually acknowledges his appreciation of the royal patronage at the beginning or conclusion of his translations by his well wishes for the members of the "ligne des fleurs de lys."

Before going into further details concerning his French works, mention should be made of his earlier literary work. In 1298 appeared his Latin treatise entitled *Margarita philosophiarum*. This is a Latin treatise on the arts and sciences. It is to be found in three manuscripts. In these same manuscripts is another Latin work entitled *Glossa in Doctrinale d'Alexandri de Villedieu*, which, from internal evidence, should probably be attributed likewise to the

⁸ These facts concerning his royal patrons are to be found in the dedicatory introductions of the older manuscripts themselves.

authorship of Jehan de Vignay. This *Doctrinale* was a Latin grammatical treatise written in Latin verse. According to Sandy's *History of Classical Scholarship*, the author was a well-known thirteenth century scholar from Villedieu, a town in Normandy.⁹

His French translations are twelve in number. The earliest one, as before mentioned, was done at the command of Queen Jeanne and is entitled *Epistres et Evangiles de tout l'an*. It is extant in four manuscripts, and in the last chapter we find that it was finished May 13, 1326. It is important in that it was used in the church service of the early fourteenth century.

The date of his next work is 1333 and it is entitled *Mireoir Historial*. This is by far his largest and most important work and is extant in some forty-one manuscripts. One of these manuscripts, Bibl. Nat. Fr. 316, is dated 1333 and is probably one of the original manuscripts made for the royal family. It is most beautifully illustrated in brilliant colors and floriations. In this one manuscript alone there are 320 miniatures, the first of which shows Vincent de Beauvais being ordered by St. Louis to compose his *Speculum Historiale*, as well as the portrayal of Jehan de Vignay receiving the queen's command to do the translating. Another manuscript of this same part of the work has the signature "Jehan, Duc de Normandie et de Guienne." This would indicate that it should also be dated previous to 1350, when the duke of Normandy became king John. There are also 280 miniatures in this manuscript, the first of which being exactly the same as the one above described from the Paris manuscript. This second old manuscript is now found in the University library of Leiden.

As the title would indicate the *Mireoir Historial* is a general survey of the world's history from Creation to the reign of St. Louis, 1226-1270. The numerous fine illustrations would doubtless give the story of the work to the members of the royal family. The *Mireoir Historial* is a massive work containing in its manuscript form four folio volumes, with about 400 leaves each. To show what a wide scope this work covered, it should be mentioned that some 29 Æsopic fables are therein contained. The excuse for inserting these fables is that they illustrate the work of Æsop, a

⁹ Cf. Sandy, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 1906, pp. 554 *sqq.*

bare mention of whom is made under the section devoted to the history of Persia and the part describing Cyrus the Great, during whose reign Æsop was slain. These 29 fables, including some of Æsop's best known, such as the Lamb and Wolf, the Crow and Fox, the Lion and Mouse, etc., have been edited for the recently published memorial volume of studies dedicated to the late Prof. A. Marshall Elliott of Johns Hopkins University.

Jehan de Vignay's next translation, *Chronique de Primat*, evidently appeared soon after the *Mireoir Historial*. This is apparent from the fact that the *Chronique*, composed by Robert Primat, a monk of St. Denis, is a continuation of the world's history, bringing the narrative from 1250 to 1285 A. D. This translation has been published by Paul Meyer in its entirety.¹⁰ It was of especial importance to queen Jeanne because it covered the history of the reign of her maternal grandfather, Louis IX.

The fourth work of Jehan de Vignay, according to its own introduction, was translated in 1333. This would put it immediately after the second work just described. The title of his fourth translation is *Directoire a Faire le Passage de Terre Sainte*. It was written in Latin a year previous to its translation by a traveler, "frere de l'ordre des prescheurs," whose name was Brocardus. It was probably not as popular as the preceding work, and is left to us in its manuscript form only. It was dedicated to the first Valois king.

In the following year, 1334, appeared Jehan de Vignay's second largest translation, namely, *Legende Doree*. This work was translated from the *Legenda Aurea*, an important work on the life and miracles of the saints, written by Jacobus a Voragine, a Dominican monk, who became archbishop of Genoa in 1293. As is the case with most of de Vignay's translations, this follows the Latin text more or less word for word. However, another translation was extant at the same period by a certain Jehan Belet. The latter work is not nearly so literal and has 49 less legends than are found in de Vignay's translation. This work was also done at the instance of Queen Jeanne, and its popularity is attested by the fact that there

¹⁰ P. Meyer, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Tome XXIII, Paris, 1876.

are at least 28 extant manuscripts containing the work as well as some 18 incunabulum editions. Its possible influence on early English literature will be noticed later.

The remaining seven translations bear no dates and we shall mention them briefly in order of probable importance. There are extant 46 manuscripts containing his French translation of *Le Livre des Eschez*, that is, there are more manuscripts for this work than for either the *Miroir Historial* or the *Legende Doree*. The two incunabulum editions of this most popular work are to be found in some five copies. The Latin original was written by Jacobus de Cessolis. Although, as the title indicates, it is a work on chess, there are incorporated also the "sayings of doctors, poets, philosophers and ancient sages made for the moral instructions" of the human race. Here we find that our author is not so literal in his translation, but paraphrases rather freely. In fact he added some stories and fables in his translation, as previously noted. This is dedicated to John I, while he was still duke of Normandy.

Another religious work translated by Jehan de Vignay is entitled *Mirouer de l'Eglise*, which was written by a certain cardinal Hugo. This work is not dated nor do we know exactly to which member of the royal family it was dedicated, although we find on the last page of one of the two manuscripts in which it is handed down to us, the words "most noble and powerful lord and sovereign king." Although he follows his Latin text so closely as to make mistakes from the point of view of idiomatic French, he does not translate the whole work, but inserts extraneous matter which is compatible with his own ideas on church functions. This translation has been published in the previously mentioned Halle dissertation by Dr. Jordan.

We have two manuscripts each for his translations of Palio-logue, *Enseignements* and Odorique de Frioul, *Merveilles de la Terre d'Outremer*. Both of these are without date, although we know the latter in its original was written in 1330 and that its author, Odorique, died in 1332.¹¹ Odorique himself witnessed the marvels of the land beyond the sea. The former instructions are for those who have to do with "wars and governments."¹²

¹¹ Cf. P. Meyer, *Arch. des Missions*, II Série, vol. III, p. 317 sqq.

¹² Cf. *Romania*, vol. XXV (1896), p. 409.

There is one manuscript containing his tenth translation which is entitled *Oisivetez des Emperieres*. The Latin was written by Gervais de Tilbury, sometimes mentioned also as Gervais of Canterbury.

The work entitled *Livre Royale*, though not now extant in manuscript form, is also attributed to our author by Berger in his work entitled "The French Bible in the Middle Ages."¹³

His twelfth and probably his last work is entitled *Roman d'Alixandre*. Although we have no manuscript containing this work, Leopold Delisle gives the following description of the manuscript that used to be in the Louvre—"Alixandre en prose, traduit l'an 1341 par frère Jehan de Vignay."¹⁴

As mentioned occasionally in describing his works, Jehan de Vignay, on the whole, followed his Latin original very, we may say, too closely, and, in fact, occasionally his translation was practically unintelligible. However, once in a while does he show his originality in the fact that he makes interpolations and additions to two or three of his works. However, he certainly was a most active translator and we are indebted to him for the few scraps of historical information not recorded elsewhere. Besides this merited importance, his real popularity was very great when we consider that he wrote for the members of the royal family and when we consider that there remains over one hundred copies of his manuscripts which were written with great care. The number of incunabulum editions of his work also attests the fact that some of his works at least continued in their popularity.

Although we can find no proof of his real influence on other literature, his work certainly influenced the English literature during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The importance of de Vignay's influence on English literature is emphasized by the fact that some ten editions of two of his works appeared in English in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a time when printing was in its infancy and books were very rare. There are now in European and American Libraries some forty copies of these early editions. The importance of these works is still emphasized when we consider that William Caxton, the first English printer, selected

¹³ Cf. Berger, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴ Cf. L. Delisle, *loc. cit.*

two of them for publication in English, viz., *Legende Doree* and *Livre des Eschez*. In fact Caxton acknowledges in his introduction to his first edition of the *Game and Playe of Chesse* that he preferred Jehan de Vignay to the original Latin. This edition of Caxton's *Game and Playe of Chesse*, perhaps the first printed English book, was dated 1475. Some of the copies of this edition are very valuable and one copy was sold in England about a generation ago for over \$500.

Caxton's *Golden Legend* first appeared in 1483 and the second edition in 1487. That this was a stupendous undertaking in those early days in the history of printing is evident when we notice that the work contained 449 folio pages. The copies of this first edition of Caxton's *Golden Legend* are also very valuable, although there are at present no copies which do not have a few pages missing. Blades, in his "Life and Typography of William Caxton," records the purchase of one of these copies by the Duc d'Aumale at the large sum of 230 pounds, *i. e.*, almost \$1150.

Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's successor, brought out four more editions of the *Golden Legend* and in 1503 another edition was published by Julyan Notary. Likewise in the introduction to the *Golden Legend*, Caxton acknowledges the fact that he preferred de Vignay's translation to the original Latin, as well as to other French and English versions. The comparison of de Vignay's French with Caxton's English further verifies the indebtedness of Caxton to de Vignay's work.¹⁸

In conclusion we are forced to concede de Vignay's importance by his appreciable influence on English literature during its earliest days of printing.

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¹⁸ Cf. Blades, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 135 *sqq.*; vol. II, pp. 8-12; pp. 155 *sqq.* Blades gives in detail the history of the Caxton editions and copies, and also makes interesting comparisons between Caxton's English and de Vignay's French.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Spanische Grammatik auf Historischer Grundlage. Von FRIEDRICH HANSSSEN.
Halle a/S., Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1910. Pp. xviii+277.

In this publication, which forms vol. VI of the *Sammlung Kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen*, edited by Professor Meyer-Lübke, Dr. Hanssen has given us a work to which we must accord high rank in the literature of its subject, both for the expert acquaintance with the linguistic facts and the excellent method with which it is informed.

After an introduction speaking briefly of bibliographical aids to the study of the Spanish language, of its present status, its history and dialects, the author deals in three chapters respectively with Phonology (49 pages), Morphology (135 pages) and the non-inflectional parts of speech (50 pages). In the last two chapters much attention is bestowed upon syntactical phenomena and in all but the third we not infrequently find Catalan and Portuguese drawn upon for comparison with facts of Spanish grammar. In distinction from his immediate predecessors, Menéndez Pidal and Zauner, Dr. Hanssen has taken modern Spanish speech, and more particularly its American phase, as his point of departure, ascending from there to the older periods of the literary idiom. A plan such as this would be difficult of execution, within the narrow limits set to the book before us, even in the case of a language less widely spread, and offering fewer mooted questions than the Spanish; and the author is to be congratulated upon his success in arranging, on the whole clearly, the great mass of material, and in discussing it with independent judgment. Just exception may, however, be taken to the fact that phonology, a subject entitled to an especially important place in view of the plan adopted in this book, is stretched upon the Procrustean bed of a scant fifty pages. The natural result of such compression is that the exposition of the many problems involved is not always complete and by no means clear. Yet this might have been easily avoided by omitting the consideration of syntax and the comparison of Portuguese and Catalan, features very commendable in themselves, but less essential than others, and from the very nature of the case rather tentatively treated in this instance. By reducing, in some such way as this, the bulk of his material the author might have given some points of more general import in the presentation of the phonology of a language fuller recognition than they now have. Among such points we may mention the following:

1. A careful distinction, in the statement of linguistic facts, between the different periods of the language to which those facts are to be attributed; for example a more regular indication of the chronology of phonetic changes and of the essential differences between the ancient and modern pronunciation of sounds (cf. *e. g.* Menéndez Pidal, *M.* § 35, 6).

2. Some special consideration of the working of analogy in Spanish (cf. *e. g.* Menéndez Pidal, *M.* § 71-72).

3. *Metathesis*. (cf. § 21, 3) Some instructive instances of this very important source of phonological change are given by Menéndez Pidal, *M.* § 67.

A mine of information is contained in C. Michaëlis, *Zur hispan. Wortschöpfung*, 1876, p. 222 ff., and in Cuervo's well-known *Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje Bogotano* (5th ed., 1907). A selection of the very large number of other examples, offered both by the literary and the popular dialect of the Peninsula, and in part illustrative of other sound-changes, may find a place here: a) Cases of the very frequent transposition of l, n, r. *Brivia*, *Biblia* (G. Manrique 2, 32, etc.); *catreá catedral* (Marin, *C. p. esp.* 2, 125), *crubió, cubrió* (*P. C. Gen.* 268, a, etc.); *gerfo, grifo* (C Baena 340, 12), *Grabiél, Gabriel* (*ibid.*, 344, 3, etc.; *P. C. Gen.* 271 a); *Gudrofe, Gudofre* (C Baena 227, 21); *imange, imagen* (Marin, *l. c.* 2, p. 474); *Ofreus, Orfeus* (Alex. 1717); *plantufo, pantufo* (L. de Rueda 2, 358); *Vrige, Virgen* (Torres Naharro, 1, 135; cf. Marin, *l. c.* 2, p. 474 *Binge, Bigen, Birgen*); *Yprocatas, Ypocritas* (Talavera, Corbacho 264); b) Transposition of other sounds; *daragar, adargar* (G. Manrique 1, 147); *entrelinar, entreliñar* (*P. C. Gen.* 750 a; Rouanet, *Autos, Farsas y Col.* 4, s. v.); *estentinos, intestinos* (Alex. 1925; Apoll. 513; Subak, *Judenspanisch, Zr. Ph.* 30, 171); *estogamo, estomago* (e. g. Schuchardt, *Zr. Ph.* 5, 311); *filosomia, hiloformia, fisonomia* (*Amadis* 425 a; L. de Rueda 1, 17 etc.); *jigarillos, guijarrillos* (Marin, *l. c.* 1, p. 174); *jamestad, majestad* (L. de Vega, *Guz. de Toral*, Ed. Restori, 1. 2348); *otavía, todavía* (Marin, *l. c.* 3, no. 4125); *sastifacion, satisfaccion* (J. Ruiz 1142; see for other Sp. and Portug. examples my *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 232, not to l. 1941); *vestudad, vetustad* (G. Manrique 2, 233).

4. The influence of words upon each other, whether through crossing, popular etymology or some other form of association (cf. §§ 9, 1; 21, 3). Some good examples are contained in Menéndez Pidal, *M.* §71-72, but no collection of Spanish cases has as yet been made so far as I know. Only a few instances, in some of which other transformations are also involved, or for which a different interpretation may be required, may follow here. *Trasladar, trasladar + laudar* (Berceo, *Missa* 10; *P. Cr. Gen.* 636 b; cf. *laudar, laude* e. g. *S. Dom.* 270, 303; *Apoll.* 61, 178; *Fern. Gonzal.* 679); *anapuesto, anapesto* (C Baena 341, 2); *arcadus, aguaducho + arco?* (*D. Quix.* 2, 14); *camarlengo, camarlengo + luengo?* (C Stúfiga p. 78); *Feo Blas, Fierabras* (*D. Quix.* 1, 15); *pintasilgo, *pitisilgo + pinto* (see C. Michaëlis, *Miscellanea Caix-Canello* p. 143-4); *plus-café, pousse-café* (Argentina. See Romania 8, 622); *ruiseñor, O. Sp. rossinol* (Alex. 1973); see for other Sp. and Portug. representatives of Latin *lusciniólus* my note on the nightingale in *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 191); *sancristan, sacristan + san(to)* (J. Ruiz 374; etc. Cf. *Alph. X*, C. Maria 332 *sancreschãa*; *Canc. Resende* 1, 268, etc.); *visorey, vicerey + viso* (e. g. Torres Naharro 1, 265, 337; *Canc. Resende* 2, 487, etc.). Numerous instances of the subjection of proper names to this psychological process are found in *P. C. Gen.*, e. g. *Numa, numeda, moneda* 99 a; *Guadaxenil, agua de los silingos* 210 a); *Partos, partidos* 218 b; *Verona, mal de Roma* 225 a; *Francia, franta* 368 a; *Zamora, ça, (voca) mora* 379 a, Cf. *Alph. X*, C Maria 143 *Agua-dalquiuir, Guadalquiuir + agua; macedonia, amazona* (*Cron. troy.* 2, 130); *andriantico, adriatico* (i. e. *mar*) + *antico?* (*ibid.* 211).

As regards Portuguese, see the articles on *etymologia popular* by Moreira, *Revista lusit.* 1, 56; Coelho *ibid.* 133 ff.; Lang, *Zr. Ph.* 13, 213-214; Leite de Vasconcellos, *Miscellanea Caix-Canello* 268-9.

Let us now pass on to a more detailed consideration of some of the many points which Dr. Hanssen presents in his important work.

§ 3, 12 The Conqueror of Toledo was Alfonso VI, not Alfonso VII (1126-1157).

— 13 (cf. § 2, 2) Following Saroihandy (G.², 846), Hansen here represents Catalan as an independent offspring of Peninsular Latin rather than as a variety of the Romance of Southern France, arguing that Provençal and Catalan do not pass imperceptibly into each other and that no sharp line can be drawn between the latter and Aragonese. While it is not to be denied that this view, which is at variance with the one still held by most scholars, may find support in the results of future research, it must be said that it is not warranted by our present knowledge of the linguistic conditions obtaining between Catalonia and France (cf. Schädel, *Krit. J. B.* 1905, 194-198) on the one hand and Castile on the other, not to mention the peculiar intellectual and political attitude of the Catalans toward Castile.

§ 6, 1 (cf. also § 11) 'Die spanischen vokale sind *i e a o u*. Dieselben sind weder offen noch geschlossen.' This theory of Spanish vocalism is no doubt based upon the conditions prevailing in colonial speech as stated *e. g.* by Lenz, *Ortología y ortografía de la lengua Castellana* (Santiago 1894) p. 10, where only five vowel-sounds are distinguished (cf. also *Phonetische Studien* 5, 273) and by Lamouche, *Rom. Forsch.* 23, 972, who ascribes to the Jewish Spanish of Salonika "the five vowels characteristic of its mother-tongue in Spain" (Subak, *Zeitsch. f. rom. Phil.* 30, 138 expresses no opinion in regard to this matter). Now, if this theory be true of colonial Spanish, it may be accepted as essentially true of the language of Spain at the time of emigration to the new settlements. It does not hold good, however, for the Spanish spoken in the Peninsula to-day, though so great a phonetician as Gonçalves Vianna, preoccupied no doubt by a time-honored tradition, still clings to it (*Rom.* 24, 298-30; *Le Portugais* p. 26; *Revue Hisp.* 15, 849 ff.). As long ago as 1892, J. Storm (*Engl. Phil.*² 1, 37-38) distinguished between open and closed Sp. *e* and *o*, as in *verde*, *Cordoba*, and no one familiar with modern Castilian speech can fail to notice the frequency, in all classes of society, of open *e*, *e. g.*, in the diphthong *ue*, and especially of open *o* in such words as *otoño*, *poco*, *otro*, *hermoso*, *dos*, *doce*, *joven*, or under the influence of metaphony, as in *copa*, *sopa* or in *coma*, *toma*, *come*, *tome* (from *comer*, *tomar*) as compared with *como*, *tomo*. A more detailed discussion of this important subject would exceed the limits of a review, and is the less necessary as it is promised by Mr. M. A. Colton in a work on *Phonétique Castillane* shortly to appear. Cf. for the present Araujo, *Phonet. Studien* 6, 37 and Josselyn, *Phonétique espagnole* (1907) p. 9 ff.

§ 7, 9 Instead of explaining *pus* for *pues* as due to the atonic position of the word, it would seem better to consider it in connection with a series of other forms with *u* and *ue* to which this interpretation could scarcely apply. Such are *lugo*, *llugo* for *luego*, a form which is of frequent occurrence in *P. Cron. Gen.* (Hanssen cites only one of the twenty or more cases), in Encina (*Teatro* P. 11, 80, 86, 112, 137, 138) and other authors of the Sixteenth Century (see also Wiener, *Songs of the Spanish Jews*, in *Mod. Philol.* 1, 209, 269) and is still heard in the every-day speech of Madrid. (Cf. also Aragon. *asta lugo* = *hasta luego*, in *Annuaire de l'École des H. E.* 1901, 113); *culgan* for *cuelgan* (Lope de Rueda 1, 264) and the cases cited by Pietsch in *Z. f. r. Ph.* 34, 643-4. As for the question whether the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ie*, *ue* in O. Sp. was prevailingly *ié*, *ué* or rather *ie*, *ue*, we are scarcely prepared to decide it in the present state of

our knowledge of the subject. Hanssen admits that Berceo avoids riming *e:ie*.

§ 9, 1 For *segusium* > *sabueso*, Astur, *sagüeso*, cf. Carolina Michaëlis, *Zur hispan. Wortschöpfung*, p. 236, a work still to be consulted by the student of Hispanic speech.

— 3 For a rational explanation of such cases as Aragon. *hueyto* (*ocho*), Westleon. *nueite* (*noche*), which Hanssen dismisses as instances of what he terms 'überdiphthongierung', see the observations of Morf. *Archiv. f. n. S. u. Lit.* 1910, p. 269, which also affect the view advanced by Pietsch in regard to *duecho* in *Modern Philology* 1909, 53-60. On page 54 of the discussion of *duecho* just mentioned, Prof. Pietsch makes the following statement: "Lang, *Zr. P.* XXXII, p. 394, refers for *doito de* etc. to O. Sp. *duecho* and Prov. *duch*, to Lanchetas (who deserves no mention), to Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* § 122, 2 *ducho* < *ductu*, and to *Zr. P.* XIX, p. 535. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, at the latter place, says: 'Ob (*doito*) auf *doctus* oder *ductus* zurückzuführen ist, steht übrigens noch nicht fest'. In a note appended to this statement she seems to favor *ductus*." Now, as a matter of fact, the case is simply this: After adding in the body of the twenty-one lines of text devoted to *doito* a few instances of the use of this word to those cited in Denis p. 120, to which place I explicitly refer, I continue: "Der Ausdruck *doito de*, *en alg. c.* bedeutet also 'erfahren, geschickt sein in etwas', wie das altspanische *duecho*⁸ und das provenzalische *duch*⁴; während die Redensart *aver doita alg. c.* wohl am richtigsten durch 'etwas erfahren haben', 'an etwas gewohnt sein' wiedergegeben wird". It is manifest that in the passage quoted—and the same is true of the whole of my commentary on *doito* in *Zr. P.* XXXII—I am exclusively concerned with determining the meanings of this word, and not with its etymology. As regards the foot-notes appended to this passage, note 3 cites Lanchetas s. v. for the signification of *duecho* (and as his reference to Berceo is correct, he deserved no disparaging remark), Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* § 122, 2 for *ducho* and (Mrs. Vasconcellos) *Zr. P.* 19, 535 for her opinion on the derivation of *doito*, while notes 4 and 5 refer to Levy, *Prov. SW.* for the meanings of *duch* and to Valladares, *Dicc. Gallego-Cast.* s. v. *adoitar*, *doito*. It is equally evident, then, that in these notes there is absolutely no discussion on my part of the origin of the O. Sp. forms *ducho*, *duecho*. Nevertheless, Prof. Pietsch pieced the first two of these notes and a shred of the passage to which they are appended together, and inserted this patchwork in his article as one of "the previous attempts to settle the etymology of these forms" (i. e. *ducho*, *duecho*). In a similar way Foerster, *Rom. Stud.* III p. 181 on O. Fr. *duit*, Levy, *SW.* s. v. *duire* etc., Cornu, *Grundriss* 1, 932 à propos of Port. *adoito*, are laid under contribution for "previous attempts to settle the etymology of *ducho*, *duecho*", although neither of these O. Sp. words nor even the Spanish language is so much as mentioned, the scholars cited dealing with O. Fr., Prov., Ital. and Portuguese forms not connected with *ducho*, *ductu*. But more than this. As already stated, in the body of my article I explicitly cite Denis p. 120, in which place (without sufficient reserve) I give *ductum* as the etymon of *doito*, referring to Diez (*Kunst- und Hoffoesie* p. 125) who there quotes Sp. *ducho*. Again, in his *Etym. Wb.*, II p. 564, Diez distinctly connects Sp. *ducho* with *ducere* (cf. Havet, *Romania*, 3, 326, note 2, who takes issue with Diez' assumption of a contamination of *docere* and *dúcere*. Havet is quoted by Foerster in the article cited by Pietsch). Once more, in his *Gram. d. R. S.*² 2, 185 s. v. *ducere*, Diez identifies O. Sp. *aducho* with *adductus*. In so far, then, as

it was at all necessary, in the light of its sense and of such words as *acueducto*, *aguaducto*, *conducta*, *conducho* (adj.) etc., to establish the etymology of *ducho* (and with this of dialectic *duecho*, quoted from Berceo and identified with *ducho* as early as 1885 by Cuervo, *Apuntaciones críticas* p. 477), this was done once for all by the Founder of Romance Philology in works still honored by scholars, and it is greatly to be regretted that his name should be so conspicuously absent in an article resuming this subject.

— 8 (Cf. § 20, 6) Add *calicem* > *calse*, *P. Cr. Gen.* 292 b; 313 a; 661 a.

§ 14, 1 *Asperar* for *esperar*, also common in O. Port. and Gal. (e. g. *CCB.* 310, 2; *Alph. X*, CM. s. v.; Denis s. v. *aspeança*) is more likely an instance of substitution of prefixes than of mere vowel-change. Cf. *Agotar* and *escuchar*, and Schuchardt, *Z. f. r. Ph.* 5, 305; Meyer-Lübke, 1, 294; 2, 622.

— 4 Regarding the prothesis of *a* in forms like *arruga* for *ruga* see Cornu, *Rom.* 9, 580 ff.

§ 17, 2 'In Andalusien und Amerika wird *s* gesprochen. Das *s* nähert sich in Madrid dem *š*. Das andalusische *s* ist mit dem französischen identisch (Gonçalves Vianna, *Rev. Hisp.* 15, 853).' Neither these statements nor the remarks added § 19, 24 give any adequate idea of the sound-values represented by *s* either in the Peninsula or in the colonies, as shown by Gonçalves Vianna in the passage quoted, in *Rom.* 12, 52, *Maître Fonét.* 1890, 106, by Storm, *Engl. Phil.* 1, 48 ff., 70 ff., 476; by Wulff, *Phonét. Andal.* 39 and by others. To touch upon only one or two of the many important points, it is well known that final *s* falls under certain conditions in Andalusia and elsewhere (see e. g. Lenz, *Phon. Stud.* 6, 21 ff.), and one would naturally look in a work like the one under review for some inquiry into the history of this change. Apart from the testimony of colonial speech there are indications that the fall of *s* is by no means recent. Wulff (*Poèmes inédits de Juan de la Cueva*, p. I), referring to the fact that Cervantes (*Galatea*, libro VI) wrote *de las Cuevas*, pertinently asks: Faut-il y voir un indice, que l'*s* finale était muette dans le parler andalou déjà à cette époque, comme elle l'est aujourd'hui? An affirmative answer to this question may find some support in such forms as the following, the number of which might doubtless be increased by a systematic search: *Alex.* 2306 *Todallas*; ib. 2278, *P. C. Gen.* 732 b *uolo* for *uoslo*; *P. C. Gen.* 740 b, 757 b *Sietefilla*; Lope de Rueda 1, 85 *Celetinas* for *Celestina*; ib. *lo toro* for *los toros*; and the familiar case of *amémonos* for *amemosnos* (see the different explanations of Baist *Z. f. r. Ph.* 7, 118 and Hanssen, § 21, 3). Cf. also Staaff, *Le dialecte léonais* p. 255-6.

Take again the fall of final *z*, barely noticed by a reference to Cuervo, B. 533 and Men. M. 108. In modern Andalusian *z* is weakened and lost under practically the same conditions as *s* (cf. Schuchardt, *Z. f. r. Ph.* 5, 320). Hence we find such forms as *Beatrí* for *Beatriz* (Marin, *Cant. p. esp.* 1, no. 125) *be* for *vez* (ib. 2, no. 1748; 4, no. 6321) etc. and hear *vo de pastores* for *vos de pastores* (Wulff, *Phonétique andal.* 23). In the dialect of Leon we meet with short-forms like *pe-que*, *pe-me* for *paez-que*, *parece que*, *parece-me* (Garrote, *El dialecto vulgar leones*, Astorga 1909, p. 63, 218, 221) which recall formations like *diz que*, *paz que* for *dice que*, *parece que* frequently occurring in the dramatists of the sixteenth century (see e. g. Rouanet, *Autos, Farsas y Col.* 4, s. v.). What evidence of this treatment of *z*, if any, is to be found in Old Spanish? Schuchardt, l. c. cites *virey* (registered e. g. by Nebrija, *Dict.*) for

vizrei. Cornu, *Rom.* 9, 133 and 10, 404 assumes the loss of final *s* in his derivation of *falagar* from *fas-lagar*, but no analogous instance presents itself in support of this view (cf. Baist, *Z. f. r. Ph.* 7, 117) unless perchance the proclitic *fa* in the expressions *fa de duro* 'dull-witted', 'maladroit' (*S. Dom.* 480, *Loores* 46; J. Ruiz 967, 969; Santillana p. 511 in the proverb: *El alcaravan, ha de duro, que a todos da consejo, e a sí ninguno*) and *fa de maja* (J Ruiz 959), used as personal epithets as yet insufficiently understood, prove to stand for *fas* (< *facie*). In *Mod. Lang. Notes* 1911, p. 103, I notice that Pietsch, in a useful collection of verbal short-forms, adduces in a note the name *Ruy Dias* as a possible instance of the dropping of final *s* in proclitic position. If this were a true case, it would take us back to a very early period, but *Ruy* represents *Rodrigo* (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual* § 29, 2 a; *Cantar de mio Cid* p. 170), not *Ruiz*. For the present, therefore, our question must be answered in the negative.

In Portuguese the loss of final *s* is the rule at present, as in *fa-lo* for *fas-lo* (cf. Gonçalves Vianna, *Le Portugais* 36, 109), and is also met with in the thirteenth century. Cf. *Alph.* X, CM. 116, 4; 338, 2 *adu-me* for *aduz-me*.

—3 The statements in regard to the pronunciation of *b*, *v* are neither so precise or complete as might be desired. As is well known, these sounds turn into the sonant explosive after a labial, as in *envidia*, *enviar* etc., and at the beginning of words spoken with emphasis, as in ! *bárbaro*! See e. g. Araujo, *Phon. Stud.* 6, 41, and for O. Sp. Cuervo, *Rev. Hisp.* 2, 7-11.

—6 'In vielen gegenden spricht man (für *ll*) *y*'. This is the regular pronunciation of *ll* in Andalusia and the colonies, with the notable exception of some portions of Chile and Peru (cf. e. g. Lenz, *Ph. St.* 6, 31). In a considerable part of Castile *ll* is preserved, but in the vulgar speech of Madrid *y* prevails. The commonness of such spellings as *oll*, *llo*, *lla* for *oy*, *yo*, *ya* in Mexico and elsewhere sufficiently testifies to the predominance of *y*. As this pronunciation also prevails in Jewish Spanish (see Subak, *Z. f. r. Ph.* 30, 145-6), we may assume that it was current in Spain in the fifteenth century. Cf. Cuervo, *Revue Hisp.* 2, 64.

18, 3 (cf. § 3, 7). The voicing of the initial guttural explosive, as e. g. *Gamaleon* for *Camaleon* (J. de Mena, *Laberinto* st. 259; *Grisostomo* (*Library of Isabel the Catholic in Memorias de la Ac. de. la H.*, 6, 43 q; *D. Quix.* 1, 14), does not receive the attention here which it deserves by virtue of its frequency in the popular speech of the Peninsula and in the Aryan idioms in general. See for this and the literature on the subject my article on the metrical terms *caçafaton*, *gaçafaton* in *Revue Hispanique* 16, 23.

§ 18, 9 Besides cases like *guevo*, *güeno* for *huevo*, *bueno* (cf. *aguelo* for *abuelo*, *Rimado* 173), it would have been well to mention those exhibiting *go bo*, *vo*, as common to the folk-speech of to-day (cf. e. g. Schuchardt, *Z.* 5, 312 *agolengo*, *gofeton*) and to Old Spanish. For the latter cf. e. g. Alex. 2003 *golpe* = *vulpes*; Cal. e. Dimna, s. v.; J Ruiz 319; *Autos. F. y Col.* 4, s. v. *gulpeja*; *Rimado* 136 *gomito*; *Autos* 4, s. v. *gomitar*. For Portuguese cf. Cor. G. 984; *Canc. Vat.* 627 *Golparro*; *Alph. y CM.* s. v. *golpelho* etc.

Here we may append a note on *gui* = *hi*, *i* as in Modern Aragon. *guisopo* for *hisopo* (*Canc. turoi.* no. 970) and in *Guisabel* for *Isabel* (Berganza, *Antigüedades* 2, 471 (doc. of 1173) and *passim*); and *Guisopete* for *Ysopete* (Cervantes, *D. Q.* 1, 25). Cf. also *quesopete* for *Ysopete* in Inventory of 1460 cited in *Mod. Lang. notes* 1909, p. 70.

§ 19, 11 From the remark that the palatalization of *si* in Portuguese *basium* > *beijo* etc. 'greift aufs spanische gebiet über: *quijéredes, igreja* findet sich bei Juan Ruiz (Baist, G.² 898; Staaff, L. 308)', one would hardly infer that, as Baist indicates in the passage cited, this change was not uncommon in certain parts of Spain down to the middle of the sixteenth century.

Beginning with the *Cid* (*eclegia* 2239, 2241), *igleja, igreja* occurs frequently in literary documents, as e. g. C. Baena 167, 3; J. Rodr. *Padron*, p. 166, 171; Gaya de Segovia (Tallgren, Z y C, p. 17, terming it a *voz advenediza*); *Canc. Gen.* 2, 225, 226; Lucas Fernandez 9, 87, 140; Lope de Rueda 1, 155, 300, etc.

§ 21, 6 In this brief section, if not in a separate paragraph, one would have liked to see some notice taken of such contractions in proclitic position as *mienna* = *mi dueña* (*S. Dom.* 241 etc.; Cornu, *Rom.* 9, 134), *mionna* (*Pri. Cr. Gen.* 454 b), and especially of those interesting cases of haplology which are illustrated by *feminismo* for *femininismo*. Only a few instances of this kind of *superposition syllabique*, as Grammont (*Dissim. consonantique*, Dijon, 1895, p. 147) termed this phenomenon, may find a place here: *Synoga* for *synagoga*, very frequent, e. g. *Especulo de todos los derechos* 1, 406; C. Baena 302; *magnimidat* C. Baena 225, 27; *paripatico* = *peripatetico*, Lope de Rueda 2, 25; *Diagonçalvez* for *Diago Gonçalves*, *Cid* 3662; Cf. also some of the forms cited by Baist, G. 907, § 58, such as *miramolin* for *miramamolin*, *moganga* for *mojiganga*. Portuguese: *Synoga*, C. Resende 1, 282, 289 etc.; *costuição* for *constituição*, *Revista lusit.* 2, 55; *acegado* for *assessegado*, *ibid.* 380, etc.—For some syntactical cases of haplology in Spanish and Portuguese, and for the literature on the subject, see my article in *Z. f. r. Ph.* 32, 152.

'Eine Kurzform kann *usted* für *vuestra Señoría* sein, wenn es nicht vielleicht eine ausgesprochene abbreviatur ist'. It is clear that the question as to the formation of *usted* from *vuestra merced*, as Hanssen doubtless meant to say instead of *vuestra Señoría*, can only be considered in conjunction with the other derivatives of this expression, such as *vuested*, *vusté*, *vussé*, *voarced*, *oacé* (see for still others e. g. Krenkel's ed. cf. *Alcalde de Zalamea*, p. 156), which cannot all be 'ausgesprochene abbreviaturen'. Cf. also *usía* and other contractions of *vuestra señoría*, and Baist, G. 907, § 58.

Attention may finally be called here to the contraction of *creo que* to *cro que* in proclitic position (cf. above *paz que* for *parece que*), a form which is of frequent use in the dramatists of the sixteenth century and still heard in the every-day speech of Mexico: Thus *Autos*, F. y Col. 1, 354: *Cro que tañe algun gaytero* 3, 15, *Cro que fuera bachiller*; cf. *ib.* 301, 308; Torres Naharro 1, 289; 2, 9, 75, 130, 139, 140 etc.

§ 25, 2 Cases of the drawing back of the accent, as in Mirandese *témamos*, Span. *váyamos*, are also met with in the Galician of the thirteenth century, as Alph. X, CM. 44; *seia: veia mola*.

§ 27, 11 Analogical formations like *prengo*, *prenga*, *perga* (for *pierda*) have their parallels in old Galician and Portuguese *pergo*, *perga*, *perço*, *perça*, *perco*, *perca*, for which an explanation is offered by the reviewer in *Z. f. r. Ph.* 32, 309-310, note 2.

—18 In Old Galician we find beside *ey, aja* (*habeo, habeam*) also *ayo, aya*, as *Documentos Gallegos* (ed. Martinez Salazar, Coruña 1911) 49 (1265), 59, 61 (1271), 89 (1283) and *Cron. Troy.* 1, 127, 334; 2, 8, 9, 14, 19, 27, 41, 42 etc.; *agu* = *ajo*, *ibid.* 88 (1283).

§ 28, 3 (Cf. §§ 5, 9; 15, 7) In this discussion of the imperfect forms *temia*, *temiés*, *temié* etc. current in O. Sp., Hanssen takes no account of the influence of other tense-forms as a possible cause of the phenomenon in question. Nevertheless, the example of the preterite-endings of the second and third conjugations, *temiemos*, *partiemos* etc., deserves serious attention, in view both of the anomalous treatment of *a* assumed in this case, and of the important part that analogy plays in the inflection of verbs in Romance speech. Consider, to cite only a few instances, the interaction of preterite and participial forms upon each other (Cf. Meyer-Lübke, *Einführung* § 163-166), the transfer of the perfect type *-dedi* from verbs in *-dere* to those in *-tere* (*battedi*; cf. *M.-L.*, l. c. § 164), the passage of this same type in Provençal from the third conjugation to the first, or in Italian the intrusion of the endings *-iamo*, *-iate* into the present subjunctive and of *-iamo* into the present indicative of all conjugations.

§ 29 (cf. also § 35, 16). Here one misses the old imperative forms *tre* (= *trahe*), as Juan Ruiz 966 (*trete* conmigo) and *tred* (= *tráhite*), as *Cid* 142; *P. Cr. Gen.* 634 a, *trendos* for *trednos*; more frequently found in O. Port. and Gal. *trey*, *treyde*, *treydes* in Denis 1929, CM. 216, 277, 325.

§ 32, 3 From the remark 'Länger hielt sich diese freiheit (i. e. the separation of infinitive and auxiliary in such forms of the future as *darlo-e*) im Portugiesischen und Asturischen', one would infer that this construction had gone out of use in Portuguese, whereas it is still current.

§ 33, 2 'Wegen vereinzelter partizipien auf *-ido* in I siehe Men., M. 226'. Instead of thus summarily dismissing the presence, side by side, of participial forms in *-ado* and *-ido* (see Meyer-Lübke, 2 §§ 476-477, and *Canc. Gallego-Castelh* p. 169-170 where the reviewer has cited a number of such cases from Old Spanish), it might have been well to consider this subject in the light of the existence of pairs of infinitives in *-are* and *-ire* in Romance speech. According to the useful list published by Cappuccini, *L'eteroclisia in -are e -ire* (*Scritti vari in onore di E. Monaci*, Roma 1901, 311-323) Italian alone has nearly two hundred of such pairs. In the absence of any similar collection for the other Romance languages, the following instances of heteroclitous verbs, though they may not all prove true cases of the phenomenon in question, may be cited here: *avogler*, *avoglr* (Berger, *Lehnw.* 292); *amossar* (Levy, *Prov. SW.* s. v.), *amosir* (Appel. *Chrestom.* s. v.), *amoussir* (m. Fr.); *bajulare*, *bajulire* (Fr. *bailler*, *baillir*); *coruscare*, *coruscire* (Roland 2302, 2540 *cruisir*), *desfuzar*, *desfoicir?* (C Baena 239, 2); *fugare*, *fugire* (*Grundriss* 1, 478); *gradar*, *gradir* (e. g. *Cid* 2860), *transgluter*, *transglutir* (*Bestiaire de Ph. de Th.*, ed. Walberg). It is as a heterocliton of *escantar* = *encantar* 'to enchant' etc., that Prov. *escantir*, O. Fr. *eschantir*, 'to extinguish', for which A. Thomas (*Rom.* 39, 225) knew no etymon, may find its explanation.

§ 34, 1 Either here or in § 32, the use of *querer*, with the infinitive for the expression of an action not intended, but about to take place, known to the older as well as to the modern language, deserved some notice. Cf. *Prim. Cron. Gen.* 340, 6: Estando los franceses en grand cueta et en grant periglo, en guisa que se *querien ya vencer*; *Duelo* 31 Ca era meydia, o ia *querie* passar; *Alex.* 1151: El sol era entrado, *querie* lobregar. *Ballad*: Media noche era por filo, los gallos *querian* cantar. *Amadis* 336, 6: e como lo oyo hobo tan gran pesar, que se *queria* todo desfacer de congojo.

§ 38, 7 The substitution of the infinitive for a finite form of the verb occurs

not only in such incomplete sentences as ! á mí negarme la entrada! or in positive commands like ! callar! (cf. also phrases like ! paciencia y barajar! *M. L.*, 3 § 528), but also in a number of other cases, only a few of which can be cited here: 1) Affirmative imperative. *Amadis* 178 a: E si nuestro consejo tomardes, antes que vengan serán ellas descabezadas, e á ellos *enviarles* á mandar que no entren en vuestra tierra; *Marin, Cant. pop. esp.* 1, no. 407: Decirme cuál es la llave? Cf. 1002, 1005, 1021-2; 3, 3621; *Canc. turolense* 621, 817, 914, 935 etc. 2) Negative. *Don Quix.* 2, 5: E no casármela vos ahora en esas cortes; Guzman de Alfar. c. 5: Lleve cada uno lo que fuere lago, e no *engañar* á nadie; *Marin, l. c.* 4, 6136 no quererlos; cf. 2, 1645. See also, e g. Bello-Cuervo, *Notas* 62-3. 3) As long as the terminations of the future tenses continued to be felt as parts of the auxiliary verb *haber*, the second of two clauses having such a tense could express it by the infinitive alone, the auxiliary element of the first clause being understood. *P. Cron. Gen.* 549 b: Si *toldrie* dubda de su corazon contra ell et punnar (ie) en servirle; Portug.: e. g. *Canc. da Ajuda*, no. 236, 5-7: Ca ja sempr'eu veeria d'aqui Aquelas casas u mia senhor vi, e cata-la(s) (-ia) ben, quanto m'eu quisesse. 4) Various cases: *P. Cron. Gen.* 70 b: Ca entendieron que aquella batalla cibdadana era, et mas que cibdadana, *como seer ellos* (= siendo ellos) todos parientes unos con otros; *Amadis* 132 b: que por Dios, por la mas chica palabra que en la carta va, él se meta so la tierra vivo si vos gelo mandais, cuanto mas *venir* á vuestro mandamiento, especialmente *lleuárgela* la doncella de Denamarca; Galdós, *La de Bringas* p. 20: Pasadizos, callejones, túneles ó como quiera *llamárselas* (= como quieras llamarlas); Calderon, *Alcalde de Zalamea* 2, ll. 480-485: Sin que para mi sustento ni el de mi hijo . . . Reserve un maravedí, Sino *quedarnos* pidiendo limosna. Portuguese: *E. g.* Graal 64, 9: E quem he? disserom ellos. *Conhocello* nom (= nom o *conhoço*), disse elle, mas traze hüu scudo negro e o liom dargen. 5) With the preposition *de* it may denote an attribute to which a person or thing is entitled (Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.* 2, 786 b): *Alex.* 1214 ombre de *prestar*; *Apoll.* 154: adobo de *prestar*; 215 tres infantes . . . nobles, y de *prestar*; *P. Cr. Gen.* 702 a: aquella az de los moros de marauillar; 718 a: varon de alabar et sabio; etc. 6) Used with the preposition *sin* in the sense of a negative past participle: *sin numerar*, not numbered, paginated; *sin publicar*, unpublished, etc.

§ 40, 2 The plural form *dioses* occurs beside *dios* as early as the thirteenth century, e. g. *P. Cron. Gen.* 67 b; 115 a; 223 a (*medio dioses*).

—9 'Eine besondere eigentümlichkeit des Spanischen, die sich anderwärts nur in spuren findet (Ebeling, *Literaturblatt* 1902, s. 130), ist der gebrauch von *los padres* für vater und mutter'. The phenomenon in question is familiar from Sanscrit which has the exact parallels *pitarau*, *bhratarau*, *Mitrā* for Mitra and Varuna (cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* 2, 1, § 66, where analogous dual forms such as *Akare* 'Ajax and Teucros', *Castores* 'Castor and Pollux', etc., are also discussed), and from Arabic in which duals formed from father, brother, East etc., signifying father and mother, brother and sister, East and West are current (see Wright's *Arabic Grammar*, 1874, § 298, p. 214). It is most likely that Spanish received this interesting trait from Arabic.

§ 41, 2 *Señor* for *señora* is still in use a full century after Juan Ruiz, in Spanish and Galician verse, e. g. C Baena 12, 2; 50, 2; 231 (repeatedly); 234; *Canc. Stuñiga* p. 1 etc.; *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* s. v.

Interesting is the expression *fija fembra*, *Alex.* 1725 (cf. 2472): Se fijo

varon fuere a ti lo embiaré, Se Dios me de mal cura, bien te lo guardaré; Ata que nascido sea nunca caualgaré, Se fur *fiya fembra* mio regno le dare!

The feminine use of the substantivized infinitive *yantar*, which word is also found with the regular masculine gender, deserved mention here. *Prim. Cron. Gen.* 123 a, 352 (passim), 433 (passim) etc.; Berceo, *Missa* 83 etc.; Lucena, *Vita beata* p. 144. It is due to the influence of *cena*, as Cornu pointed out *Rom.* 13,307.

§ 43, 3 As an illustration of cases in which through a fusion of predicative and prepositional expressions there arises a predicate governed by prepositions which may serve as nominative or accusative, Hanssen quotes *Saldredes de cativo* (*Cid* 1026). It is clear, however, that the example quoted is not a true case, since *cativo* here does not mean 'captive', but 'captivity', as in scores of other passages. *E. g. P. Cron. Gen.* 401, b: Et yremos *en cativo* fambrientos et lazrados. . . . Et el que *en cativo* yaze, desamparado es de todo bien; 404 b: Como quando uiesse Castiella crebantada et sin sennor et *metuda en cativo*; 474 a: otrossi saco alla *de cativo* muchos caualleros; Juan Ruiz 1027: Por aquesto mora *en cativo* dado Del qual nunca saldrá nin habrá librador. Cf. *Conquista de Ultram.* 2, c. 245 (p. 308). So also in Galician: *e. g. Alph.* X, CM. 227, 2: Mais pois foi por sa besonna a Sevilla e n a guerra, caeu *en cativ'* enton; *ibid.* 3; 325, 3, 5 etc.

§ 44, 1 'In Portugal zeigen sich spuren von *chus*'. (Cornu, G. 1014; Nobiling 532). What Cornu, *l. c.* says, is that O. Port. also formed comparatives with *chus*, the rare occurrence of which, however, indicated that they were not in common use, adding that the word in question appears to have been more popular in Galician. Nobiling simply remarks that *chus* is rarely met with in the *cancioneros*. As a matter of fact *chus*, while but occasionally found in O. Port. verse, is not infrequent in prose. Thus *Port. Mon. Hist. Leges* p. 476, 643; *Testam. Alph.* II (*Rev. Lusit.* 8, 82); Viterbo, *Euclid.*, s. v. Nunes, *Chrestom.* s. v.; Graal (ed. Reinhardtstöttner 1887) p. 21, 11 Como, senhor, disse Galuam, *chus* creedes uos a esta donzella ca a mjm? 110, 24, E. quando tornauam, falleciam ende *os chus*; 115, 17 E pois o caualeiro ouue feito este golpe, nom no catou *chus*. Cf. also *ibid.* 134, 4; 141, 12; *Revista lusit.* 6, 341 etc.

The presence of *chus* in Spanish texts has not so far been recognized. There is at least one instance of it in Berceo, *S. Mill.* 370 where the tribute of Christian maidens is referred to: Las medias de lignaie, las medias *chus sorrenda*. The expression *chus sorrenda* occurs again in the form *mas sorienda* *S. Oria* 93: Los otros *mas sorienda*, de menor claridat, and the identity of *chus* with our Portuguese word is thus established. What the exact import of the term *sorrenda* here is, I do not know at present, but the word appears to mean 'in bondage' (> *sub rendita*, the forms *renda* and *renta* occurring side by side in O. Sp.). The sense of *chus sorrenda* would then be: 'of more humble station'. In view of the verb *sorrendar* 'to restrain by the bridle' found in O. Sp. texts (*e. g. Alex.* 1018), one might be tempted to connect our *renda*, *rienda* with *retina*.

— 2 (Cf. § 57, 5) Here might have been added cases like *mas mucho*, J. Ruiz 215; *lo mas mucho*, *ibid.* 682; Pero niño 76: Vinieron los moros *mas muchos* que de antes; Merlin 5, 9, 99 *mas poco*, Cf. Portuguese and Galician: *mays pouco*, *chus pouco*, *Canc. da Ajuda* ll. 1224, 4675, 8983; Graal 142, 12; *Cron. Troy.* 1, 117, 309 etc.

§ 47, 15 The inclination of Spanish poets to use the enclitic pronouns in rime with accented vowels may be faulty, as Bello, *Ortología* 2, 2 says, but it finds its defense in the practice observable elsewhere to rime vowels bearing the regular accent with others having only a secondary stress. To cite only one or two parallels, Petrarch frequently coupled the enclitic pronouns in rime with accented vowels (see Savelli, *Arcaismi nelle rime del Petrarca*, in *Studj di filol. rom.* 8, 99) and Dante, *Inf.* 7, 26 rimes *úrli* : *pur lì* : *burli*. In Spanish, such rimes are by no means confined to enclitic pronouns and imperatives; e. g. C. Baena 227, 1, lo que es : leyes, 475, 1, Valdés : léas (= leyes) : despues : non es; 500, 6, Veces : es : reves; 38, 13, Diomedes : apries : qué es; *Canc. Gen.* no. 14, 2, Y ármate | de remedio atal que tē | libre de cruda sentencia; *ib.* 110, 1—Tristeza, por que combates | tan sin orden á mí quē | no sé por qué me guerreas? | Yo te pido que me mates, ó que me otorgues tu fe. In judging Spanish poets for such liberties as these, it may also be well to bear in mind the fact, not sufficiently recognized thus far, that the final atonic vowels, especially at the end of a clause, are drawn out somewhat and may thus serve the purpose of syllables with a secondary accent. To this peculiarity of Spanish speech attention was called by J. Storm, *Phonet. Studien* (1889) 2, 146–148 and by Araujo, *ibid.* 5, 68.

— 20 *Me se, te se* for *se me, se te* one may hear frequently in Andalusia. Cf. Marin, C. p. esp. 2, nos. 2442, 2446, 2661.

§ 51, 2 'Auch im Portugiesischen ist *al*, neben dem analogischen *ao*, in spuren erhalten (Cornu G. 1019)'. What is meant by analogical *ao*, is not clear. As for the rest of the statement, let it be said that Cornu, in the passage cited, explicitly calls attention to the currency of *al* in Southern Portugal and in Galicia, thus giving the information desired.

§ 52, 2 The discussion of *otro* in such cases as *Apoll.* 42 *Lagrimas e sospiros, non otros dulces cantos*, is found in *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 182, not in Nobiling 423.

— 4 (Cf. § 57, 4). Here is to be added that *todos* was used in the sense of 'both', especially when referring to parts of the body existing in pairs. Thus Cifar 153, 2, Porque el golpe me atraviesa *todos* los oídos. Portuguese and Galician: *Graal* 131, 31 Entam deço an tre elles (i. e. Lionell e Boorz) hũa chama de fogo em semelhança de corisco tam acesa que lhes queimou *todollos scudos*; *Alph. X.* CMaria 214, 8: Mas a Uirgen que de reys uen de *todolos* auós; *Cron. Troy.* 1, 359: *todos* los peitos; 2, 272 *Todallas* sobrençellas.

§ 57, 1 For the development of *veinte, treinta* etc. see the excellent treatise by J. Jud, *Die Zehnerzahlen in den romanischen Sprachen*. Halle 1905.

§ 58, 3 In expressions like *poco mincal, no te incala* etc., Hanssen would ascribe the position of *en, ende* (*m'en cal*) to a tendency to treat the adverbs *y* and *ende* like personal pronouns. As a matter of fact, the particles in question, and especially *y*, occupied this place quite commonly in the oldest texts, as in the *Cid* (cf. Staaff, *Mélanges Chabaneau*, 633–4) and the *Alex.* (cf. e. g. 120, 841, 843, 946, 966, 1004, 1011, 1013, 1129, 1141, 1144, 1197, 1268, 1278, 1271, 1298, 1413, 1461, 1561, 1678, 1752, 1800 etc.); *Siete Partidas* II, *ib.* 29, 1. I. Queriendo *ende* auer emienda, etc.

No mention is made of what may be termed the pleonastic use of *y* and *ende* in the earlier period of the language. For *ende* a few instances are given Denis p. 113; for *y* the following may answer: *P. C. Gen.* 466 un moro *de y* de la villa; 639 b. las gentes *de y* aderedor; 692 a. que era *y* en todos estos fechos;

772 a. Arçobispo *de y* de Sevilla; Galician: *Cron. Troy.* 1, 166: Nestor *de y* de Troya. Cf. *aquí, allí. P. C. Gen.* 653 b: Et quando *allí* llegaremos con el cuento de la historia a aquel lugar; Duran, *Romanc.* 2, 673 No son de reinos estraños, *Dé aquí* son deste lugar; *Picara Justina* (ed. Ochoa) 104: *de aquí* de Salamanca.

—5 Granting that the O. Sp. adverb *i* may come from *ibi* (cf. Men. M. 128, 1) instead of *hic*, the derivation of *desi* from *ex-ibi* + *dis* is hardly acceptable. In the first place, Latin medial *x* is regularly reflected by *š*, not by *s* (cf. *dixe, exir, mexillas*); in the second place, *des* is to be referred to *de ex* as is done by Hanssen himself in the identical cases of *desde, des aquí* (§ 73, 2), to which *desende, desen* etc. (e. g. *Alex.* 110, 883, 1115, 1170, 1560) might have been added. *Desi* may therefore more correctly be explained as *de ex* + *i*.

—6 O. Sp. *eri* (Berceo, *Milag.* 584, 656) has its parallel in O. Port. *eire*, five examples of which are cited by Cornu, *Rom.* 11, 91 (cf. also *Grundriss* 1, 954). To these may be added three in *Canç. Vat.* 772 (publ. *Mussafia-Festgabe* p. 35; see also the reviewer's note to *Canc. da Ajuda* no. 395 in *Z. f. r. Ph.* 32, 388) and *ir-noite* in Chiado, *Obras* (Lisbon 1889) p. 62, 88.

§ 58, 6 'Speziell altspanisch sind *cras; ayna* "schnell", (*aginam*)' *Cras* was of frequent use in Portuguese and Galician. See e. g. *Canc. Vat.* 798, 2; *Alph.* X, CM. s. v. (at least a dozen instances). As for *ayna*, to which *agina, ahina* should be added, see Diez, *EW.* s. v. and Körting, s. v. *agina*, where the Italian forms *agina, aina* and the Portuguese *aginha* are duly cited. Portug. *aginha* e. g. CC Brancuti 320, 1. To this add *asinha* (Christoval Falcão p. 44).

'Altspanisch *adiesso* heisst zur selben Zeit.' In the passage quoted (Berceo, *Milag.* 677) the word is equivalent to *en seguida, luego*. The same meaning attaches to it *ibid.* 895 and *S. Dom.* 612. In *Milag.* 850 we have *adiesso que* with the force of *luego que*. The sense attaching to Italian *adesso*, Old French, Prov., Catalan *ades* substantially accords with that claimed for Span. *adiesso* in the passages cited. (See Wölflin's *Archiv* 1, 236; Levy, *Provenz. SW.* s. v. *ades*.)

§ 59, 1 Here might have been mentioned the frequent use, in the earlier period of the language, of prepositions with the adverbial suffix *-mente*, showing how distinctly this suffix was still felt as a noun. A number of instances of this practice were published by the reviewer in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 1887 col. 371-2.

—2 A familiar case of the employment of adverbial (= neutral) forms as adjectives is *menos*. See e. g. *Prim. Cr. Gen.* 40 a. con los menos; 555 b; Escogiemos nos el menos (= menor) mal; Calderon, *La Vida es Sueño*, l. 2329 and *Mod. Lang. Notes* 1910, 151, Cf. Italian *meglio, peggio*.

—3 'Ebenso (i. e. the same as *sí* in asseverative formulas in Old Spanish) braucht man jetzt *así*: dime, *así* te guarde el cielo.' But *así* is used beside *si* as early as the thirteenth century, both in Spanish, Portuguese and Galician texts. E. g. *Alex.* 140: Deziruos e verdat, *asy* Dios me vala; Berceo, *S. Mill.* 487, and other instances in Cuervo, *Dicc.* s. v., *Liederbuch des Königs Denis* s. v. *assi*; *Alph.* CM. 141, 1; 230, 2 etc.

To *sí, assi* and *se* (for the use of which in asseverative formulas see my note in *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 180) must be added the hitherto unnoticed form *asse* which is occasionally met with in Portuguese and Galician verse, and is most probably due to contamination of *assi* and *se*: *Canc. da Ajuda* l. 6589 (= *Trovas e Cantares* no. 266, 2) E mui coitad', *ase* Deus me perdon! where Mrs. Vasconcellos, not understanding this form, substituted *coitado se* for the

Ms. reading, and added the conjecture: *a(s)si* in place of *ase*; *Alph. X*, CM. 9, 5: E como non leuas, *ase* Deus te valla, a omagen tigo? *ib.* 10: Bôa será esta, *a sse* Deus m'aiude; 24, 8: Mas cras, *a sse* Deus uos perdon, ide por el con procisson; 159, 4; E mandaron nove postas meter, *asse* Deus m'ampar, na ola; 230, 1: E porend', *a se* Deus m'ampar, Tod'ome deue dar loor (in the second stanza we find *assí*); 141, 1 the Toledo ms. has the variant *asse* for *assí*. If the text may be trusted, *ase* for *assí*, though not in an asseverative formula, is offered once by the *Poema de Alfonso XI*, st. 2361: *Commo leon que ha sanna, Ase yua contra la mar.*

—4 For the expression of 'too' = *demasiado* in Spanish, see the reviewer's article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 2 (1887), Col. 376-377, and for Romance speech in general Ebeling, *Z. f. rom. Phil.* 24, 535-6.

§ 60, 7 For a collection of such expletives in Old Spanish see my article in *Mod. Lang. Notes* 1, Col. 127-129, 2, Col. 371 and *Canc. Gall.-Castelh.* p. 214. Cf. also Marin. *Cant.* p. esp. 3, p. 354.

§ 61, 5 Instead of taking *que* in such statements as *Prim. Cr. Gen.* 28 a: *matolos todos que non dexó uno á vida*, to be the equivalent of an *ut consecutivum*, it would seem more correct to consider the negative clause in question as an example of the numerous cases, characteristic of popular speech and of early legal phraseology, in which an idea is emphasized by first stating it in a positive form and then adding an explicit negation of anything different from, or contrary to it. Thus Wolf, *Primavera* 1, 178: *Embarcó muy presto en ella, que no se detuvo nada.* Medieval Latin legal formula: *Melioretur nam non pegioretur.* See for examples of this usage in Spanish and Portuguese Cuervo, *Dicc.* s. v. *ca*, *Denís* pp. 136, 174 and *Canc. Gallego-Castelh.* p. 163-165, in which work references to the classical and Germanic languages are also given. Sometimes this *que* or *ca*, which is best rendered by 'but' or some similar adversative conjunction, is omitted, as *Cid* 1106: *pesales non les plaze.* Oftener, the verb is to be supplied from the first clause, as *ibid.* 2037: *besad las manos ca los pies no.*

§ 62, 2 For the discussion of *quomodo* > *como* the instructive treatises by Vising (*Tobler-Festgabe* 1895) and by Pirson (*Vollmöller-Festgabe* 1908) might have been consulted with advantage. No account, *e. g.*, is taken by Hanssen of *como a*, which occurs in the older Spanish texts (often disguised by other functions of the preposition *a*) besides *como*, and originally differed from the latter particle in that it was only employed in the so-called shortened comparison. Thus Milan, *El Cortesano* 22: *D. Luis Milan atravesó ('intervened') como á valedor de Juan Fernandez*; 62 *Y como mi Señor don Luis Vique . . . siendo marido se trata conmigo como á servidor*; 139 *D. Francisco Maestr'escuela pareceis, pues habeis entrado en esta disputa como á determinador*; 245: *Joan Fernandez . . . quocando como á mono*; 256 (Catalan) *Que tostemps están en aguait, com á gent ques recela.* Cf. also Jewish Spanish, as *e. g.* Wiener, *Mod. Philology* 1, 207, 269. For the distinction between *come*, *coma* and *como* in Old Portuguese and Galician, and for references to a corresponding usage in other Romance languages, see my article on the *Canc. da Ajuda* in *Z. f. rom. Phil.* 32, 154 and 389-390.

—7. 'Das altspanische *onde*, *ond*, *on* (*unde*) heisst *woher*.' This is true, but as early as the thirteenth century, it is frequently found in the sense of 'where', as might be expected of a time when *do* (*de ubi*) had come to mean 'where' beside 'whence'. Cf. *e. g.* *S. Maria Egipc.* 309 a: *Cató ayuso a los*

puertos on solia far sus depuertos; *ibid.* 315 a: Metenos en cielo *on* tu regnas; *Alex.* 218: Que conquiso a Yndia *ond* es oy adorado; *Alph.* XI 360 a: Es (el *rio*) a cinco leguas de alli *onde* el rey estaba; etc.

'*Do (de ubi)* . . . ist veraltet, aber in der poesie noch gebräuchlich'. Cf. § 64, 1. *Do* survives in the language of the people and also in the compounds *doquier*, *doquiera*, the former being restricted to poetic diction while the latter is also met with in prose. Thus Marin, *Cantos*. p. esp. 1, no. 800:

Soy alto y hermoso
Y ando á la ventura;
Por *do* paso corto,
Coso sin costura.

No. 910. Que cosa es la más sutil y penetra por *doquier*; no. 912: Justa *me* llaman por *doquier*; Galdos, *Marianela* (ed. Boston) s. v. *doquiera*.

§ 69, 1 'Es (i. e. the preposition *en*) kann *binnen* bedeuten: *Volveré en tres días*.' The employment of *en* in such an expression as this is frequent in the every day speech of Cuba and doubtless elsewhere in Spanish America, but is not considered correct in Castile, where good usage requires *dentro de* in this case, restricting the use of *en* to such phrases as: *de hoy en tres días*. Cf. Cuervo, *Dicc.* s. v. *dentro*.

§ 70, 10 Much might be said in regard to the meanings of *deber*, *deber de*, *seer de* and of other verbs discussed here. Suffice it to observe that *pensar*, *pensar de*, *pensar en*, with the infinitive do not, as one is allowed to infer, have the same meaning now. With the pure infinitive, *pensar* signifies 'to expect to do a thing'; with *de*, 'to think about', 'have an opinion of' a thing; with *en*, 'to think of', 'remember' a person or thing, 'to have one's mind on it'. Fr. *y penser*, Ital. *pensarci*.

§ 72, 4 An interesting sense attaching to the preposition *con*, which deserved notice here, is that of *como* 'in the same manner as', 'like'. E. g. Merlin c. 7 (p. 5): Jamas no aureys plazer *con* (= *como*) las otras mugeres en quanto con ella biuieres. This use of *con* is also met with in Italian. Dante, *Purg.* 9, 115-116: Cenere, o terra, che secca si cavi, D'un color fora *col* suo vestimento; *Parad.* 10, 107-108: Quel Pietro fu che *con* la poverella Offerse a Santa Chiesa il suo tesoro; Petrarch, *Rime* (ed. Rigutini) p. 37: Che quand' io mi ritrovo dal bel viso Cotanto esser diviso, *Col* desío non possendo mover l'ali; Bocc., *Decam.* 10, 9: Io ho vestito di queste robe il mio signore *con* voi; etc.

A similar case in Modern Spanish occurs in A. Palacio Valdes, *Tristan* p. 124: Un día *con* otro treinta céntimos. Still another signification of *con* is 'in comparison with'. E. g. *Amadis* 110 b: Mas no era (aquella camara) nada *con* un apartamento que allí se facia donde Apolidon é su amiga albergaban.

—9. Here one would like to see a reference at least to the important part played in the Peninsula by the preposition *sin* in the formation of phrases equivalent to adjectives and nouns, a subject to which attention is called in *Canc. Gallego-Castelhano* p. 181-182. To the instances from Portuguese and Galician texts there cited, a few of the large number offered by Spanish practice may here be added. *P. Cron. Gen.* 94 a: Mucho era *syn* cuidado et liviano por natura; 106 a: Ca (aquellas losenias) se podian mudar a tiempo et seer *sin omra* (= falsas, vanas); 699 a E aquel castello fue luego dexado como por *sin pro*;

Amadis 113, 6; Ay ventura, cosa liviana y *sin rais*; 227 a: El caballero mas *sin ventura* del mundo; 289 b; Porque mejor . . . sabe la gran fuerza y *sinjusticia* que se me fizo (cf. *id. ibid.* 300 a, b); 432 b: Porque así como la gran tristeza en la perdida pasada fué *sin número* (= indecible); C Baena 7, 1: Algun *sinsabor* vesino; *ibid.* 101, 2: Sienpre dizes tus *sinsabores* (= cosas insípidas).

INDEX.

- Accent, drawing back of, in verbs, 337
- adiesso*, meaning of, 342
- ado, -ido, participles in, 338
- Adverbs as adjectives, 342
- agotar*, 335
- aina*, *agina*, in other Romance languages, 342
- al* for *ao* in Portuguese, 341
- Analogy, 331, 337, 338
- are, -ire, infinitives in, 338
- arruga* for *ruga*, 335
- ase* for *asi*, Galician and Portug., 342-343
- asi* in asseverative formulas, 342
- asperar* for *esperar*, 335
- ayo*, *ajo* for *ei* (*habeo*) Galician, 337
- b*, *v*, pronunciation of, 336
- bo* > *go*, 336
- c*, initial before a, o, u, voicing of, 336
- ca*, see *que* 'but', 343
- calze*, 335
- Catalan, relation of, to Provençal and Spanish, 333
- cativo*, meanings of, 340
- chus* = *más*, 340
- close vowels, 333
- Colonial and Peninsular Spanish, differences between, 333, 344
- Comparatives, 340
- como a* = *como*, 343
- con*, prep., uses of, 344
- cras*, in Galician and Portuguese, 342
- cro que* for *creo que*, 337
- Crossing of words, 332
- de*, *pensar* and infinitive with, 344
- dentro de*, use of, 344
- desi*, etymology of, 342
- dioses* for *dios*, 339
- diphthongs, 333-335
- do*, survival of, 344
- doctus, 334
- doito*, 334
- duals, masculine, embracing both sexes, 339
- ducho*, 334-335

- ductus*, 334-335
duecho, 334-335
en for *dentro de*, 344, with *pensar*, 344
ende, pleonastic use of, 341-342
escantir, *escantar*, 338
escuchar, 335
 Etymology, popular, 332, 334
 Expletives, in negative expression, 343
eyre, *ir*- Portug. > *heri*, 342
fa de duro, 335
fa de maja, 335
fija fembra, 339-340
 Galician, 332, 334, 336, 337, 339-344
 Gender, 339-340
gui < *hi*, *i*, 336
go < *bo*, *vo*, 336
 Haplology, 337
heri > *eyre*, *ir* Portug., 342
 Heterocclisis of verbs, 338
hi > *gui*, 336
i > *gui*, 336
i adverb, position of, 341-342 pleonast. use of, 341-342
-ié, imperfects in, 338
-igreja for *iglesia*, 337
 Infinitive, uses of, 338-339
 Influence of words upon each other, 331-332, 334, 337, 338
ir-, see *eyre*
ll, pronunciation of, 336
lugo for *luego*, 333-334
mas mucho, etc., 340
-mente, adverbs formed with prepositions, 342
me se etc. for *se me*, 341
me, *te*, *se* etc. riming with accented vowels, 341
 Metaphony, 333
 Metathesis, 331-332
mincal, 341
 Negation, expletives used in, 343
on, *onde* 'where', 343-344
 Open vowels, 333
otro, use of, 341
padres, 'father and mother', analoga in other languages, 339
parece que > *pe-que*, 335
pensar with pure infinitive, 344, with prep. *de*, *en*, 344
pe-me < *parece me*, 335
pe-que < *parece que*, 335
 Pleonasm, 341-342
 Portuguese, 332, 334, 336, 337, 339-344
prengo, *prenga*, etc., 337
 pronouns, enclitic, accent of, 341

pues for *pues*, 333-334
que 'but' in archaic negative formulas, 343
querer, use of, 338
quomodo > *como*, 343
Ruy Diaz, 336
s, pronunciation of, 335
sabueso, *sagueso*, 334
señor for *señora*, 339
si, treatment of, 337
sin, used with nouns to form adjectives and nouns, 344-345
sorrenda, 340
todos, 'both', 341
 'too' = *demasiado*, how expressed, 343
tre, *tred*, 338
trey, *treyde*, 338
u for *ue*, 333
ue for *u*, 333
usia, 337
usted, 337
v, pronunciation of, 336
váyamos for *vayámos*, etc., 337
veinte, *treinta* formation of, 341
 Verbal forms, analogical, 337, 338, Galician, 338, short-forms, 336, 338
vo > *go*, 337
 Vocalism, Spanish, 333
vuestra merced, *señoría*, contractions of, 337
yantar, s. fem. use of, 340
z, pronunciation of, 335-336

H. R. LANG.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

La nouvelle française au XV^e siècle (Bibliothèque du XV^e siècle, T. XII).
 WERNER SÖDERHJELM, Paris, Champion, 1910. Pp. xii + 237.

Professor Söderhjelm who has made some most significant contributions to comparative literature in various studies on the sources of *Jehan de Paris*, and the works of Antoine de la Sale and Martial d'Auvergne, in which he has also added to our knowledge of the life and art of the known authors, undertakes, in his *La nouvelle française au XV^e siècle*, to complete his survey of the literary genre to which these works belong, by tracing its evolution, and its place in French literature and narrative style. For his task he has all the requisite qualities; writing out of a full knowledge of his subject, he shows a power of subtle and broad synthetic treatment, a well-balanced judicial temperament and a perception of the delicate shades of style.

After an introductory chapter on the type prior to the fifteenth century, he takes up in succession *Les Quinze joyes de Mariage*, the authentic works of Antoine de la Sale, the *Cent Nouvelles nouvelles*, *Les arrests d'Amour*, *Jehan de Paris* and the *Nouvelles de Sens*. He finds the beginnings of that mode of storytelling, which in its setting, its spirit and its art is typically French in two genres of medieval literature. The *lais* have the simple directness and conciseness of

style, with too, a touch of realism in the details of the setting of their wonder-stories, and the fableaux have realistic themes and settings, pitiless delineations of scenes of contemporary life, if told in a style bare of artistic distinction. That the formal collections in French of stories pointing a moral, of Oriental origin, played no part in the formation of the novel except in furnishing the material of a story, now and then, is evident. The suggestion that the change from verse to prose in these collections pointed the way to a similar evolution in the novel is unnecessary; equally so is the assumption of the influence of the prose chronicles, records of actual events, with which the authors of imaginative works would wish to assimilate their own productions. Beginning with the early part of the thirteenth century, the author of certain histories, didactic works, and romances in prose, justified the vehicle of their expression by emphasizing its greater exactitude and precision.¹ The exceptions became the practice in all genres of narrative literature; its appearance in the novel is only a point of chronological interest, which needs investigation. Only in the case of the *Dit de l'Empereur Coustant* and the *Contes dou roi Coustant l'Empereur* is it possible to show the stylistic results of this transition of form. After the author's delicate analysis of *Aucassin et Nicolette* (8-15) which brings out the way in which the unique personal tone is combined with essentially medieval attributes, it is unfortunate that he elsewhere (223) accepts as possible Pater's paradox which makes of it a precursor of the Renaissance. As is pointed out (24), there is no occasion for a discussion of the story of *Asseneth*, which was published by d'Héricault and Moland as one of their *Nouvelles françaises en prose du XIV^e siècle*. It is only a translation of Vincent de Beauvais's textual reproduction of the version of a Jewish rabbinical legend, found in the *Historia scholastica* of Pierre le Mangeur, who died in 1179.

One can follow the author in refusing to attribute the paternity of *Les quinze joyes* to Antoine de la Sale, because—to voice the thought he does not express in so many words—Antoine was not capable of writing it: "un ouvrage de la plus haute originalité . . . le plus ancien chef-d'œuvre en prose, au sens moderne du mot, qu'offre la littérature française" (71). But of the external evidence against this attribution, two of the three proofs in favor of a date earlier than the period of Antoine's activity, the allusions to a peculiar style of dress, and to the title of the Dauphin (30 ff.), can be shown to be unfounded by further studies in the history of costume, and in diplomatics. It is surprising that Professor Söderhjelm has not seen in Antoine's story of the "Chaperons" (81-3) the well-known historical episode of the *capuciati* (1182-4), which has been treated most fully, in recent years, by Luchaire.² Antoine has adopted the version of the sceptical anonymous chronicler of Laon.³ If it is necessary to go back to classical antiquity to find a pendant to the pathetic nobility of "la dame de Chastel" in the *Reconfort* (94), the anecdote of the mourning mother whose tears weighed down the dress of her son in the after-world, was a favorite with medieval

¹ Cf. P. Meyer, *Rom.*, VI, 495; XIV, 66; *Not. et Extr.*, XXXIII, Part 1, 22, 31; E. Brugger, *Zeit. f. franz. Sprache*, XXIX, 75-7.

² *Séances et travaux de l'Académie des sciences morales et politiques* (1900), LIV, 283 ff.; *Grande Revue*, XIII (1900), 317 ff.; *La société française au temps de Philippe-Auguste* (1909), 13 ff.

³ Bouquet, XVIII, 705 ff.

storiologists. If there are any parts of the book which call for particular commendation it is the treatment of the *Cent Nouvelles* and the *Nouvelles de Sens*. In the one case the characteristics of the author's methods and style, with the multiple chances of variety, are brought out most strikingly, especially in the comparison of the French work with the *Decamerone*. In the other case the author has held the just balance between the over-enthusiastic tone of Vossler, natural, perhaps, in the first discussion of the work as a whole, and the curt tone of censure, with which Langlois judges it in his edition in his *Nouvelles françaises inédites du XV^e siècle*. The chapter on the *Arrests d'Amour* is welcome as it is unexpected particularly because the work of Martial d'Auvergne is not accessible in modern reprints as are the other works discussed. Taken as a whole the book adds a new chapter to literary history, on a subject which has been hitherto dismissed with a summary judgment, stated in vague generalities. For its merits, both of scholarship and of criticism, it at once keeps up the standard, and adds to the reputation of the collection of which it forms a part, the Bibliothèque du XV^e siècle, due to the enterprise, perspicacity and patriotism of its publisher.

GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

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Gli studi provenzali in Italia nel Cinquecento, di Santorre Debenedetti. Torino, Loescher, 1911, in 8vo., pp. 304.

Although Mussafia, Rajna, Crescini and De Lollis have made special contributions to the history of Provençal studies in Italy, there has been hitherto no work, analytic and synthetic at the same time, elucidating the thousand details of this theme, arranging them, estimating them for their individual worth, and putting them into relation with the culture of the age. There was lacking above all a good history of the Provençal MSS. of Italy, dealing with that century when they were collected and preserved with such a great solicitude. This is the subject dealt with by Debenedetti in this volume.

After showing the deep interest aroused by Provençal literature in Italy in the early centuries, the author passes to an *Introduction* of the scholars, who in the sixteenth century renewed these studies. Pietro Bembo is characterised as a keen observer of the linguistic phenomena; then comes Colocci, to whom the A. dedicates several pages full of important information: he stands out as one of the most genial minds among these philologists. Equicola and Vellutello are also studied in their relation to one another; and a new light is thrown upon the characteristic figure of Onorato Drago. The A. passes then in review Barbieri and Castelvetro, scrupulous scholars both, Beccadelli and Giganti, Jacopo Corbinelli, the impenitent forger Jean de Nostre-Dame, Gianvincenzo Pinelli, Fulvio Orsini, Pietro di Simon del Nero.

The first part deals particularly with the philological studies of these scholars of the sixteenth century. In spite of the scarce number of grammars and dictionaries, we may observe how deeply these keen and quick minds succeeded in commanding the Provençal language. Drago's phonetical studies are minutely analyzed, and the evidence given by Bembo, in his *Prose*, by Barbieri, Giganti, Beccadelli and Varchi, undergoes a careful examination, which sifts the elements derived from other authors from the original ideas of the penetrating minds of

these writers, in whom abundance of learning is combined with a marvellous erudition. Hence we pass on to the indices, copies, collations and attempts at text emendation, to which work Giganti, Del Nero and Pinelli contributed. The glosses of Bembo and Colocci are examined in order to define more and more the goal they were aiming at, and thus through them we can know with certainty what the critical ideals of these scholars were.

The translations from Provençal, numerous and in great part still unpublished, open to the author a magnificent field of study. Beginning with those of Chariteo, Casassagia, and Equicola, passing then to analyze the various interpretations and readings given to the various Provençal lines contained in the *Divina Commedia*, then to the versions of Colocci, the A. arrives, always with the same critical insight and rigid method, at Doni and Bembo, without overlooking Castelvetro's translations and Varchi's studies on this subject.

The second part of the volume examines the comparative studies of Provençal and Italian. First of all, it studies the concept that these scholars had of the language of Provence; then it deals with the name given to this language. Bembo's theory offers the A. an opportunity of showing his deep acquaintance with the general culture of the sixteenth century. The examination of Castelvetro's etymological dictionary of the *Novellino*, a work hitherto considered lost, shows the relation between the researches of Bembo and those of Castelvetro; and availing himself of the knowledge gained in contemporary writers, the author is enabled to study in full the MSS. and printed works, and so succeeds in demonstrating the mode of criticism in vogue in the sixteenth century. Peculiar interest attaches to Chapter II, which shows the relation between Provençal and Italian metres, and deals with the origin of verse and rhyme. The notes by Colocci and Bembo, the materials by Veniero, are carefully analyzed. Ciro Spontone's theories are clearly stated; the opinions of Trissino and Giambullari are considered in their various aspects, and the various hypotheses are discussed with discrimination and insight. In Chapter III the troubadours are treated as they appeared to the minds of the sixteenth century. Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, the remarks of Vellutello and the observations of other commentators, together with many sources hitherto unnoticed, throw their light on the discussion. Especially interesting are the pages dedicated to Jean de Nostredame, whose derivations from Petrarch are not less certain than quaint.

The third part consists of contributions to the external history of the Provençal MSS. The author restores with much novelty of results, the MSS. belonging to Bembo, Colocci, Equicola, Vellutello, Beccadelli, Barbieri, Veniero, Castelvetro and Fulvio Orsini. An interesting collection of documents, even yet partly unpublished, closes the volume; there are letters from Pietro Summonte to Angelo Colocci, Casassagia to the same, others from Marquis Francesco Gonzaga to Trissino, from Bembo to Tebaldeo, from Corbinelli to Pinelli. The collations of Pietro Bembo are here published faithfully and completely for the first time. Casassagia's translations and Bembo's indices, offer, as does the whole work, not only an historical interest, but also a valuable contribution to modern studies of Provençal literature. Unless a whole series of new documents comes to light (for which however we must not cherish illusions, when we think that the author has completed researches through the MSS. of Rome, Florence, Parma, Bologna, Milan and Paris), the work may be considered as definitive.

FREDERICO OLIVERO.

TORINO.

Balduns Tod. By CARL VORETZSCH, in *Verzeichnis der Doktoren welche die Philosophische Fakultät der Universität in Tübingen im Dekanatsjahr 1904-05 ernannt hat.* Tübingen, G. Schnürlein, 1910. Pp. 66.

Romance scholars who are interested in the legend of Ogier will welcome information as to the present edition of the *Mort Balduin*. It is difficult to keep track of many publications which appear in a semi-fugitive manner, like this. Professor Voretzsch is preparing a critical edition of *Ogier*, and seems to have published the episode of the death of Balduin as a preliminary. He deserves our thanks for thus putting at our disposal the valuable text before us.¹ Mr. Voretzsch publishes in parallel columns the texts of the following MSS.: Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français, 24,403 (MS. A); Durham (MS. C); Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 2985 (MS. P); Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, L IV 2 (MS. T). The two latter are in Alexandrine verse. He also publishes the important variants, and adds the prose version of the edition published towards the year 1498 by Antoine Vérard. Several facsimiles add to the value and charm of the present publication. The broad, generous pages permit the editor to offer an adequate picture of the various manuscripts and versions. Those who are making a study of the relationship and development of epic material in Old French, will find this volume quite useful.

As to the variants, Mr. Voretzsch deserves great credit for the correct manner in which he has deciphered the miserable MS. 1583 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. E), whose variants are given with unusual exactitude. He would have done well (p. 61) to state the number of the printed edition of the prose version at Paris as: *Imprimés, Vélins 1125*, instead of spacing the number thus *Imprimés, Vélins 1, 125*, which would certainly strike the librarians at Paris as a very strange note.

I offer in no invidious spirit a few suggestions concerning some of the readings of MS. A (p. 8 ss.). Line 17: the MS. has *marratre*, not *marrastre*; p. 12, line 9: *arceuesquier*, or *arcevesquier*, not *arceuesque*; p. 14, line 6: *trait*; p. 16, line 15: *cuivers*, not *euiuers*; p. 22, line 1: *esragier*; line 10: *murgaisier*; line 11: *portigal*; p. 24, line 3: *aidier*; p. 26, line 24: rather *encancent*; p. 28, line 15: *uns*, not *vus*; p. 30, line 28: *nasal*; line 6: *vuolle*; p. 32, line 9: probably *grans*, not *graas*; line 26: *ceualx*, not *ceual*; p. 34, line 8: *soient*, not *sorent*; line 9: *place*, not *plaie*; p. 36, line 23: *beauuasis* or *beauuasis*, not *beau uois*; p. 44, line 8: *ensegnier*, not *ensegnier*; line 17: *borc*; p. 46, line 23: *voellies*; p. 52, line 12: *boins*. The reasons for certain failures to separate words are not apparent, and I would suggest, even in a diplomatic text, the following emendations: p. 18, line 21: *a ses*; p. 20, line 8: *il not*; p. 34, line 15: *sor og'*; p. 46, line 11: *a ma*; p. 52, line 13: *castiel fort*; line 24: *porta le*.

R. W.

¹The increase of interest in the legend of Ogier is indicated by the scholarly edition of the Franco-Italian *Chevalerie Ogier*, by Mr. Barry Cerf, *Modern Philology*, 1910, 1911.

NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Ellwood A. Welden, late of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania, has been appointed Associate in Romance languages at Bryn Mawr.

Mr. Charles Dean Cool, Instructor in Romance languages at the University of Wisconsin, has been promoted to an assistant professorship.

Associate Professor Ralph Emerson Bassett of the University of Kansas, has accepted a similar position at the University of Cincinnati.

Professor Edward L. Stevenson of Rutgers College has become Secretary of the Hispanic Society, New York.

Mr. Francis B. Barton, who graduated at Williams College in 1907, has been appointed Instructor in Romance languages at Williams.

Mr. Robert S. Pellissier, late of the Harvard Graduate School, has been appointed Instructor in Romance languages at Leland Stanford.

Dr. Jean Beck, of Paris, has accepted an assistant professorship in Romance languages at the University of Illinois. Mr. Beck's recent researches in medieval music mark an epoch.

At the last meeting of the Dante Society, Professor Edward S. Sheldon was elected President, Professor Charles H. Grandgent, Vice-President, Professor F. N. Robinson, Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. W. C. Lane, Librarian, and Professor J. D. M. Ford, Member of the Council.

Mr. A. J. W. Horst, late of the Boston English High-School, has been appointed Instructor in Romance languages at Beloit College.

Professor Albert Schinz, of Bryn Mawr, has been granted a year's leave of absence. He will pass his sabatical in Europe.

Teachers of Spanish will be glad to know that Mr. M. A. Colton, of the Naval Academy, Annapolis, has published at Paris *La Phonétique castillane, Traité de Phonétique descriptive et comparative*. The American agent is George W. Jones, Annapolis, Md.

Dr. A. P. Raggio has been appointed Associate Professor of Romance Languages in the University of Maine.

Dr. Curtis Hidden Page, formerly assistant professor of the Romance languages and literatures at Columbia University and recently professor of English literature at Northwestern University, has accepted a call to the professorship of English literature at Dartmouth College, with leave of absence until 1912-'13.

CARLO LEONARDO SPERANZA¹

(1844-1911)

The news of the sudden death of Professor Speranza of Columbia University brought not only keen sorrow to the hearts of all his former students scattered far and wide over the country, but a sort of dismayed sympathy for the generations of their successors at Columbia. They will live the years of their student-life in the roaring whirlwind of the great city, without knowing, as we did, the friendly tranquility which made a little sunny spot of genial peace about the personality of the man whose kind eyes are now closed forever. Nothing could have surprised modest, retiring "old Speranza", or "dear old Speranza" (the affectionately disrespectful nicknames by which his students knew him) than thus to be elevated into a symbolic figure in the academic life in which, I daresay, he was persuaded he played but an unimportant rôle. It was the very essence of his charm that he was quite unconscious of its potency. He would undoubtedly have described himself as a professor of Italian like another—a professor, he would have thought, with perhaps less than the usual American trained capacity for cramming relentlessly into his students, willy-nilly, the structural details of the language he taught. For, though he came to love America and to feel more at home in it than in the mother-country, a slight hint of the exile's sadness, a slight trace of the stranger's diffidence in new conditions always clung to him, throwing a faint, appealing shadow across the light and warmth of his ever-welcoming cheer.

America's debt to him is two-fold. His opportunity as a thorough American Italian citizen was double, and his achievements were more than equal to his opportunity. He sent out all over the country Americans with a better knowledge of Italian culture and literature and above all of the amenity and grace of the Italian habit of life. Yes, that is true; but he also sent out in every direction Italians with a better knowledge of the language, customs and laws of America. Every day he labored to bring light and sweetness to the keen, crude, well-to-do, lettered young products of the new country, and every evening he labored to give information to the unlettered yet naturally civilized, much-needing and much-hoping products of the ancient land he had left. For years he stood like a bridge between those two mutually misunderstanding groups of humanity, so strangely brought together by the wheel of chance; for years he poured out the knowledge he alone could command of the problems and needs of those so diverse worlds. It is not strange that he died, worn out, long before old age. It is not strange that even those who mourn him with most heart-felt regret can not wish that he had been forced to know the inaction of old age. It will only be strange if his memory is not held in enduring gratitude by the country he so greatly, and so quietly served.

DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER.

Arlington, Vermont.

¹ For a portrait and commemorative biography of Professor Speranza, by his colleague, Professor Adolphe Cohn, see the *Columbia University Quarterly* for June 1911.—Ed.

The Columbia University Press

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

VOL. II — OCTOBER–DECEMBER, 1911 — No. 4

STORM-MAKING SPRINGS: RINGS OF INVISIBILITY AND PROTECTION.—STUDIES ON THE SOURCES OF THE *YVAIN* OF CHRETIEN DE TROIES

CONJECTURES and studies on the sources of the *Yvain* of Chrétien de Troies have been as frequent in number as they have been varied in their results. One of the chief elements of the poem, the storm-making spring in the forest of Brocéliande, has received its due share of explanations, but not one of these has been based upon a study of other instances of this belief, its causes, its variations and its stages of development. Such a study in primitive beliefs and survivals will lead one far afield, but will, at least, obviate the occasion of future hypotheses upon the ultimate source of the episode. After having shown the universal belief in the sacredness of certain bodies of water, of which the disturbance, more or less violent, brought on needed rain, desired winds, or destructive storms, sometimes due to the personal activity of the resident spirit or spirits, I hope to show that the Celtic folk-tale, the source of the *Yvain*, retained this belief in the affinity between a spring, and its guardian spirit, who was ever ready to defend his watery domain. In this tale the spring was described with the natural concomitants of a spring devoted to the practise of the Celtic religion, a tree and a dolmen, or a circle of stones, and the Irish folk-tale, *In Gilla Decair*, which is a variant of it, has kept, closer than the *Yvain*, to the original story, in its description of the spring. Chrétien has amplified this incident of his original by two additions; a local Breton tradition, in which the sprinkling of a stone brought on rain, and a literary, pseudo-scientific belief in the power of a certain precious stone to bring on a storm. That both

these beliefs were almost universal will be set forth at length. That Chrétien was indebted to Wace for his account of the first has been already pointed out; and I shall show that he was indebted for the second to a *Lapidarius*, from which he also borrowed his account of the wonderful qualities attributed to the rings of Lunete and Laudine. I have made a point of citing the *verba ipsissima* of my authors, so as to bring out more emphatically the parallelism of the forms and rites of customs in widely separated countries.

The single instance of a rain-making spring in classic literature is in the well known account of Pausanias, of a ceremony performed at the sacred spring of Hagno in Arcadia:

If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia.¹

The precaution taken by the officiating priest not to dip the branch into the depths of the spring was in order not to bring on a storm, instead of the beneficent rain besought from the nymph of the fountain.² The rain-cloud rose from the spring,³ and the branch was only the instrument of disturbance, if the priest used a branch of the tree sacred to the god to whom he administered.⁴ The branch was not used either to sprinkle water on the ground, as in ceremonies of imitative magic for making rain,⁵ or to beat the water with, as in other magical rites, made for the same purpose.⁶ Was

¹ *Description of Greece*, translation J. G. Frazer, VIII, 38, 4.

² Cf. F. Liebrecht, *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia imperialia* (1856), 148-9; Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, II, 341. In the light of the universal prevalence of the belief, R. Fritzche is much nearer the truth in regarding the ceremony as a survival in Pausanias's time of the naturalistic worship of the south Achaeans (*Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Alterthum*, XIII, 617), than J. W. Hewitt, who considered the ceremony primitive and peculiar to Arcadia, and not contemporaneous with Pausanias (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XIX, 79).

³ Cf. Hewitt, *l. c.*

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., II, 359 ff.

⁵ As interpreted by Frazer, I, 309.

⁶ As supposed by a number of scholars; cf. A. Zingerle, "Ueber Berührungen tirolischer Sagen mit antiken" in *Tirolensia*, 122-3. I shall treat of this ceremony at length in the course of these studies.

the same power attributed to a spring near Delphi, into which the fatal necklace of Hermione was reported to have been thrown, if the one account of it makes the offended sun cause the storms? The fullest account of this tradition is;

Alcmaeon monile, occisa matre, Apollini consecrauit, quod in fontem missum hodieque cerni dicitur. Quod si quis manu attractauerit et ostenderit caelo, offendi solem et tempestates oriri.⁷

Pliny tells⁸ of a cave at Senta on the coast of Dalmatia, which caused a storm when anything was thrown into it, but this can hardly be cited as an example, any more than the cave in Tabaristan to which the same power was attributed, according to the testimony of al Birûnî, an Arabic writer, in a work written c. 1000.⁹ This same writer, however, gives, perhaps, the earliest account found in Oriental writers of a spring which brought on rain as soon as anything dirty was thrown into it. This spring was located in the mountains of Ferghana.¹⁰ al 'Otbî († 1036)¹¹ almost the contemporary Arabic historian of the conquest of India by Sabuktigin, in his *Alkitâb al Jemîni*,¹² tells how the Mohammedan conqueror in one of his expeditions, through his superior knowledge, caused the defeat of the opposing Hindu army by throwing some dirty substance into a fountain in a ravine of the hill of Ghûzak (Ghûrak) in the Lamghân valley in Afghanistan.¹³ This action

⁷Lactantius *ad Theb.*, IV, 188; ed. Jahnke, 204. A shorter text is found in the *Mythographi vaticani*, II, 78. According to Apollodorus (III, 93; ed. Wagner) it was the sons of the slain Alcmaeon who dedicated the necklace to Apollo.

⁸*Hist. nat.*, II, 44 (45).

⁹*The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, Translat. C. E. Sachau, 235. On date *ib.* viii, ix. A similar phenomenon is connected with a hole in the mountain in the Emmenthal, in which Pilate is said to be buried (Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, 176) the "Wetterloch" near Krainburg, one near Rudenstein, a "Windloch bei Veternigk" and another at Katzenstein (Rochholz, 193, citing *Compendieuse Staatsbeschreibung*, Braunschweig, 1719, I, 183), and a hole in the Carpathians, near Dzar (H. F. Massmann, *Der Kaiserchronik*, III, 605, n. 1).

¹⁰*L. c.*

¹¹Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, I, 314.

¹²Nöldeke, *Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Akad.*, Phil. Hist. Klasse, XXIII, 75-6. Another translation of the passage, differing in details, is found in Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, II, 20.

¹³On its location see Elliot-Dowson, II, 436; *Alberuni's India*, transl. Sachau, I, 259.

caused such a frightful storm of rain, thunder and sand, accompanied by intense cold, that the Hindus were entirely discomfited. This Arabic work was most popular in both its original form and in a Persian translation,¹⁴ and is cited as the authority of a more detailed form of the story found in a Persian collection of historical anecdotes, the *Jawâmi'u'l-Hikâyât*,¹⁵ written by Muhammad 'Awfi in the first half of the thirteenth century. It was also doubtless the source of the accounts found in the works of two Persian historians, Mîr Khwând¹⁶ in the fifteenth,^{16a} and Firishtah in the seventeenth century.¹⁷ The great Bâbur in his *Memoirs*,¹⁸ writing of the year 1524, when he was at Ghazna, connects this historical event with a spring near that city. A. F. Grimme writing in 1888¹⁹ on the sources of the *Yvain*, suggested that the episode in the Old-French poem owed its origin to this Oriental tale, which had been brought to the Occident by the Crusaders. He was only acquainted with the accounts of Mîr Khwând and Firishtah, but postulated an earlier Oriental version of the tradition, a suggestion which has been fully substantiated. The belief is still extant in the northernmost part of India, where the Dards believe that if a piece of cowskin be thrown into a spring in the Chaprot nulla by the order of the Thum of Hunza, accompanied by incantations, clouds arise and frightful storms rage over the district. However, that the storm-making power resides in the spring and not in the royal power,²⁰ is evident by the belief among the same people, that anything unclean thrown into a number of other springs causes storms.²¹

Another similar spring, more definitely located, has been described by travellers in Persia since the thirteenth century.^{21a} The

¹⁴ Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 20-1.

¹⁵ Elliot-Dowson, II, 182, cf. 156.

¹⁶ *Mohammedi Filii Chondschahi vulgo Mirchondi Historia Gasnevidarum* persica ed. F. Wilken, 147.

^{16a} E. G. Brown, *A Literary History of Persia*, II, 447-8

¹⁷ *Ib.*, note.

¹⁸ Transl. Erskine, 149-150; transl. Pavet de Courteille, I, 305.

¹⁹ *Germania*, XXXIII, 58.

²⁰ Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, 112; *Psyche's Task*, 10 ff.; *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., I, 332 ff.

²¹ A. Durand, *The Making of a Frontier* (1899), 209-210; cf. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Koosh*, 95.

^{21a} Cf. below, p. 375.

author²² of the Arabic encyclopedic work *tuhfat al 'agâ' ib waturfat* as cited by Qazwini (c. 1203-1283)²³ in his great geographical work, tells of a mountain in the province of Damghan

with a spring on it, into which if any dirt be cast, a powerful wind blows in such a way, that destruction and devastation may be feared from it.²⁴

The same author's account of another spring in the same province is only a doublet of the tradition about the same spring:

One of the districts of Damâghân is a town called Kahn (?) in which is a spring called Bâdhkhâni. Whenever the people of the town wish the wind to blow for the winnowing of grain at threshing-time, they take a menstruous rag, and cast it into that spring; then the wind blows.²⁵

A. ibn Jahjâ 'Omari (1301-1348)²⁶ in his *Masâlik al absâr fi mamâlik al amshâr* speaks of a spring in Khorasan between Damghan and Astrabad, in which the water would boil and the air grow dark when any filth was thrown into it.²⁷ The Spanish traveller Clavigo tells how when about a league from Damghan, January 12, 1406, a strong cold wind sprang up that was scarcely bearable he was told:

que en una sierra que encima de la ciudad estaba, avia una fuente, é quando caía alguna alimania ó cosa sucia, venteaba tan recio que era maravilla, é que non cesaba fasta que limpiaban aquella fuente: é otro dia fué la gente con palos é garabatos, é limpiaron aquella fuente, é cesó el viento.²⁸

Describing the flight of the unfortunate Humâyûn, the son of Bâbur, to the court of Shah Tahmasp in 1544, Abû-l- Fazl the con-

²² On its possible authorship see Brockelmann, I, 358, n. 2; II, 699.

²³ Brockelmann, I, 481.

²⁴ Ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 245. An abridged statement to the same effect is found I, 158. To Professor Duncan B. Macdonald of the Hartford Theological Seminary I am greatly indebted for finding and translating the passages of Qazwini of which only one has been cited by Quatremère in his *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse, écrite en perse par Raschid-Eldin* (1836) 438.

²⁵ Qazwini, ed. cit., II, 245.

²⁶ Brockelmann, II, 141.

²⁷ Quatremère, l. c.

²⁸ Ed. I. Sreznevski, 349 (*Sbornik otdielenia Russkago iazyka y slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akad., Nauk, XXVIII*).

temporaneous historian, in marking off the stages of his itinerary, mentions Bostam, the town reached going westward, before arriving at Damghan:

Adjacent to this latter place is described . . . a fountain of water, into which through the operation of a Telessem, or Talisman, in times long past therein suspended, whenever any impure substance was cast an extraordinary turbulence in the superincumbent air was instantly produced, occasioning such a whirlwind of dust and atoms, as to darken all around.²⁹

The account of the spring and its attributes in the great geographical work *Jihân-numa* of the seventeenth century Turkish savant, Haji Khalfa,³⁰ and the comment in the eighteenth century Persian dictionary *Burhani Qatun* on Badhani (spring of the wind), "name of a spring in the canton of Hava in the province of Damghan":

If anything filthy falls in that spring, wind and flood arise to such a degree that it carries away a man and overthrows a horse,³¹

may be only the continuation of a literary tradition, but such is not the case with the accounts of the local tradition, noted by British travellers of the nineteenth century; Fraser (1821),³² Eastwick (1860),³³ Baker (1873)³⁴ and Lord Curzon (1889).³⁵ Of these accounts the most complete is that of Fraser, according to whom, if the waters of the spring are

polluted by the touch of any unclean thing, they become troubled, and a storm arises, which, if not speedily assuaged, would desolate the whole country. But as there are few evils which have not their corresponding remedies, it has been discovered that the sacrifice of a sheep, with certain appropriate rites upon the spot, has the effect

²⁹ Price, *Chronological Retrospect or Memoirs of the Principal Events of Mohammedan History*, III, 840-1.

³⁰ Quatremère, *l. c.*

³¹ Vullers, *lexicon persica-latinum*. I am indebted to my friend Dr. Louis H. Gray for a translation of the citation to which Nöldeke refers (*op. cit.* 75, n.).

³² J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan in the Years 1821 and 1822*, 312-313.

³³ E. B. Eastwick, *Journal of a Diplomat*, II, 157.

³⁴ Val. Baker, *Clouds in the East*, 138.

³⁵ G. N. Curzon, *Persia* (1892), I, 286. Cf. below, p. 375.

of pacifying the offended power; and gradually the storm abates, and the wind ceases.

The characteristics noted by Qazwîni:

And if any one drinks of that water his belly is inflated and if any one carries any of it away with him, whenever it is separated from its source, it becomes stone,³⁶

—the medicinal effects and the calcareous deposits of the water,—are peculiar to mineral springs; its proximity to a sulphur spring³⁷ Chasmeh-i-Ali (Spring of Ali), famous for centuries for its curative effects in skin diseases,³⁸ shows its location in an ancient volcanic region. Mineral and thermal springs have been wont to attach superstitions to themselves.³⁹ A disturbance of such a spring near Damghan, when its waters were still hot, would cause a cloudlike vapor to rise, and the disengaged gases to rush out of a confined passage with violence. The primitive philosophic conception *post hoc propter hoc* gave birth to the belief that a certain wind blowing coincidentally with the disturbance of the spring, was due to such an action. The belief would have lived on in tradition long after the cessation of the physical phenomenon.

Lake Baikal in Siberia was believed by the inhabitants of its shores to cause a storm, in anger at being called a lake instead of a sea.⁴⁰ In the Far East the most important part of a rain ceremony among the Annamites takes place when the chief celebrant throws a dog to whose neck a written prayer is attached, into a stream flowing from the cave of Chua-Hang or Troc, in which is an altar dedicated to the spirit of the cave. "This is done in order to provoke the spirit of the cave to anger by defiling his pure water; for he will then send abundant rains to sweep away the carcass of the dead dog which polluted the sacred grotto."⁴¹

³⁶ Ed. Wüstenfeld, II, 245.

³⁷ Curzon, *l. c.* de Blocqueville (1860) confuses the two springs ("Quatorze Mois de Capivité chez les Turcomans," *Tour du Monde*, XIII, 231).

³⁸ Mir Khwând after A. Jourdain, *Not. et Extr.*, IX, 137; G. C. Napier, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, XLVI (1876), 69-70.

³⁹ J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3d ed., IV, 2d ed., 172 ff.

⁴⁰ Bell, "Travels in Asia" (1720) in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, VII, 350. For two other records of the same belief in 1692 and 1735 see F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 336, and one of 1862, de Bourboulon, *Tour du Monde*, XI, 255.

⁴¹ Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, 301-2; for account and views of cave see C. Lemire, "Aux monuments anciens des Kiams," *Tour du Monde*, LXVIII, 411-415.

In Europe storm-making bodies of water are found even more frequently than in the Orient. The earliest account is that given by Gregory of Tours in his *Liber in gloria confessorum* (588-594).⁴²

Mons enim erat in Gabalitano territorio cognomento Helarius, lacum habens magnum. Ad quem certo tempore multitudo rusticorum, quasi libamina lacui illi exhibens, lenteamina proieciebat ac pannos, qui ad usum vestimenti virili praebentur; nonnulli lanae vel lera, plurimi etiam formas casei ac cerae vel panis diversasque species, unusquisque iuxta vires suas, quae dinumerare perlongum puto. Veniebant autem cum plaustis potum cibumque deferentes, mactantes animalia, et per triduum aepulantes. Quarta autem die cum discendere deberent, anticipabat eos tempestas [immensa] cum tonitruo et corruscatione valida; et in tantam imber ingens cum lapidibus violentiam discendebat, ut vix se quisque eorum putaret evadere. Sic fiebat per singulos annos et involvebatur insipiens populus in errore.⁴³

This account of a pagan belief had, doubtless, its source in a local tradition which Gregory heard in Gevaudan⁴⁴ from a clerical informant, and has such omissions and misunderstandings that it can only be interpreted in the light of similar practises elsewhere. That articles of men's clothing formed part of the offerings⁴⁵ shows that the latter was made to the personified deity or deities of the lake, to whom the usual offering of food⁴⁶ was also made. The object of the ceremony was to invoke rain, either in cases of drought, or more probably in the same season every year, and its efficacy was shown by the assured breaking-out of a violent storm after the three days spent in the ceremony. Perhaps even more untrustworthy is the account of the continuation of the ceremony under Christian dispensation, as given by Gregory. A certain bishop of Gevaudan persuaded the people to bring their offerings to the chapel he had built near the lake in honor of St. Helarius. Because relics of the

⁴² Arndt, M. G., *Script. Rev. Merovingicarum*, I, 15.

⁴³ Ed. B. Krusch, SS. R. *Merov.*, I, 749.

⁴⁴ On Gregory's acquaintance with Auvergne cf. Monod, *Études critiques sur les sources de l'Histoire mérovingienne*, 36, 145.

⁴⁵ Cf. Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1849, II, 381.

⁴⁶ Martin von Bracara's Schrift, *De correctione rusticorum*, ed. C. P. Caspari; C. P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdota* I, 172; cf. S. Berger, *Mélusine*, II, 26.

saint were there, no storm troubled the place at the time of the ceremony. The ruins of the chapel of St. Hilary still remain near this lake, which has been identified as Lake St. Andéol, an ancient crater on the Montagne de Cacoubattut, one of the Cévennes ridge, of which Mt. St. Andéol is one of the peaks. As late as 1871 people gathered there on the second Sunday of July, "la fête de l'épine," a local feast which corresponds neither to the feast of St. Hilarius, January 14, nor to that of St. Andéol, May 1, to take part in ceremonies in which clothes and the fleeces of black sheep were thrown into the water.⁴⁷ The lake still holds its bad reputation as the cause of storms, and is known under the name of the Father of Hail-Storms.⁴⁸

The next account is found in the Irish translation of Nennius,⁴⁹ made in the tenth or eleventh century.⁵⁰ To the *Mirabilia* translated, is added among others that of the well of Sliabh Bladhma—the Slieve Bloom ridge of mountains, on the border of Kings and Queens counties.⁵¹

If any one gazes at it, or touches it, the sky will not cease to pour down rain until mass and sacrifices are celebrated.

Six centuries later, when there was no danger of attributing supernatural powers to a pagan deity whose favor might be gained by offerings, in a legend connected with a lake on the Franco-Spanish border, the guardian spirits had become demons. Giraldus Cambrensis in his topographical work on Ireland, completed by 1187, gives an account of the same spring, which he fails to name but locates in Munster, much fuller in detail than the Irish account. According to him the showers of rain:

"Non cessabunt, donec sacerdos ad hoc deputatus, qui et virgo fuerit a nativitate, missae celebratione, in capella quae non procul a fonte ad hoc dignoscitur esse fundata, et aquae benedictae, lactisque vaccae

⁴⁷ Prunières, "Les constructions et stratifications lacustres du Lac St. Andéol," *Mém. de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Sér. I, vol. III, 355-6, 358, 382 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ib.* 391 ff.; S. Baring-Gould, *The Cevennes* (1907) 18-19.

⁴⁹ Ed. Todd, 197.

⁵⁰ R. Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Philol.*, XXVIII, 81-2, 103. There is not sufficient evidence on which to accept Zimmer's precise date of 1072 (*Nennius Vindicatus*, 114 ff.

⁵¹ Zimmer, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Alterthum*, XXXV, 85.

unius coloris aspersione, barbaro satis ritu et ratione carente, fontem reconciliaverat."⁵³

The next account is that of Gervaise of Tilbury in his *Otia imperi-alia*,⁵⁴ written about 1211, of a lake on Mons Cannarum (Canigú) in Catalonia, "aquam continens subnigram et in fundo imperscrutabilem," reported to be the residence of demons:

In lacum si quis aliquam lapideam aut alias solidam projecerit materiam statim, tanquam offensis daemonibus, tempestas erumpit.

The reason this belief was attached to a body of water on an inaccessible mountain "et pro magna parte inaccessibilis ad ascensum" is apparent, when one finds to-day in the valley of the mountain, and its close vicinity, sulphur baths of great reputation.⁵⁵ It is not such an easy matter to identify a "fons quidam pellucidus" "in provincia regni Arelatensis,"⁵⁶ of which the same author relates that for the same cause "statim de fonte pluvia ascendit, quae pro-jicientem totum humectat."⁵⁷ Not more easy to locate is a pond Haveringemere, in England near the Welsh border, of which he tells that a destructive storm came on as a punishment, when any-

⁵³ *Topographia Hibernica*, Dist. II, cap. 7; *Opera*, ed. Dimock, V, 89. On Giraldus as an authority on Irish matters cf. C. Boser, *Romania*, XXII, 586; Zimmer, *Zeit. f. deutsch. Alt.*, XXXV, 112, n. The Norse *Speculum Regale*, written in the early part of the thirteenth century (E. Beauvois, *Revue critique*, 1886, I, 102-3; E. Mogk, *Pauls Grundr.*, II, 1, 141; F. Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandiske Litteraturs Historie*, II, 99) credits quite other marvels to two springs on Slieve Bloom (ed. Brenner, 36, lines 19 ff.). K. Meyer's opinion that this Norse account had its source in local oral traditions (*Folk-Lore*, V, 301, 314 ff. *Erin*, IV, 2, 14; and cf. *Zeit. f. celtische Philologie*, V, 23-4) instead of in a version of the Irish *Mirabilia*, is not confirmed by the published versions of the latter, or by its wide influence in Icelandic literature (cf. T. Frank, *American Journal of Philology*, XXX, 148), due to the close and multiple relations between England and Scandinavia since the Norman Conquest (cf. H. G. Leach, "The Relations of the Norwegian with the English Church, 1066-1399, and their importance to Comparative Literature," *Proc. of the Americ. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, XLIV, 531 ff. *Mod. Philol.*, VIII, 607-610).

⁵⁴ Ed. F. Liebrecht, 32. Liebrecht suggested that the Spanish name was "monte de las cañas" (*Ib.*, 139; *Jahrb. f. rom. u. engl. Lit.*, III, 159).

⁵⁵ Baedeker, *Southern France*, 4th ed. (1902), 187-9.

⁵⁶ On date and varied use of "regnum Arelatense" see P. Fournier, *Le royaume d'Arles et de Vienne* (1138-1378), xx-xxi.

⁵⁷ Ed. cit., 41-42.

one while crossing it cried out: "Phrut Haveringemere, and alle those over the fere."⁵⁸

A seventeenth century collector of the wonders of natural phenomena may have referred to the lake on Mt. Canigú, in the account he gives of a nameless lake:

En un certain Lac, qui est entre noz monts Pyrénées, si quelqu'un jette une pierre, il ne faudra de veoir bientost, après auoir ouy vn estrange bouillonnement dedans le creux de cest abysme, des vapeurs et des fumées, et puis des nuages épais, et après l'espace de quelque demie-heure c'est merveille des tonnerres et esclairs, et de la pluie qui s'esmeut de ceste esmotion faite en l'eau, qui est cause que le pauvre peuple pense que ce soit une gueule d'enfer,⁵⁹

but he had the chance of a choice in the same mountainous region of France. Storm-making powers, which were incited by throwing in a stone, were attributed to La Pavin, an ancient crater, filled with water, near Besse in Auvergne, according to the testimony of seventeenth and eighteenth century writers,⁶⁰ and local tradition keeps the belief alive to the present day.⁶¹ A legend attributed the same powers to the lake which once occupied the crater of Bar, in the department of Haute Loire:

Les habitants du Forez se seraient plaints des orages que le lac de Bar attirait et déversait sur leurs terres. Ils seraient venus à main armée le dessécher avec du vif-argent.⁶²

The easternmost peak of the Cévennes range is Mt. Pilat, not far from Lyons. On it is a small lake, which, when visited by the botanist du Choul in the middle of the sixteenth century, was known as the spring of Pilate, and reputed to be the source of hail-storms.⁶³

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, 41. It has been identified(?) with Newton Mere, Shropshire (C. S. Burnes, *Shropshire Folk Lore*, 72). For explanations of the word "Phrut" cf. Liebrecht, *Germania*, XVIII, 457; XXI, 399; XXIV, 88; XXVI, 508.

⁵⁹ Belleforest, *Les dix histoires prodigieuses*, 1581, 336, cited by P. Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, II, 464.

⁶⁰ Merula, *Cosmographia*, 1614, ch. x; cited by Sébillot, *l. c.*; Legrand d'Aussy, *Not. et Extr.*, V, 265, n.; Baedeker, *op. cit.*, 225.

⁶¹ M. Gostling, *Auvergne and its People* (1911), 95.

⁶² Georges Sand, *Jean de la Roche*, ed. 1887, 113-114.

⁶³ *Pilati Montis in Gallia descriptio*, Lyons, 1555, cited by H. Dübi, "Drei spätmittelalterliche Legenden in ihrer Wanderung aus Italien durch die Schweiz nach Deutschland"; I, Vom Landpfleger Pilatus, *Zeitschrift des Vereins f. Volks-*

The pool of Tabe, occupying the top of one of the peaks of the Pic St. Barthélemy, was accounted to be the dwelling-place of a terrible spirit, who brought on storms, not only for the usual cause, but also if any one used indecent language, sometimes striking the offender with a thunderbolt. If the demons who lived at the bottom of the three little lakes on the montagne de Villefranche, a hill belonging to the same group as the Pic St. Barthélemy, were provoked to cause storms by stones being thrown into their habitations, according to tradition,⁶⁴ the cause of this confirmed belief in this locality is apparent, when one is told that if a stone is thrown into one of these pools, known as l'Étang du Diable, there come out of it clouds with a choking odor of sulphur,⁶⁵ and when one also finds there springs, containing bicarbonate of lime, of considerable reputation.⁶⁶ Finally the same power is attributed to the "étangs ou Gorchs de Nohédes," also in the mountain-range of the Pyrénées-Orientales,⁶⁷ which contains all the other marvels. The Breton Feunteun-at-Glao (Fontaine-de-la Pluie), known now as the Feunteun-Sant-Kê, from its patron saint, or the Feunteun Lezlao from its locality, was such another spring, if the modern tradition in regard to it has changed the stone-throwing into an offering, and has transformed the disturbance of the water into a weather sign:

Ses eaux, très limpides par beau temps, devenaient troubles et bouillonnaient au moindre signe d'orage. Aussi accourait-on les consulter de tout le pays avoisinant. . . . On y laissait tomber des objets divers, en marmottant des oraisons appropriées soit pour solliciter la pluie aux époques de sécheresse, soit pour la conjurer, quand elle ne pouvait plus que nuire aux moissons.⁶⁸

Not until the fourteenth century⁶⁹ did Lake Pilatus in Switzerland, XVII, 62. In August, 1769, J. J. Rousseau only heard the tradition of "une fontaine glaçante, qui tuait, à ce qu'on nous dit, quiconque en buvait," which he sought for in vain (Letter of Oct. 10, 1769).

⁶⁴ Sébillot, I, 243; II, 464; A. Nore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France*, 80-1. Legrand d'Aussy (*l. c.*) refers to a "lac de Tarbes dans le comté de Foix," a misunderstanding, evidently, of the tradition about the lac de Tabe. Cf. Liebrecht, *Gerv. v. Tüb.*, 146, n.

⁶⁵ Sébillot, II, 463, n.

⁶⁶ Baedeker, *op. cit.*, 179.

⁶⁷ Sébillot, II, 464.

⁶⁸ A. Le Braz, "Les saints bretons d'après la tradition populaire," *Annales de Bretagne*, X (1894), 42.

⁶⁹ Dübi, 49 ff.

land receive the name it owes to the tradition which made it the burial place of the body of Pilate, tormented by demons who caused storms, though the same powers had been long attributed to it when it was a nameless lake.⁷⁰ And in 1387 we have official evidence that the belief that these storm-making powers were incited by throwing anything into the lake, was so firmly established that the authorities of Lucerne forbade access to the lake during the winter, guarded the passages, and severely punished those who violated the regulations.⁷¹ In the middle of the sixteenth century, the great Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner was only allowed to make the ascent to the lake under official guidance, and if he is incredulous about the belief, he does not undertake to controvert it.⁷¹ It was doubtless to get rid of an ever-threatening peril that in 1594 the Lucerne authorities decreed that the lake should be drained.⁷² But it still exists, and the belief survived well into the nineteenth century,⁷³ together with the jeering rime:"

Pilat,

Wirf aus dein Kath (i. e. deinen Kath).⁷⁴

The fact that the lake is generally dry in the summer⁷⁵ shows at once why magical powers should be attributed to it, and why it should be feared in the winter months.

Numerous other lakes are found in different parts of the same country, which are fabled to bring on storms when any thing is thrown into them. These are the Wildsee near Vilters in Sarganserland; a lake in the Val Zeznina in Graubünden; the Calandarisee in the Schamser-Tal; the Wetterloch on the Kamor; the Urtensee in

⁷⁰ Cappeller, *Pilati Montis historia* (1767), 9; cf. Dübi, 52, n. 4. For the continuation of the official belief, Dübi, 52 ff.; Massmann, *op. cit.*, 604-5; E. du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, 356, n. 7.

⁷¹ Dübi, 61; cf. Laistner, *Nebelsagen*, 216.

⁷² Dübi, 62.

⁷³ On the continuation of the popular belief cf. Dübi, 53-7, 63; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4th ed., I, 496, n. 4; Rochholz, *Naturmythen*, 193; Hoffman-Krayer, *Schweizerisches Archiv f. Volkskunde*, XIV, 225.

⁷⁴ For the continued use of the rime cf. Dübi, 62, Cappeller, 10; Lutolf, *Sagen sc. aus den fünf Orten Lucern, Uri sc.* 22. According to the earliest account of the burial of Pilate in Switzerland, that of Conrad v. Mure in his "Fabularius" (1273), he was buried in the Septimer pass, and when he was named or called, a violent noisy struggle would commence between him and Herod (Dübi, 49-50; cf. Laistner, 13).

⁷⁵ Baedeker, *Switzerland*, 19th ed. (1901), 99.

Schanfigg-Tal, the Lüschersee, between Domleschg and Savion, above Tschappina, and the Bischolersee near Flerda.⁷⁶ The evil spirits who lived in the Hezensee in Bern Oberland, caused storms, when they were annoyed in their retreat.⁷⁷ Boccaccio in his geographical work, *De montibus, sylvis, fontibus*, etc. (1342-6),⁷⁸ mentions a wonderful pool in the Apennines:

Scaphiolus modicus lacus est in apeninno, qui inter agrum pistoriensem atque mutinensem sublimatur, miraculo magis quam aquarum copia memorabilis. Nam ut omnes testantur accolae, si quis sponte vel fortuiter lapillum vel rem aliam quae aquae moveat in eum proiciat, repente aer in nubes cogitur, et tanta ventorum tempestas oritur ut nonnunquam vicinae validissimae quercus fagique veteres truncentur aut radicitus evellantur. Quid animalia dicam si quae sint, si arbores enervantur et sic infesta omnibus per diem totam aliquando perseverat.⁷⁹

According to the local tradition of to-day this lake Scaffaiolo is the residence of demons, who cause storms when stones are thrown into it,⁸⁰ a superstition consonant with the existence of hot sulphureous springs in its immediate vicinity.⁸¹ That doughty pamphleteer Felix Hemmerlin in one of his accounts of the marvels of Lake Pilatus in his *De nobilitate et rusticitate dialogus*⁸² (1444-1450) cited a similar storm-making lake in the mountains between Bologna and Pistoja, near the Castel Sambuco. Without question he heard

⁷⁶ Rochholz, *l. c.* The Egelsee as a variation engulfs any one who throws a stone into it (Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau*, I, 9).

⁷⁷ Sepp, *Altbairischer Sagenschatz*, 460.

⁷⁸ O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, 111, n. 4.

⁷⁹ I cite from the Venetian edition of 1473, which is without folio numbering. Cf. Hortis, *Studj sulle Opere Latini del Boccaccio*, 775.

⁸⁰ G. Ungarelli, *Rivista delle tradizioni popolari*, I, 48.

⁸¹ Baedeker, *Northern Italy* (1905), 408.

⁸² Ed. s. l. a. et typ. (Hain *8426; cf. B. Reber, *Felix Hemmerlin*, 18, 30-32), cap. 32, fol. CXXVI. Dübi (55, and n. 2; 261, n. 1) refers to an edition of this work of 1497 unknown to bibliographers. The allusion to the Italian lake is not found in the account of Pilatus in the *Alius tractatus exorcismorum*—which is wrongly referred to as the *Tractatus exorcismorum*—in the 1497 edition of some of Hemmerlin's pamphlets (Hain *8424; fol. 55, recto) as one would imply from Dübi's citation (*l. c.*). Further Dübi has not noted Hemmerlin's acquaintance with the work of Conrad v. Mure, which he edited for publication (Reber, 26, 33-4, 351 ff.).

this local tradition of Sambuco, a small village a few miles north of Pistoja,⁸³ which had in its neighborhood some thermal springs, during his intermittent residence of many years at Bologna (1413-1424), while studying for his doctorate in canon law.⁸⁴

Pierre Berçuire, the correspondent of Petrarch,⁸⁵ in his *Reductorium morale* (1437-1440)⁸⁶ tells on the authority of a bishop—perhaps of the diocese containing it—of a lake near Norcia in the Apennines of Piceno, which was surrounded by a wall and guarded so that necromancers might not have access to it, in order to consecrate their books to the demons resident therein. It was necessary for the town to make an annual offering to the lake of a living man, otherwise the country would be devastated with storms.⁸⁷ In later writers to the end of the fifteenth century one finds that the name of Pilate and the tradition of his burial were connected with it, and that it was guarded against magicians because the ceremonies practised there brought on storms.⁸⁸ Here, again, we are fortunate in knowing the physical phenomena which were the primary source of these beliefs; the sudden rise and subsidence of the waters of the lake,⁸⁹ and the appearance of the vapor rising from its surface.⁹⁰ If this pool⁹¹ has no longer this attribute another one in the Val Bavona, in the neighborhood of Locarno, in which the soul of Pilate is confined, is responsible for storms, according to a legend of Ticino,⁹² which was due, perhaps to the chalybeate spring in that locality.⁹³

It is not surprising to find a number of storm-making bodies of water in South Germany, of which almost every mountain-pass

⁸³ Baedeker, *Northern Italy*, 420.

⁸⁴ Reber, 53-4, 65 ff.

⁸⁵ P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarche et l'humanisme*, 2d ed., I, 66, 82, n. 2; II, 47, 230, n. 2.

⁸⁶ G. Paris, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXIX, 506, 509, 524. The printed editions, from one of which Graf cites, represent the unrevised version of the work.

⁸⁷ A. Graf, *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo*, II, 150, 162.

⁸⁸ Graf, 150 ff. 163-4; W. Söderhjelm, "Antoine de la Sale et la légende de Tannhäuser," *Mém. de la Soc. Néo-philol. à Helsingfors*, II, 108 ff.; 138 ff.; Dübi, 56, 251.

⁸⁹ Graf, 153-4, 164; Söderhjelm, 152-3.

⁹⁰ Söderhjelm, 148.

⁹¹ It is called "un piccolo stagno," Graf, 165.

⁹² *Op. cit.*, 161; cf. Dübi, 51.

⁹³ Baedeker, *Switzerland*, 472.

contains a Pilatus Spring or Lake.⁹⁴ On Askeles the Blankensee brings on a rain-storm if a black stone, hail if a white stone is thrown in;⁹⁵ the same tradition is told of a lake in the Tyrols near Glaiten.⁹⁶ A Wettersee in a mountain near Gerlos in the Zillertal,⁹⁷ another in a mountain behind Navis near Innsbruck, and the Langensee, a traditional residence of witches, brought on storms when stones were thrown into them.⁹⁸ The same belief was attached to a lake in the Riesengebirge on the Bohemian border,⁹⁹ and to the Krimmlsee in the Austrian Tauern range.¹⁰⁰ Going westward again, we find the Mummelsee,¹⁰¹ the Wildsee, and a number of other lakes in the Black Forest,¹⁰² and one in the principality of Waldeck,¹⁰³ the brook and lake of Wöhlanda,¹⁰⁴ and Lake Peipus¹⁰⁵ in Esthonia.

In Esthonia, also, at Lais, near Dorpat, is a spring, known from its color as the Blue Spring;

In time of drought three widows of the same name must go to the spring on a Sunday during service-time, to clean it out and enlarge the opening. Each must take a spade, rake, a cake of bread,

⁹⁴ A. Schönbach, *Anz. f. deutsch. Alterthum*, II, 211. The legend of the demon-tormented body of Pilate is doubtless the revamping by Christian tradition of the belief (Frazer, G. B. I., 285) which survived in Europe, to at least the seventeenth century (F. C. Conybeare, *Folk Lore*, XIX, 332), that a skull, placed in water, had the power of causing a rain-storm. A similar belief is found in the late French epic and Arthurian romances (cf. P. Paris, *Les manuscrits françois*, II, 163; E. Freymond, *Beiträge zur romanischen Philologie. Festgabe für G. Gröber*, 339, n., 341, n., 349; *Zeit. f. franz. Sprache*, XVII, 70, n. 2).

⁹⁵ J. V. Zingerle, *Sagen etc. aus Tirol*, 2d ed., 101; cf. 152-3, 614.

⁹⁶ *Ib.*, 154.

⁹⁷ von Alpenburg, *Mythen und Sagen Tirols*, 234.

⁹⁸ Zingerle, *op. cit.*, 151.

⁹⁹ J. V. Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, 215.

¹⁰⁰ Rochholz, *Schweizersagen*, I, 372.

¹⁰¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, 3d ed., I, 38, 243-4.

¹⁰² Birlinger, *Aus Schwaben: Sagen, Legenden, Volksglauben*, I, 78; W. Wolf, *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen*, 376.

¹⁰³ Curtze, *Volksüberlieferungen aus dem Fürstenthume Waldeck*, 412.

¹⁰⁴ Grimm, D. M., 497, citing a pamphlet dated 1644.

¹⁰⁵ Sepp, *op. cit.*, 460-I, citing Schwenk, *Mythologie*, VII, 419. There is no authority for interpreting the phrase "Camarinam movere" (*Aen.*, III, 701), so as to find in it another instance of a wonder-working fountain, as Grimm (D. M., 496, n. 4) and Sepp (461) do.

and a hymn-book with her. But if too much rain falls, the spring must be closed up to a mere crevice, and this is at once efficacious.¹⁰⁶

In this Christian rehabilitation of a pagan usage we have the single instance of the belief that extraneous matter in a spring caused the drought, a variant of the usual belief, due probably to a misunderstanding on the part of the reporter. The ceremony of making a clear passage for the spring brought on rain, but too wide a passage resulted in too much of a good thing. The same care had to be exercised in this ceremony as in that at the spring of Hagno, and in that at the Tobar-mor (Great Well) or Tobar-rath Bhua-thaig¹⁰⁷ (Lucky Well of Beathag) on the island of Gigha, off the western coast of Kintyre, if in the latter case a favorable wind instead of rain was desired. The minister of the parish at the end of the eighteenth century reported that it was covered with a heap of stones, that was only removed with great solemnity, by two old women who were said to have the secret. Then the well, having been cleaned with a wooden dish or clam shell;

the water was several times thrown in the direction from which the wished-for wind was to blow, and this action was accompanied by a certain form of words, which the person repeated every time he threw the water. When the ceremony was over, the well was again carefully shut up to prevent fatal consequences, it being firmly believed that, were the place left open, a storm would arise which would overwhelm the whole island.¹⁰⁸

That those who officiated had added something to the original ceremony is evident, not only from the analogous Esthonian ceremony, but from earlier accounts of this one. A century earlier,¹⁰⁹ the master of a wind-bound foreign boat paid a native to let the water run, and twenty years earlier, Pennant¹¹⁰ only heard of the custom

¹⁰⁶ W. F. Kirby, *The Hero of Esthonia*, II, 145. On another rain-making ceremony near Dorpat cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, I, 248.

¹⁰⁷ "It is very insignificant and known now by a name pronounced *Tobar a véac*, possibly for an older *Mo-Bheac*; in Scotch Gaelic *Béac*, written *Beathag*, is equated with the name *Sophia*" (J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore* (1901), II, 692).

¹⁰⁸ W. Frazer, in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, VIII (1793), 52, n.

¹⁰⁹ Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland" (1703), in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, III, 647.

¹¹⁰ "Second Tour in Scotland in Pinkerton," *op. cit.*, 271 (June 29, 1772). This is the source of Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming's knowledge (*In the Hebrides*, 36). Rhys found the tradition of clearing the well in 1900 (*l. c.*).

of the wind-bound chieftain ordering the well to be cleared. According to a more recent tradition, a storm, caused by taking away a stone from the well, only stops when the stone is replaced.¹¹¹

At Kilchattan on the island of Colonsay, one finds near the ruins of the church of St. Chattan and of the house of the chief of the M'Mhurichs, an artificial rock-basin, known as the Cuidh Chattain. The chief—and only he had the power—only needed to clear out the rubbish that had collected in it towards the direction in which the wind was desired, and the wind was sure to come and blow it back into the basin.¹¹² Near Scallasaig on the same island was a natural hollow in the rock, known as the Tobar na gaoith deas (Well of the South Wind), because the chief of the Macphies could through some rite not described, bring on a south wind whenever he wished.¹¹³

The primitive ceremony was once practised at the spring of Cai, near Dol, Brittany,¹¹⁴ which jetted out of the ground at the prayer of St. Teilo, according to a version of his life, written in Wales in the first half of the twelfth century;¹¹⁵

Nam nautae illius gentis Armoricae, propter ventum consuetum ad naves illorum ut in dirigium navigare possint ad rectum iter ubi velint, consuetum habent illum salvificum fontem purgare et sepius et sepius per interventum sancti pontificis Dominus largitur precarium illorum.¹¹⁶

The intercession of the saint in heaven is a conventional hagiographical touch. The same ceremony was still practised in the nineteenth century on the Tobar na-coragh (Well of Assistance) on the island of Innismurray, off the coast of Sligo, in Ireland. When

¹¹¹ J. N. Mackinlay, *Folk-lore of the Scottish Lochs*, 223. The only analogue to this tradition is that told of a hill in Mauretania, known as the tomb of Antaeus: "Unde ubi aliqua pars eruta est solent imbres spargi, et donec effossa repleantur eveniunt" (P. Mela, *Chorographica*, III, 10 (106) ed. C. Frick). Cf. Frazer's comment, *G. B.*, I, 286.

¹¹² J. B. Mackenzie, "Notes on Some Cup-marked Stones and Rocks near Kenmore and their Folk-lore," *Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, XXXIV (1900), 333.

¹¹³ *Ib.*, 331.

¹¹⁴ J. Loth, "La vie de Saint Teliu d'après le Livre de Llandaf," *Annales de Bretagne*, X, 75-6.

¹¹⁵ Loth, *Ann. de Bret.*, IX, 81; X, 77.

¹¹⁶ Loth, *op. cit.*, IX, 439.

there had been tempestuous weather, it was the custom of the natives to drain its waters into the ocean, which when accompanied with certain prayers, would induce calm weather.¹¹⁷

Within recent times at the spring of Notre Dame de Quelven, in Brittany, the same rite was performed in times of drought, for the invocation of rain, by a professional pilgrim, who took to his task a candle, lighted in the chapel.¹¹⁸ At a number of springs in Eastern France, one in the parish of l'Espine in the Hautes Alpes, the fontaine de Saint-Martin, at Chissey en Morvan, the fontaine de Saint-Rouin at Resson, and the fontaine Cruanne in Côte-d'Or, the rite was performed for the same purpose by one, or several maidens whose chastity must be assured.¹¹⁹

There is no evidence of the existence of the practise in Protestant countries, no doubt because it was discouraged as "a folly tendinge to charminge, witchcraft, or scorcery," to cite a phrase of the sentence of the court of the Isle of Man in 1628 in fining a certain Elizabeth Black, who had been accused of emptying "a springing well dry for to obtain a favourable wind."¹²⁰

Sir Walter Scott after citing Gervaise of Tilbury's account of the demon-inhabited lake on Mt. Canigú, and its rain-making powers, remarked: "It may be proper to observe, that the superstitious ideas concerning the lake on the top of the mountain, is common to almost every high hill in Scotland."¹²¹ In Wales up to within recent times, old people used to say: "You must not throw stones into the well, or you will raise a storm, and the same warning was given in regard to lakes and rivers."¹²²

¹¹⁷ W. F. Wakeman, *Proc. Roy. Hist. and Arch. Soc. of Ireland*, 4th Ser., VII, 300.

¹¹⁸ Sébillot, *Le folk-lore de France*, II, 225.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 224. In countries as far remote as Peru in the early seventeenth century, and southeastern Africa in the late nineteenth century, the cleansing of reservoirs, natural or artificial, is part of a rain-ceremony. F. de Aven-
daño in his *Relación de las idolatrias de los indios* (Lima, 1617) tells how the native Peruvians "cuando limpiaban las acequias y al principio del invierno, piendo à los idolos lluvias" (Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima*, I, 383), and the Baronga women as part of a long ritual, "go about from well to well, cleansing them of the mud and impurities which have accumulated in them. The wells . . . are merely holes in the sand" (Frazer, *G. B.*, I, 267).

¹²⁰ A. W. Moore, "Water and Well Worship in Man," in *Folk Lore*, V, 219, citing *Liber Scaccarii*.

¹²¹ *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (ed. 1833), II, 271.

¹²² Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, 6.

Among the primitive beliefs of the natives of the Western continent, one finds that of storm-making lakes. The Spanish ecclesiastical authorities of Lima issued, probably as early as the end of the sixteenth century, a questionnaire for the guidance of those who confessed the Indians. A part of the sixteenth question was: "Into what lakes do they throw stones in order that they may not dry up, and that the rains come?"¹²³ To-day the Indians in the vicinity of Lake Titicaca have the same belief, as dancers named Chayllpa go to the top of a height of the name of Calvario, gather some stones, which they throw into the lake, to bring on rain.¹²⁴ If toads are sometimes substituted for the stones, it is doubtless because greater potency is attributed to this aquatic animal, which plays an important part in other rain-charms.¹²⁵ A lake in the state of Chiapas, Mexico, was also said to cause a storm if a stone were thrown into it.¹²⁶

In three instances the virtues of the well or lake itself could be carried elsewhere. In Wales the people drew water from Gallionen Well in Glamorganshire, near Pont-ar-Dawe, sprinkled it there, or in their gardens, dancing round and crying three times, "Bring us rain."¹²⁷ The first part of the question of the Lima questionnaire, already cited,¹²⁸ was: "From what lakes do they draw jugs of water to sprinkle on the priestess (la chacara) and pray for rain?" In a certain province of China is a well sacred to the god of rain. Whenever a district suffers from drought a messenger is sent thither to take from it an iron tablet, depositing another in its place.¹²⁹ In

¹²³ P. J. de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru* (Lima, 1621), 86, cited by A. F. Bandelier, *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, 155. It may have appeared originally in the anonymous *Confessionario para los Curas de indios. Con la instruccion contra sus Ritos*, published at Lima in 1583 (Medina, *La imprenta en Lima*, I, 21). It is repeated in the *Carta pastoral* of de Villagomez, published at Lima in 1629 (Medina, I, 424-5), as cited by Riberó y Tschudi, *Antigüedades de Peru*, 173.

¹²⁴ Bandelier, *op. cit.*, 103.

¹²⁵ Frazer, I, 292, 325; Lubbock, *Origin of Civilization* (N. Y., 1873), 203; Weinhold, *Abhand. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1896, 23, 26.

¹²⁶ Legrand d'Aussy, *l. c.* I have not been able to substantiate this statement, for which no authority is cited.

¹²⁷ Trevelyan, *op. cit.*, 14.

¹²⁸ The drawing of the water might be only incidental to sprinkling the priestess, a mimetic magical performance to make rain, which is widely practised (Frazer, *G. B.*, 267, 272 ff.).

¹²⁹ *New York Evening Post*, July 15, 1909, citing *North China Gazette*.

returning the messenger must be very circumspect, not to have the tablet taken away from him by the inhabitants of the districts, through which he passes, who might also be suffering from a drought, and who would receive all the benefits of the rain, when in possession of the tablet.

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(To be continued)

Postscriptum.—P. 358, l. 28, *add as note on* "since the thirteenth century": A. V. W. Jackson (*From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Kayyam*, 175) cites as the earliest account a passage of ibn al Faqin, †902 (De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, v, 310), about a cave in Tabaristan mentioned above, p. 357.

P. 360, l. 19. *Add*: According to a local tradition, collected in the middle of the last century, the touch of a heretic also brought on a storm. Aga Mohammed Khan wishing to test the truth of the tradition, his whole army was thrown down in an instant by a wind (Melgunoff, *Die südlichen Ufer des Kaspischen Meeres*, 1862; 144).

P. 360, l. 21. *Read*: Curzon (1889) and Jackson (1910; *op cit.*, 174–5).

P. 373, l. 3. *Add*: Here again, St. Molaise, who had blessed the well, appeared in the rôle of an intercessor between man and God (J. O'Donovan in Wakeman, *Antiquarian Remains in Inismurray*, p. xx).

THE PASTOR AND BOBO IN THE SPANISH RELIGIOUS DRAMA OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

AS in other parts of Europe, the origin of the drama in Spain must be sought in the Church liturgy. We have but few examples of early Spanish missals, but the literary relations in the Catholic Church were so close during the Middle Ages that we may use the texts which refer to the liturgical services in other countries. The Mass in itself is essentially dramatic, and it is known that at an early period, the *Gloria in excelsis* was chanted antiphonally. In the ninth century, the *Antiphonarium* of Gregory the Great was enriched by the insertion of new melodies and certain texts called tropes were written for these melodies.¹ A trope preserved in a ninth century manuscript at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall contains a colloquy between the Maries and the angel at the sepulchre which follows closely the Gospels of Matthew and Mark:—

*Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, [o] Christicolae?
Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae.
Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat.
Ite, nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulchro. Resurrexi.*²

Just as this trope was formed about the sepulchre, the *Officium Pastorum* is based on a Christmas dialogue about the *praesepe* or cradle. Two *diaconi induti dalmaticis*, standing behind the altar, sang:

Quem quaeritis in praesepe, pastores, dicite?

And two *cantores in choro*, replied:

*Salvatorem Christum Dominum.*³

These tropes formed the basis for dramatic development, and show the beginning of the liturgical drama. In the course of time new elements were added to the scene at the manger, such as the *Magi* or *Tres Reges*, a theme which was closely associated with the

¹ Chambers, *Mediaeval Drama*, chapter XVIII.

² Gautier, *Histoire de la Poésie liturgique au Moyen Age*, p. 220.

³ Chambers, vol. II, 41-44.

adoration of the shepherds. It has been shown that at an early date the liturgical Prophet play also was combined with the older Adoration and Magi liturgical plays. The origin of the Prophet play is a pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judæos, Paganos, et Arianos*, which was read in the churches at Christmas time, and is of such a form as to lend itself naturally to dramatic representation.⁴ All the Old Testament witnesses to the coming of Christ were summoned, together with Virgil, the Sibyl and such others as were believed to have foretold the Savior's advent.

A passage of the *Siete Partidas* (1252-1257) of Alfonso el Sabio proves that representations were held in the churches of Spain on Christmas and that plays of the adoration of the shepherds and the coming of the Wise Men were allowed.⁵ The *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*,⁶ which probably dates back to the beginning of the twelfth century, is all that remains of this early period of the Spanish religious drama. It is based on one of the Latin Offices celebrated at Limoges, Nevers, Compiègne and Orléans. There is no action in the play: it contains a certain element of realism, but the tone throughout is devout. Other documents for this early period are scarce, but we have interesting details of a Christmas representation at Saragossa in 1487.⁷

The earliest descendant which has been preserved in the vernacular of the *Officium Pastorum* is the *Representación del Nacimiento* by Gómez Manrique, written at the request of his sister and represented at the convent of Calabazanos.⁸ After an angel has announced to Joseph that Mary will give birth to the Savior, the proclamation is made to the shepherds. They leave for the manger, and sing in praise of the Child and his mother. Here the liturgical drama has become secularized but not popularized. The song, *Cancion para callar al niño*, which closes the play is significant, for similar songs are found in nearly all the later shepherds' plays. It un-

⁴The origin of the Prophet Plays has been studied by M. Sepet in five articles published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, XXVIII, 1, 211; XXIX, 105, 261; XXXVIII, 397.

⁵Schack, *Historia de la Literatura y del Arte dramático en España*, vol. I, p. 219.

⁶Pub. by Baist, Erlangen, 1879.

⁷Schack, *ibid.*, pp. 267-68.

⁸Published by Paz y Melia, *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, vol. I, p. 198 ff.

doubtedly has its origin in the carols which were sung by the sacristans and acolytes in the various Church festivals. No attempt was made to give a realistic picture of the life of the shepherds. There is no comic element to detract from the sacredness of the subject.

We know that in early times, certain popular elements were introduced in connection with the celebration of the Church festivals. At the Council of Toledo held in 589, the use of dances and *cantares profanos* in the churches was forbidden. In the *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso el Sabio, the clerics were prohibited from representing "*juegos de escarnio, porque los vengan á ver gentes,*" and this prohibition was repeated by the Councils held at Toledo in 1324 and 1473. It is possible that these *juegos de escarnio* censured by Alfonso el Sabio were a distant echo of the Roman *fabulae Atellanæ*. Two stock figures of the latter, Maccus the fool and Manducus the guzzler, seem to appear as the *Pastor* and *Bobo* in nearly all the religious plays of the sixteenth century and even earlier. Yet I do not believe that the comic element in the religious plays represents a fusion of the popular farce and liturgical drama. Although the popular farce which was forbidden in the churches by the *Siete Partidas* may have been a contributing factor, there is good ground to believe that the comic element is a logical development of the shepherds' plays represented on Christmas.⁹

We already find the fusion of comic and sacred elements accomplished in a sort of eclogue by Fr. Iñigo de Mendoza, forming a part of his *Vita Christi*, first published about 1480.¹⁰ This is a scene in dialogue form relating the appearance of the angels to the shepherds to announce the Nativity and written in the same *lenguaje villanesco* which had been used by the author of the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*. Fr. Iñigo introduces the episode in this manner, apologizing for the use of comic elements in a sacred subject:

⁹ Wilmotte has shown in an interesting article, *Naissance de l'élément comique dans le théâtre religieux*, pub. in *Annales internationales d'histoire*, Paris, 1900, that in France, the comic scenes in the religious plays are the direct outgrowth of the liturgical drama and that the popular farce had no influence in the creation of the various comic characters.

¹⁰ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. VI, p. ccix ff.

Porque non pueden estar
En un rigor toda vía
Los arcos para tirar,
Suélenlos desempulgar
Alguna pieza del día.
Pues razón fué de mezclar
Estas chufas de pastores
Para poder recrear,
Despertar y renovar
La gana de los lectores.

The shepherds see a figure flying toward them and Juan is thoroughly frightened:

Juan. ¡ Sí, para Sant Julián!
 Y allega como la peña.
 Purraca el zurrón del pan,
 Acogerme he á Sant Milián,
 Que se me eriza la greña. . . .

Mingo.
 ¿ Tú eres hi de Pascual,
 El del huerte corazón?
 Torna, torna en ti, zagal:
 Sé que no nos hará mal
 Tan adornado garzón.
 Pónteme aquí á la pareja,
 Y venga lo que viniere;
 Que la mi perra Bermeja
 Le sobará la peleja
 A quien algo nos quisiere.

Juan. Y si nos habla bien luego
 Faremos presto del fuego
 Para guisalle un tasajo;
 Que no puedo imaginar,
 Hablando, Mingo, de veras,
 Que hombre sepa volar
 Si no es Johan escolar
 Que sabe de encantaderas. . . .

The angel then announces to them the birth of Christ and bids them seek the Child in the manger. After some hesitation, Mingo consents to obey and tells what they must take:

Mas lleva allá el caramiello,
 Los albogues y el rabé,
 Con que hagas al chiquiello
 Un huerte son agudiello,
 Que quizá yo bailaré.

Juan exclaims with delight on hearing the song of an angel:

¡ Oh, hi de Dios, qué gasajo
 Habrás, Mingo, si lo escuchas!
 Ni aun comer sopas en ajo,
 Ni borregos en tasajo,
 Ni sopar huerte las puchas.

The same simple rejoicing is shown in the account of another shepherd who relates what he had seen at the manger.

It is true that this eclogue was not represented, but we may look upon it as a faithful transcription of the performances which were given at that time either in the church or church-yard. We could hardly conceive of a serious writer inventing this scene in which the comic element plays so large a part. It is particularly interesting as the shepherds here represented have the same characteristics as those which appear in later plays. They speak their own crude language, they are filled with terror at the sight of the angel and star, they sing and dance as they go to the manger with their simple gifts, they tell of their love of food. It was used as an introduction to the Nativity scene, but already we find the shepherds occupying a disproportionate place, although the scene at the manger was not completely lost sight of.

The second *Égloga* of Juan del Encina was represented before the Duke of Alba on Christmas Eve of 1492.¹¹ This play does not show as many popular elements as the above mentioned, doubtless because rude comedy would have been out of place in a private representation.¹² Neither the angel nor manger appears. It is merely a dialogue between four shepherds, Mateo, Marco, Lucas and Juan.

¹¹ *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, ed. by Cañete, Madrid, 1893, p. 15 ff.

¹² Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, 1892, p. 78, says: "In Spain, through adverse circumstances, the development of the play was arrested, and when at last, in 1496, the early dramatic type for Spain was set by the *Representaciones* of Encina, its direct inspiration was the Latin pastoral rather than the liturgical drama." I have found no trace of influence of the Latin pastoral on the religious plays of Encina.

Lúcas announces to his companions the birth of Jesus and expounds with the assurance of a Church Father the doctrines of original sin and redemption. They leave to visit the manger, singing a *villancico* which is distinctly popular, in praise of the Christ Child. Although the shepherds talk their own rude language, they discourse like theologians and the comic element is totally absent.¹³ But it should not be concluded that the comedy element was necessarily a later development. The Christmas plays of Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente were presented before people of quality, kings or noblemen, in whose presence rough farce and horse play would have been out of place. Doubtless the plays which were written for public performances at this period contained more popular elements and less theology.

More realistic and popular is the so called *Égloga de las grandes lluvias*¹⁴ by Juan del Encina, performed on Christmas, 1498. It opens with a homely scene which later became conventional: four shepherds are seated about a fire and talk of the excessive rains which had caused destruction to man and beast.¹⁵ They begin to play *pares* and *nones*, but the game is interrupted by the angel's song, announcing the birth of Christ. When they hear the glad tidings, they act like simple hearted men whose intelligence is limited. Rodrigacho asks:

¿Quién dijo qu'era nascido?
Juan. Cuido qu'el saludador.
Miguelledo. Que no, sino el Salvador.
 ¿No lo tienes entendido?
Juan. De atordido
 No pude perentenderlo.

we have a certain crude attempt at realism which is far removed from the artificial pastorals like the *Representacion del Amor* of They take their simple gifts and leave to visit the manger.¹⁶ Here

¹³ The fact that the shepherd is not always represented as a comic figure shows that this character is not derived from the popular farces.

¹⁴ *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, p. 137 ff.

¹⁵ The theme of the discomforts of the shepherd's life and exposure to storms is found in the Chester Shepherds' play, II, 1-9 and Towneley III, 1 ff., and IV, 1-15, 123-128.

¹⁶ The presentation of gifts by the shepherds is borrowed from the Magi story.

the same author. It should be noted that the dialogue and games of the shepherds almost absorb the Nativity theme and that the scene at the manger was not represented. There is a certain element of comedy in the conversation of the shepherds, and Juan's mistake in confusing the words *saludador* and *salvador* is one of the first of the many examples of seeming irreverence on the part of the *pastores* for comic effect.¹⁷

The *Auto Pastoril Castelhana*¹⁸ of Gil Vicente, represented in 1502 at the Christmas Matins, shows a fairly close relation with the liturgical drama. Four shepherds appear in the play and also the Evangelists Matthew and Luke. The opening scene presents a realistic picture of pastoral life. After playing some games, the shepherds fall asleep and are awakened by the song of the angel:

“ Ha pastor!
Que es nacido el Redentor!”

Gil bids them rise, narrates how the angel had announced the birth of the Savior and tells them to take their gifts and worship Him. The scene changes to the manger. The other shepherds are overwhelmed by astonishment, but Gil bids them present their gifts and explains that Mary was the maiden whom Solomon had called his bride when he sang:

“ Levántate, amiga mia,
Columba mea formosa, etc.

Silvestre exclaims on hearing those unfamiliar words:

A Dios plegue con el ruin!
Mudando vas la pelleja:
Sabes de achaque de ygreja!

Gil then adopts the rôle of preceptor and explains to his rude companions how the prophets had foretold the coming of Christ. The shepherds then depart, singing a song in praise of the Child.

In this play we have an interesting picture of the rude life of the shepherds which serves as an introduction to the Nativity scene. It contains a certain amount of rude humor and a general air of

¹⁷ In the Chester Shepherds' play, the shepherds give a comic explanation of the *Gloria in excelsis* of the angel.

¹⁸ *Obras de Gil Vicente*, Lisbon, 1852, vol. I, p. 7.

realism. The shepherd Gil, with his praise of the life of solitude and meditation undoubtedly shows the influence of the artificial pastorals. His function in the latter part of the play is to explain the doctrines of the Church to his more ignorant companions, a function which frequently appears in subsequent plays. The mention of the prophets is doubtless an echo of the sermon attributed to St. Augustine which was read at the Christmas service. The parody of Latin quotations is found in many of the religious plays of the sixteenth century.

Gil Vicente's *Auto dos Reis Magos*¹⁹ which was represented on Twelfth Night 1503, served as a prelude to the visit of the Wise Men. It contains a certain amount of realism and is chiefly interesting for the satire of the friars found in the early part. No shepherds appear in the other Spanish religious plays of Gil Vicente. Evidently at that period, shepherds were only introduced in scenes in which their presence was required by the Scriptural narrative.

The *Diálogo del Nacimiento*,²⁰ written by Torres Naharro some time after the year 1512, shows the complete divorce of the liturgical and religious drama. Two pilgrims, Patrispano and Betiseo, one coming from Jerusalem and the other from Santiago, meet and hold a tiresome conversation concerning the doctrine of the Nativity of Christ. Two shepherds, Herrando and Garrapata, who have overheard the discussion, ask certain questions, and give their own ingenious but often irreverent answers when dissatisfied with the replies of the pilgrims. It ends with a macaronic *villancico* in which the shepherds parody each line of Latin pronounced by the pilgrims. The *Diálogo* is not in any sense popular, but is interesting as showing how the rude comedy scenes of the shepherds' plays developed when completely separated from the liturgical drama. It should be noted that the prologue was pronounced by a shepherd. This became one of the important functions of the *Pastor* in later plays.

The *églogas* of Lúcas Fernández show little advance over the *representaciones* of Juan del Encina. The *Égloga ó farsa del Nas-*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁰ *Propaladía de Bartolomé de Torres Naharro*, ed. by Menéndez y Pelayo, Madrid, 1900, vol. II, p. 347 ff.

*cimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesu Cristo*²¹ serves as an introduction to the manger scene, although the latter is not represented. The play opens with a quarrel between two shepherds Bonifacio and Gil, which however has a certain clerical element. For example, when Gil wishes to take a nap, Bonifacio warns him of the misfortunes which befell Samson, Esau and others because of sleep. Their dispute is interrupted by the arrival of the hermit Macario who has lost his way. They make fun of him, and incidentally ridicule the religious Orders. He bids them not to jest for, according to the prophets, the incarnation is at hand, whereupon Bonifacio asks:²²

¿ Qué cosa es Encarnacion?
Macario. La Sancta Divinidad
 Tomar nuestra humanidad
 Para nuestra salvacion.
Gil. ¿ Dios y hombre se ha de hacer
 Todo yunto?
 No ay quien os pueda entender.
Macario. Dos naturas han de ser
 Puestas en punta de un punto.

Macario continues to explain how God had revealed his coming to Adam, Noah, Isaac, Abraham and David, and the shepherd Marcelo enters, shouting to the shepherds that an angel had proclaimed that Christ had been born of a Galilean maiden. Bonifacio asks:

¿ Y vírgen pudo parir?

Marcelo reaffirms this and in touching language expresses his joy at the birth of the Christ Child. The shepherds are still unconvinced but when they hear a new proclamation of the angels, they kneel and sing "*Et homo factus est.*" After many questions—questions which would naturally suggest themselves to untutored minds, though slightly irreverent—Macario and Marcelo explain to them the doctrines of the Incarnation and Redemption. The shepherds then depart for the manger, telling of the gifts which they will present, and the play ends with a *villancico*.

²¹ *Farsas y Eglogas fechas por Lucas Fernández*, ed. by Cañete, Madrid, 1867, p. 139 ff.

²² P. 157.

This play aims rather to teach the doctrines of the Church than to make the auditors familiar with the incidents of the Nativity. The clerical element is more pronounced than in any of the plays hitherto examined. The rude questions of the shepherds give Marcelo and Macario an opportunity to expound theological dogmas, an element which we find still further developed in the plays of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz. The stage direction that the song of the shepherds was accompanied by an organ seems to prove that the play was represented in the church itself or in the immediate vicinity.

In another play of Lúcas Fernández, also entitled *Auto ó farsa del Nacimiento*,²³ we have a homely scene of every day life which introduces the Nativity. The shepherd Pascual enters, complaining of the cold and rain, and like a glutton, conjuring up this gastronomic feast:²⁴

Digo que de aquí adelante
Quiero andar más perpujante,
Comer, beber: de contino
Tasajo, soma y buen vino;
Comer buenos requesones,
Comer buena miga cocha,
Remamar la cabra mocha
Y comer buenos lechones;
Y castrones y ansarones,
Y abortones corderitos,
Mielgos, chivos y cabritos,
Ajos puerros, cebollones,
Que á pastores son limones.

He lights a fire and calls his companion Lloreinte. They have just begun a game of "shinny" when Juan, another shepherd enters and tells them of the song of the angels. Pascual and Lloreinte are at first incredulous and make sport of their companion, but finally are convinced that the Nativity had caused the strange light which they had noticed in the heavens. Juan, and even Pascual and Lloreinte talk learnedly of the Redemption and the prophets who had foretold the coming of Christ, and they depart for the manger,

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 177 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

singing in praise of the Child. Like the preceding, this play contains a long exposition of the doctrines of the Church pronounced by one of the shepherds and the rude questions of the others aid in the explanations which were needed to instruct the spectators. The didactic element in these plays is very apparent, but the realistic scenes in the early part of each are of considerable interest. Pascual is a glutton, a characteristic which is found in nearly all of the later plays.

In the *Comedia á lo pastoril*,²⁵ preserved in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, No. 16058, the shepherds' play is joined to the *Procès de Dieu* theme. Although an attempt at realism was made in the presentation of the gifts to the Christ Child, there is no comic element. The play was probably composed in the first half of the sixteenth century.

It may be seen that in the earliest texts, the shepherds only appear in the Christmas plays where their presence was required by the Scriptural narrative, and that these pastoral scenes were developed so as to almost absorb in some cases the religious element. These crude representations of every day life and the rude humor and horseplay doubtless pleased the audience and gave a comic relief to performances which without them would have proved tiresome. In many cases, the comedy scenes were introduced in the early part of the play in order to interest the spectators before treating more serious themes. Also in many plays, a serious scene was immediately followed by a comic scene. As Petit de Julleville states the case for the French *mystères*:²⁶ "Le fond du drame était sérieux: mais dès que l'auteur croyait voir les fronts des spectateurs se plisser, leurs yeux se détourner à l'aventure, leurs bouches s'ouvrir pour bâiller, vite un bouffon sautait sur la scène et réveillait l'attention et la belle humeur. Souvent l'auteur dédaignait de composer ces épisodes burlesques: 'On placera ici quelque récit propre à récréer joyeusement l'esprit des auditeurs.' Nous lisons ces mots en marge d'une Nativité jouée à Rouen en 1474." In the prologue to the *Farsa de la Natividad* by Sánchez

²⁵ I have prepared an edition of this play which will appear shortly in the *Revue Hispanique*.

²⁶ *Les Mystères*, vol. I, p. 267.

de Badajoz,²⁷ the Pastor tells us clearly the function of the comic element in the play:

No vos cuento
El tenor del argumento;
Mas si teneis atencion
Si digo verdad ó miento,
Que habereís consolacion
En sentir
Lo que aquí se ha de decir.
Serán cosas
Devotas y provechosas,
Y porque no vos durmais,
Algunas cosas graciosas
Dirémos con que riais.

The comic scenes of the shepherds became so popular that we find them appearing in plays which had no connection with Christmas. The Old Testament plays on the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and David in which a pastoral setting was required by the Scriptural account formed the point of departure, and from these, the shepherds were introduced into any play for comic effect, regardless of the subject. In certain cases the attempt was made to connect non-Christmas plays with the Nativity plays by means of the *Pastor*. In the *Aucto de la Circuncision de Nuestro Señor*,²⁸ when Joseph and Mary enter the temple, the Pastor, servant of the High Priest, says:

A señor dezirelo
o tengolo de callar?
qu'ese niño es el moçuelo
que los angeles del çielo
nos llamaron [a] adorar.

He tells how he had heard the song of the angels and had presented his gifts to Mary and the Child.

The *Pastor* forms the connecting link between the *Farsa de*

²⁷ *Recopilación en metro, Libros de antaño*, vol. XI, p. 141.

²⁸ Pub. by Rouanet, *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios del siglo XVI*, vol. II, p. 363, ll. 221-225.

los Doctores by Sánchez de Badajoz²⁹ and the Christmas plays. Nicodemus says:

Yo tengo por cierta sciencia
Que es venido ya el Mesías,
Que todas las profecías
Lo muestran como en presencia. . .

and the *Pastor* exclaims:

Agora se le acordó
Acabo de año con daños.
Há mas de diez ó doce años
Que es púbrico que nació.
Mi primo Pascual bailó
La noche del nacimiento.

In the discussion with the Doctors, the *Pastor* approves everything said by the child Jesus and again refers to the night of his birth:

Más me acuerdo ha mi agüelo
Que acá noche norabuena
Oimos gran cantalena
De los ángeles del cielo,
Y allá humos yo y Pedruelo
Á ofrecer á la parida.
¡ O qué dama tan garrida,
Y qué niño y qué consuelo!
Estaban en un portal,
¡ O qué milagro tamaño!
Desnudito y tan extraño
El Corderito Pascual. . .

When Mary enters with Joseph, *Pastor* recognizes her:

¡ O qué bien, qué bien, qué bien!
Juri al ciego y su poder
Que ésta es la mesma mujer
Que parió el niño en Belen.

The attempt to connect this *farsa* with the Christmas plays is evident.

²⁹ *Recopilación en metro, Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, p. 57 ff.

I have examined in some detail the character of the *Pastor* in the earliest plays because they contain the germ of the later development of the figure. Even before 1525, the *Pastor* had assumed certain definite characteristics and had become more or less stereotyped. After that date, he appears in a great number of religious plays and I need only mention the characteristics which are constantly repeated. The popularity of the type may be appreciated from the fact that he plays a definitely comic rôle in more than thirty of the ninety-five religious plays published by M. Léo Rouanet. Four names were used to designate the same character, *Pastor*, *Villano*, *Bobo* and *Simple*, the first three occurring far more frequently than the last.³⁰ These names seem to have been used indiscriminately and in some plays we find the same character called by all three names. The name *Pastor* was almost always used in the Christmas plays, but in the other *autos*, no distinction was made between the *Pastor*, *Bobo*, *Villano* and *Simple*. I think it is beyond question that the *Pastor* of the Shepherds' plays was the progenitor of all these types. We have a parallel development in the religious plays of England, France and Italy, but in none of these countries, with the possible exception of France, did the shepherd have so great an influence on the development of comedy as in Spain. The author of the *Interlude of Mak* in the Towneley Shepherds' play produced a first class comedy with this material, but no one seems to have followed in his footsteps.

Many of the plays contain a prologue which was recited by the *Pastor*.³¹ These were usually comic in character, and ended with a brief statement of the argument and an appeal for silence. The epilogue was also frequently recited by the *Pastor*. It was also one of the functions of the *Pastor* and *Bobo* to furnish the songs and dances. These were usually given at the end of the play but occasionally the dances were performed during the course of the play. In the *Farsa Sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia*,³² *Bobo* tells

³⁰ A *bobo* is mentioned as one of the characters in the *Auto nuevo del santo nacimiento de Cristo nuestro Señor* by Juan Pastor, 1528. Moratin, *Orígenes*, no. 39.

³¹ The Prologue in the Spanish religious plays will be studied in a separate article.

³² Rouanet, *Colección de Autos, Farsas y Coloquios*, LXXXVI.

Vicio to play and that he will dance "*La Mala Ventura*."³³ In the *Farsa del Sacramento de los Quatro Evangelistas*,³⁴ after St. John gives a long explanation of the doctrine of the Sacrament, the shepherd Anton declares that he is fully satisfied and adds:

Y pues tal saber topamos
para poder preguntar,
mientras que mas preguntamos
tornen un poco a cantar,
y veran como bailamos.

After other questions, one of the Evangelists bids the shepherds kneel and worship God, and Gil adds:

Ellos, pues que son cantores,
canten al adoraçion;
bailaremos yo y Anton,
y ellos lleven los tenores
con un lindo favordon.

In many cases the comic scenes did not form an integral part of the play and may be looked upon simply as *entremeses* or *pasos*. They usually followed a serious scene, and in general we may say that there was a regular succession of serious and comic scenes. In the *Aucto del Destierro de Agar*,³⁵ the shepherd scene has no connection with the rest of the play. In the *Auto del Robo de Digna*,³⁶ the violent scene of the abduction of Digna is followed by a *paso* in which a *Bobo* and *Pastor* appear. The scene is in prose, which shows that it was considered to have little connection with the rest of the play which is written in verse. Lisanjo, the *Pastor*, enters with the bad news and the *Bobo* plies him with absurd questions.

Bobo. Pues, vellaco rrapaz, si mi padre no me engañara, por mi sabiença no me dezian que me avian de hazer maestro de guardar un palomar?

Lisanjo. Y tu padre te engaño?

Bobo. Si, que me engaño.

Lisanjo. Y en que te engaño? Veamos.

Bobo. Muriose.

³³ Sánchez-Arjona, *El Teatro en Sevilla*, p. 45, gives a list of the dances which were used in the Corpus Christi representations at Seville

³⁴ Rouanet, *ibid.*, LXXXIX, ll. 229-33 and 346-51.

³⁵ Rouanet, *ibid.*, II.

³⁶ Rouanet, *ibid.*, VIII, p. 141.

A document published by Pérez Pastor seems to show that the *entremeses* were not considered a part of the play. "En 4 de Marzo de 1578 se concertó el Ayuntamiento con Alonso de Cisneros, que hará tres autos, los que esta villa señalare y escojere de los que se le pidiere con dos entremeses en cada auto."⁸⁷ This is confirmed by a number of references in the plays of M. Rouanet's collection such as: "*Aquí a de aver un entremes.*" This was probably an improvised farce, performed by actors engaged for that purpose.

In nearly every play in which the *Pastor* or *Bobo* appears, he is represented as a glutton. He cares for nothing, sacred or profane, provided his stomach is well filled. The voracity of the *Bobo* furnishes the chief comic element of the *Auto del Sacrificio de Abraham*.⁸⁸ Abraham calls him, and bids him dress and come forth. The *Bobo* replies:

Que, señor! para mascar
ansi me puedo salir.

and comes out wrapped in a shawl. When Abraham remonstrates, the *Bobo* answers:

El no ve qu'es ya verano
y en faldetas me andare?

When Abraham orders his servant to invite guests to a dinner, the *Bobo* is afraid of being deprived of his food, and adds:

Di que vengan almorçados,
porque aca no hagan mengua
y nos dejen apiolados.

When Abraham blesses thus the food:

Aquel alto Poderosso
a todos juntos bendiga
y nos de gloria y rreposito. . .

the *Bobo* irreverently adds:

Y que harte mi barriga,
que, pardios, qu'estoy medroso,

⁸⁷ *Histrionismo español*, p. 11. There are many other references of the same kind.

⁸⁸ Rouanet, *ibid.*, I, p. 4 ff.

que segun es la juntada
la comida queda yerma,
y si para ti no ay nada,
o barriga triste enferma!
por mi mal fuiste enjendrada.

This parody of sacred things is very frequently found in the character of the *Pastor* and *Bobo*. In the *Auto de la Resurreccion de Christo*,³⁹ after the announcement of the resurrection of Christ, each of the characters prays to the Virgin, and the *Bobo* asks that he be allowed to offer his prayer:

Señora, yo vengo aqui
solamente a os suplicar
que, pues todo lo podeis,
que de deudas me libreis
y de obligacion con plazo,
y para agora, un hornaço
de dos mil huevos me deis:
que os doy fee de lo meter
sin dejar huevo ninguno.

The figure of *Bobo* in the *Aucto de la Paciencia de Job*⁴⁰ is one of the best in Rouanet's collection. It will be noted that there is a regular succession of serious and comic scenes. Job prays to God to protect himself and his family, and the *Bobo* enters:

A! Job, a! nuesamo, que fiesta os perdeis
de tanta la sopa, de tantos manjares;
que apenas yo puedo mover los quijares
de lo que e comido! Que gansos vereis!
gallinas, perdizes, conejos a pares!

A drover then enters and tells Job that all his cattle had been lost and that he himself had barely escaped alive. *Bobo* asks:

Y, dime, por ver:
Matorente a ti?

Boyero. Vinieronme en pos,
que fue gran ventura poder guareçer.

³⁹ Rouanet, *ibid.*, LX.

⁴⁰ Rouanet, *ibid.*, XCVI

Bobo. Tanbien te llorara ; creerasmelo, amigo?

Boyero. Si.

Bobo. Dios te me deje ver como querria.

Boyero. Y como?

Bobo. Finado. Veras si te haria
sobre tu fuesa tal llanto, me obrigo,
que nunca zesara, la noche y el dia.

The *Moza* enters and tells Job that his house had been destroyed and that his children were dead. *Bobo* asks :

Y, dime, hundiose el gatto rrabon?

Moza. Todo, a la mi fee, quedo soterrado.

Bobo. O que gataço aquel tan honrrado!
De puro noble no asia rraton.

Then he asks about the "*arca del pan*."

Moza. Tambien es hundida.

Bobo. Hundida te veas toda esa cara,
vellaca, golosa, oçiquilamida!
— Nuestro amo, no entremos, no aya quedado
algun terronaço en qualque rrincon
que nos asiente en la cholla un chichon.

This parody of one of the principal characters by the *Pastor* or *Bobo* is frequently found. In the *Aucto del Robo de Digna*,⁴¹ Lisanjo tells Jacob of the rape of Digna and the father laments the violence done to his daughter. The *Bobo* asks :

Ola! Lisanjo. Sabe señor como el perro se comio toda
la coçina?

Lisanjo. Si, que lo sabe.

Bobo. Y sabe como la dornajuela se quedo sin alima?

Lisanjo. Tanbien lo sabe.

Bobo. Pues, porque no me lo dezias? Y ayudara yo a llorar mi
parte. Ay, ay, ay!

Jacob. O triste de mi! que hare?

O la mi honrra perdida!

Bobo. No llore vuesa merçe
que otra olla conprare
que tenga honrra conprida.

⁴¹ *Rouanet*, VIII.

In the *Farsa Teologal* by Sánchez de Badajoz,⁴² the *Pastor* continually parodies the Teólogo who tries to instruct him. When the former quotes Latin, the *Pastor* replies:

¿ Habeis visto el abadon?
Juraré yo á San Herrando
Que viene alguien conjurando,
O pide por Sant Anton.

.

Teólogo. Clementer salvavit nos
Per bonitatem divinam
Instaurans nostram ruinam.

Pastor. Mucho más ruin sois vos.
¡ He! ¡ mira! ¿ creeis en Dios?
Si quereis, hablá á la crala,
O andá mucho noramálá.

Teólogo. ¿ Quid vis?

Pastor. ¿ Vismas? para vos.

After a long explanation of the doctrine of the redemption, Teólogo asks the *Pastor* whether he thoroughly understands and the latter replies:⁴³

Muy bien para San Herrando.
He estado bobo mirando
Espantado y esmarrido.
Paréceme que he comido
Mil mollejas de ansarones,
Cuando tan fuertes razones
Nunca las había oído.

In the *Farsa de los Doctores*⁴⁴ by Sánchez de Badajoz, the *Pastor* impudently interrupts the Doctors, and when Samuel quotes Latin, the *Pastor* cries:

Habrais en algaravieja;
Yo no entiendo aquesta lengua;
Si mal me diz mal le venga
Maldicion de puta vieja.

⁴² *Libros de antaño*, vol. XI, p. 93.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁴⁴ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, p. 59.

He does not hesitate to qualify their statements as *locuras*, and pays no attention to their rebukes.

Very frequently the *Pastor* and *Bobo* take part in conversations in which they are not concerned and by their remarks raise a laugh at the expense of some other character. In the *Aucto de los Desposorios de Joseph*, Bobo exclaims when Joseph refuses to kiss Senec:⁴⁵

Por san, qu'es desamorado,
salbo onor, señor Joseph.
Mira quien no consintie
un beso tan agraciado!
No lo hiziera yo, a fee.

.
Acabe, lleguese a ella,
digale algun rresquebrajo.

In many plays the stupidity of the *Pastor* and *Bobo* furnishes a comic element. In the *Aucto del Finamiento de Jacob*,^{45a} for example, the *Bobo* is a dolt who is a butt for all jokes because of his limited understanding. The *Moza* asks:

La bestia, donde quedo?

.
Bobo. No traje bestia, si a mi;
No ay otro asno, son yo.
No so bien grande?

Moza. Si.
No es tan grande el burro nuevo.

In the *Auto de Naval, y de Abigail*,⁴⁶ attributed to Lope de Rueda, there is a good comedy scene in which the *Bobo* tries to pass himself off as an ass. The same scene is found in Lope de Rueda's *Coloquio de Timbria*.

In certain plays the stupidity of the *Pastor* or *Bobo* and his rude questions served an important purpose, that is, in requiring a clear explanation of the doctrines of the Church, framed in language which would be understood by the most ignorant auditors. In this

⁴⁵ Rouanet, *ibid.*, XX, l. 306 ff.

^{45a} Rouanet, XII.

⁴⁶ Rouanet, *ibid.*, LIX.

way, the doctrines of Incarnation, Redemption, Transubstantiation and the Immaculate Conception were brought within the comprehension of every one. The *Bobo* was, so to speak, the connecting link between the auditors and the sacred characters. He looked at everything from the same standpoint as the humblest peasant in the audience. In the *Farsa del Sacramento de los Quatro Evangelistas*,⁴⁷ the shepherd Anton Exido enters, dressed in his best clothes, to celebrate the Corpus Christi festival:

Yo, desde que so pastor,
tengo aquesta devoçion
que en la fiesta del Señor
vo hechando en la proçesion
rrosas y flores de olor.

Doubtless it did not appear incongruous to the audience that he should meet the Evangelists and discuss theology with them.

In nearly all of the plays, the shepherds show the utmost ignorance of sacred things. It is with surprise, therefore, that in the *Farsa del Sacramento*,⁴⁸ we find the shepherd Anton instructing St. Jerome, St. Gregory, St. Luke, St. Augustine and St. Ambrose in the mysteries of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. This function of the shepherd is quite exceptional, although we find traces of it in the plays of Gil Vicente and Lúcas Fernández.

In the vast majority of plays in which the *Pastor* or *Bobo* appears, his mistakes furnish the comic element. In other plays however, especially in those of Sánchez de Badajoz, he is an active agent in the fun making and makes sport of other characters. A good example of this is found in the *Farsa de Salomon*⁴⁹ of Sánchez de Badajoz. A *Fraile* tells the *Pastor* that every good Christian should beat himself in order to become pure. The *Pastor* acts at once upon the advice, undresses himself and gives himself a good thrashing. Then the *Fraile* tells him that he had been joking:⁵⁰

Su contricion es perfeta.
Ya que te dije burlando,

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, LXXXIX.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, LXXXVII.

⁴⁹ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XI.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

No es noche de estar llorando;
Buena ha andado la bualeta;
Para juego de carreta
Fuera bueno el bobarron.
Pastor. Yo creí vuestro sermon,
¡ Y vos echaislo en chufreta!
¿ En fin, vos escarnecis? . . .
Ora bien, callá, callá.
Quizás acontecerá
Que yo ria y vos lloreis.

The *Pastor's* prophecy is fulfilled for he gives the *Fraille* a good flogging in payment for the trick that had been played on him.

The *Pastor* and *Bobo* frequently appear in comic scenes with the other stock comic characters of the early plays, such as the Moor, Negress, Biscayan and Portuguese. In the *Farsa Teologal*⁵¹ by Sánchez de Badajoz, the *Pastor* makes a vain attempt to teach a negress the Creed, and in the *Farsa de la Iglesia*⁵² by the same author, there is a good scene of horseplay in which the *Pastor* persuades a Moor to be baptized and he himself performs the ceremony.

The Devil and Vice often appeared as comic characters and are frequently associated with the *Bobo*. In the *Auto de la Culpa y Captividad*,⁵³ a *Villano (Bobo)* and *Pastora* are captured by *Culpa* and *Captividad* and after some resistance, are dragged to a cave which represented Hell. The *Bobo* tries to warn two prophets not to approach:

Cata que os aviso a entramos
que no vengais,
que ay mas mal que no pensais,
que saldrán so aquella peña
un salvaje y una dueña
que os haran que no bolvais.

After the prophets are captured, *Bobo* peers out of the cave and tries to warn his father and mother of the danger:

No gastes tienpo con ella
que peor lo hara.

⁵¹ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XI, p. 127.

⁵² *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 193.

⁵³ Rouanet, XLV.

Guarda que os engañara
 qual otra negra presona,
 qu'es un diablo tesona.
 Aguarda, padre, aguarda,
 porque os engarrafara
 el salvajon.

They are all freed by *Libertad* and *Bobo* exclaims:

Qual salimos del carnero!
 Mira aca
 como venimos de alla,
 humedos y asotanados.
 Que os paresçe? Que barvados
 salimos! Padre, mira.

In the *Aucto de la Verdad y la Mentira*,⁵⁴ *Demonio* and the *Bobo* attack *Verdad*, and *Justicia* suddenly appears with a drawn sword. The *Bobo* cries out in terror

No, señora, no hera yo,
 quite alla su cuchillazo.
 Jesu, que luçio y largazo!
 Por la madre que la pario,
 No me de un gañavetazo!

In the *Farsa Sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia*,⁵⁵ there is a good comic scene between the *Bobo* and *Vicio*. When the latter enters, the *Bobo* makes fun of his long nose:

Ojo! no veis la nariz
 que trae el señor? Amigo,
 a ser troje, su cayz
 bien cabia en ella de trigo.

When *Confision* tells *Vicio* to confess his sins, the *Bobo* adds:

Si al cielo le an de llevar,
 dejese aca las narizes:
 no le estorven al entrar.

In the *Farsa de los Doctores*⁵⁶ by Sánchez de Badajoz, the Devil

⁵⁴ Rouanet, LV.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, LXXXVI.

⁵⁶ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, p. 72.

enters, angered by the birth of Christ. The *Pastor* grasps him by the horns and forces him to acknowledge his defeat.

The *Bobo* is occasionally represented as a coward. In the *Farsa del Rey David*,⁵⁷ the *Pastor* is frightened at the appearance of Goliath:

 ; O grandes fatigas mias!
 Veislo viene por detras,
 Aquel fero Satanas
 El gran gigante Golias.
David. No temas, hermano, así.
Pastor. O mala vision que veo.
David. Tente.
Pastor. No estoy más aquí,
 Que me zurró, juri á mí.
David. No hayas miedo.

When Goliath asks for some one to come out to fight with him, the *Pastor* exclaims:

 Encandeló al enemigo
 Tal alma, cara y esfuerzo,
 Que tembrando estoy conmigo.
 Vámonos, David amigo,
 Huyamos de tal escuerzo.

The character of shepherd became so popular that he was even introduced into the Morality plays with an allegorical name. In the *Auto de la Verdad y la Mentira*,⁵⁸ *Ynorancia* appears as a *Bobo*, and like nearly all the *Bobos*, he is a glutton.

Bobo. Veamos la faltriquera,
 a ver si ay por ventura. . .
Malicia. Mal aya tal criatura,
 si basta una casa entera
 para ponelle en hartura!

In the *Auto de la Resurreccion de Christo*,⁵⁹ la *Ynocencia de Adam* plays the role of *Bobo*. He comes running out after Christ had released the damned souls and gives a comic account of the harrowing of Hell:

⁵⁷ *Libros de antaño*, vol. XII, pp. 165-166.

⁵⁸ Rouanet, LV.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, LXI.

Mas, como el señor entro,
 el demonio s'escondio
 debajo de unos tiçones,
 y el quebronos las prisiomes,
 y ansi a todos nos solto.

Each character reads a gloss in honor of the Virgin and Marcos bids the *Bobo* read his:

Bobo. Venga la paga,
 Porque de balde no es cosa.
Marcos. Que quieres que se te de?
Bobo. De aquello de la lunada
 una lonja bien asada,
 y su vino; y glosare
 "La bella mal maridada."
 Que, pardiez, ya el abadejo,
 tollo, mielga, ni pescado,
 no entraran, si es de mi grado,
 mas "por el postigo viejo
 que nunca fuera cerrado."
 Ygual es buenos toçinos,
 buenas carnes, buenos vinos
 que nos rrieguen los gargueros,
 sin que lo sepa "Oliveros
 ni su primo Montesinos."⁶⁰

In the *Farsa Sacramental de la Fuente de la Gracia*,⁶¹ *Descuydo* is represented as a *Bobo*. He is invited to the Fount of Grace and after inquiring whether it was one of the fountains well known in Madrid, he refuses to drink before breakfast:

Mire, si ubiera almorçado,
 no dejara de beber,
 mas no me e desayunado;
 como lo tengo de hazer?
 que morire rresfriado.

In the *Aucto de la Fee*⁶² by Juan Timoneda, *Hombre* appears as

⁶⁰ The *Bobo* often shows a fondness for quoting snatches of the popular romances.

⁶¹ Rouanet, LXXXVI.

⁶² *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. LVIII, p. 89.

a *simple*. He is a glutton and blames the government for failing to supply him with food:

¡ Doy al fuego el regimiento
Y el gobierno de la praza,
Que voy desde ayer hambriento
Y no hallo una hogaza
Para mi mantenimiento!
¡ Qué donoso proveer
De un ayuntamiento honrado,
Que anda el hombre avezado
Á cada paso comer,
Y no hallar pan un bocado!

The rôle of *simple* corresponds exactly to that played by the *bobo* in other Morality plays.

I have attempted to show that the chief comic figure of the Spanish religious drama of the sixteenth century is the logical outgrowth of the shepherds' plays which were performed in the churches on Christmas day. The Spanish people, obeying that love of realism which has always been a prominent feature of their popular literature, demanded scenes of every day life and a large element of humor to enliven the wearisome religious representations. In these scenes we occasionally find keen satire of the religious orders and many examples of seeming irreverence, but we must remember that a certain freedom was allowed in such matters at that period throughout Europe which is almost unintelligible to the Anglo-Saxon of to-day. While other writers were composing eclogues, pastoral plays and novels based upon an imitation of Latin and Italian works, these crude, realistic representations of the life of shepherds developed entirely independently. The popularity of these scenes was so great that they were transferred to plays which had no connection with Christmas and even to the morality plays. But the character of *Pastor* and *Bobo* could not fully develop in the narrow limits of the religious drama. It remained for Lope de Rueda and others to add new elements as it passed into the domain of the secular drama and thus prepare the way for the creation of the *gracioso* by Lope de Vega.

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GIAMBATTISTA VIDALI: A DOCUMENT FOR HIS BIOGRAPHY (1679).

THE dramatic splendor of the church of the Salute, rising from its picturesque position at the entrance to the Grand Canal, is such an ever-present witness to the reputation of Baldassare Longhena, that his glory will not suffer if one fails to point out all the references to him in the contemporary documents of Venice. We smile rather at the ambition of the humble poet Vidali, who, distrustful doubtless from his death-bed the power of his weak-winged sonnets in the Venetian dialect to carry him to immortality, seeks a sustaining association with the name of the famous architect. Something more than the genius of Longhena or the brush of the painter Zanchi was necessary to preserve the memory of Giambattista Vidali, who has remained, and will remain, unknown to all except the three or four curious antiquaries interested in the dust of the Venetian Seicento, and who therefore appreciate the occasional realistic figures of that century which Vidali recalls in his poetry.¹

The testament of the poet here published will offer to the few interested sufficient data for beginning the reconstruction of his life, of which we otherwise possess only the detail of his doctorate in laws. We learn the approximate date of his death; his residence in Ca'Moro in the parish of Sant'Antonin; the names and station of his most intimate friends; his relative wealth, and the manner of its investment; especially the religious temper of his last days. One feels almost that Vidali was even too much interested in the welfare of his own soul in the next world, and too little in the bodily comfort of his nearest relatives in this. But it becomes clear that his family relations were not of the pleasantest, owing to the activities of his scape-grace brother Vittorio Vidali, of whom we should like to know more, and who clearly belongs to a throng of spendthrift "buontemponi" described with such profusion of

¹ Cf. Antonio Pilot, *Venezia in alcuni sonetti di G. B. Vidali*, extract from *Fanfulla della domenica*, 1911, June.

detail in the realistic satire of the period.² What we know of Venetian customs leads us also to infer that the poet was either the eldest or the second eldest son in his family. At any rate the death of Giovanni Antonio must have ensued soon after that of the father, Michiel, leaving Giambattista at the head of the house, and passing the right of matrimony to the second surviving son Vittorio. The character of this youth was such as to blast every hope the poet may have had for the future greatness of his family. Here we have the explanation of the absence of the note of family ambition, so characteristic of Venetian testaments in general and especially in this period. This consideration prevents the hasty classification of Vidali among the odious "chietтини", whose passion for the mortmain of their property was justly hated by Venetian patriots. The Fraterna further was a public charity rather than a strictly ecclesiastical institution. However Vidali's devotion to the church of Sant' Antonin gives his testament an importance in the history of that edifice, which has again fallen into complete neglect, and within a year has been definitively closed to the public. It becomes clear that the rebuilding of that church in 1680, as recorded by Tassini, was due partly to the wealth of a Venetian poet; just as the literary fame of the same church is due to another Venetian poet, Buratti, whose *Elefanteide* takes for its subject an episode which occurred there in 1819.³

The legacy of the poet did not long remain in public trust. His younger brother did finally come to a realization of his responsibilities and within a year after the composition of this testament, married Anzola Moisis, who brought him in 1681 a daughter named Maria Michiela. According to the provisions of this will, the girl in 1697 laid claim to the ancestral estate, which enabled her to offer

² The will speaks of this brother first as Lodovico, then as "Vetor": that we are not dealing with two different brothers is proven by the phrase *detto Vetor, mio fratello*. According to the Venetian custom of continuing Christian names from generation to generation, we should expect *Lodovico*, given in memory of the uncle Lodovico Vidali. Yet the uncle has been so often mentioned previously, that this name may be an intrusion here, while such an error for Vetor would be more difficult. There remains the possibility of the brother being named Lodovico Vittorio Vidali.

³ The episode is narrated at length by V. Malamani in *Il principe dei satirici veneziani, Pietro Buratti*, Venezia Tip. dell' Ancora, 1887, pp. 112-133. I possess a copy of *L'elefantididio in Venezia*, of P. Bonmartini, Venezia, 1819.

a splendid dowry to a grandson of the Venetian poet Busenello. This explains the presence of the document here published in the hitherto uncatalogued papers marked *Testamenti* (no. 73) in the *Archivio Busenello*, recently acquired by Cavaliere Bailo of the Musico Civico of Treviso.

In fact, I publish this sample document of the riches of that *Archivio*, less as a contribution to the life of Giambattista Vidali than as an occasion for calling attention to the discovery of these papers, and for making an appeal for their rigorous preservation. Between the years 1588, the date of the acquisition of the Palazzo Busenello in the parish of Santa Croce, and 1797, the date of the fall of the Republic, we have the creation of a great citizen family, which in that period produced two scholars of renown, one interesting poet, fifty diplomats and two Grand Chancellors. The same period witnessed the amassing of a great family fortune, which even in its present dilapidated and scattered condition preserves the traces of its ancient princely magnificence. The managers of the Busenello estate were careful business men, and their papers were systematically filed and in 1756 and years following were laboriously and accurately catalogued. The result was a ponderous family *archivio*, known to Mazzuchelli as containing precious literary documents, and to students of art, as possessing a collection of paintings and antiquities, remarkable as a private museum. This museum was located in the Villa Busenello (now Pagani) in the little village of Legnaro near Padova. The dispersion of the collection began in 1849 on the death of the last Count Pietro Busenello; and more rapidly continued after the death of Count Giuseppe Pagani, in 1900. In 1907-8, efforts to locate these papers were ineffectual. They had actually passed in 1908 from Legnaro to the shop of the antiquary Domenichi in the Via Canonica in Venice. Thence a portion, containing many literary documents, went into the careful hands of Aldo Ravà, who must be counted as the discoverer of these archives, and as the first to appreciate their importance. The remainder went to the Museo Civico of Treviso: a bundle or two that had escaped the original sale, have been found by chance in an inn at Legnaro. We may rest assured that the most obviously precious papers of this collection will be preserved at Treviso, in the

new Museum, which when completed and restored according to the proposed plans, will be an enduring monument to the life-long industry and the discriminating erudition of Cavaliere Bailo. My appeal is here for the maintenance of the *Archivio*, completely intact and as a special department of that museum,—for the preservation in short of those papers that may seem to be of little or no importance. The receipt of a butcher's or a baker's bill is of little interest in itself, but it may serve in the reconstruction of the economic status of a family before the French Revolution. No one probably cares about the cost of the pills sold by Simon Boselli; nevertheless that item, contained in these archives, elucidates a reference to the Apothecary of the Abran in a satire of Zorzi Contarini; and another colorless receipt for thirty ducats paid to a Venetian Monastery, furnishes the first clue to the identity of the Venetian poet Sebastiano Rossi. I respectfully suggest that the importance of a given document cannot be judged off-hand, and express the hope that the exportation of these papers to other libraries will not be carried very far, and especially that none of the smallest documents, not recorded in the indices of 1756, will be destroyed or otherwise disposed of, without a record being taken with the same fullness of detail that appears in those indices.

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1679, 17 DICEMBRE: TESTAMENTO DEL SIGNOR GIO: BATTISTA VIDALI.

In dei æterni nomine amen: anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Jesu Christi millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo nono, indictione tertia, die vero dominica decima septima mensis decembris Rivoalti.

L'eccellentissimo signor Gio: Battista Vidali, dottor, del *quondam* signor Michiel, sano, mercè al Signor Iddio di mente et intelletto, ha fatto chiamar me Martin Corte, nodaro veneto, nella casa di sua habitatione in contrà di Sant'Antonin, essendo a letto indisposto; ha presentato a me, nodaro sudetto, la presente sua cedula testamentaria in presenza degl'infrascritti testimonij, disse scritto e sottoscritto di propria sua mano, pregandomi custodirla, presentarla nella Cancellaria Inferiore, et venendo il caso della sua morte, compirla, pubblicarla et robborarla giusto alle leggi di questa città. Interrogato d'altra simile, delli quatro hospitali della città, poveri vergognosi, convertite, rescato de schiavi

et altre opere pie et particolarmente l'hospital della Pietà, rispose: "Non occorre altro."

Intus vero tenor dicte cedule testamentarie talis est, et sequitur de verbo ad verbum ut infra, videlicet:

Deo Omnipotenti faces, honor et gloria, amen. Adì 9 luglio 1679. In Venetia. Circondato io, Gio: Battista Vidali, del *quondam* signor Michiel, da vari et ostinati mali, che quasi incessanti proteste di morte minacciano giornalmente la natura a soccombere e restituire la parte frale del corpo alla terra, che è il suo basso principio, e la immortale dell'anima alla Sublime Sua Causa ch'è Dio, voglio così con atto libero sottopormi a questa necessità, e col testar liberamente delle cose mie, più tosto uscire del mondo che d'esserne quasi violentemente scacciato.

Il testamento non è altro che una volontaria rinontia agli averi terreni et alle pompe et vanità del secolo, la quale se nel sacro battesimo habbiamo fatta senza volontà nell'infanzia, quanto più dobbiamo farla con matura deliberatione nell'età avanzata, batezando così l'arbitrio nell'ingresso all'eternità, e spogliandosi di qualunque cosa di mondo, per immergersi ignudi in quell'acque christalline e beate che corrono sopra i cielli, dove si batezziamo nell'possesso della patria glorificante, la nudità che fu compagne dell'innocenza dell'uomo ultimo, cioè nel termine della sua vita, liberamente toltoci d'intorno tutto l'impaccio gravoso delle cose terrene, le passioni verso le quali sogliamo tante volte caricarci di reità e renderci dispiacevoli agl'occhi paterni di Dio stesso.

Mi getto dunque a' piedi dell'Ineffabile Altissima et Incomprensibile Santissima Trinità, Padre, Figliolo e Spirito Santo, et imploro dalla suprema regola della vera libertà un atto di volere aggiustato et subordinato al Suo Divino Beneplacito, con cui possa ordinare giustamente li ditami del mio arbitrio in maniera che dalla volontà sua non devij punto la mia, la quale riuscirebbe più tosto licenza che libertà quando si dipartisse dalla norma dell'Altissimo Primo Autore della Volontà.

E perchè la deppendenza totale del Signor Dio è un anello di carità che ci collega con l'altro anello dell'affettuosa e cristiana unione col prossimo, però in primo luoco do e chiedo perdono a chiunque havessi data o ricevuta offesa alcuna, e con nodo indissolubile lego il mio affetto a tutti i fedeli e prossimi diletteissimi con quali prego la Divina Bontà d'eternar questo mio vincolo nella Patria Celeste, con la fornitione beatissima dell'immensità adorata.

Separato che sia lo spirito da questo corpo, voglio che il mio cadavere sia vestito dell'habito di San Francesco di Paula, mio grand'intercessore et avvocato, e poi nella forma più semplice, portato nella chiesa

di contrada. Ordino che il primo giorno mi siano in essa fatte celebrare messe da morto nel maggior numero che sia possibile in quella mattina. Poi voglio che si continuino quindici alla mattina sino all'ottavo giorno del mio transito, volendo che le messe della prima mattina si chiudano con una messa grande da morto, e così pure dell'ultima mattina; e sebbene la nostra sepoltura di casa si trova nella Isola della Madonna delle Gratie, desidero niente di meno e voglio esser sepolto nella chiesa parrocchiale di Sant'Antonio Martire e Sacerdote, entro gli scallini della capella et altare di San Liborio Vescovo, dove sarà già preparato il luoco, et l'altare sia fabricato a spese mie conforme al convenuto e mezo del Signor Piovano col Signor Baldissera Longhena, e voglio che sopra la pietra che cuoprirà il mio cadavere e sarà pavimento a' piedi de' sacerdoti vi siano scolpite in caratteri grandi queste parole: *SURGAM ET VIDEBO*. Et obbligo la mia heredità a mandar due torzi ogni anno il giorno della commemoratione dei morti, perchè siano fatte le mie esequie e de' nostri morti con dar alla sagrestia annualmente hellemosina di dodici messe dalli Molto Reverendi Padri Capuccini. Ordino che mi vengano dete messe trecento; parimente altrettante dalli Molto Reverendi Padri Reformati di San Bonaventura e così da' Molto Reverendi Padri Teatini numero doicento, e da' Padri Carmelitani Scalzi numero doicento e da' Padri di San Francesco di Paula numero cento all'altare del medemo santo; et di più a questi padri devoti, ducati vinticinque senza obbligo di messe per pura ellemosina. E perchè nella chiesa di Sant' Antonio, mia contrada, io vivendo ho fatte celebrare le messe per l'anima del *quondam* Signor Gio: Antonio, mio fratello, in essecutione del suo testamento e corrispondente ogni sei mesi l'elemosina del mansionario et è necessario lasciar ordine per la continuatione, onde la sua volontà sia perpetuamente eseguita, dichiaro che nell'Officio Eccellentissimo del Sale vi sono in partita di capitale a mio credito ducati millecinquecento compresi in maggior summa, il pro de' quali deve esser in perpetuo applicato all'officiatura di tante messe nella predetta chiesa, giusta il suo testamento negl'atti di D. Nicolao Veneto, nodaro veneto. Perciò voglio che li detti ducati millecinquecento siano girati a credito della sudetta chiesa di Sant'Antonio per manssionaria perpetua del signor sudetto, signor Gio: Antonio Vidali, *quondam* Michiel, per esser corrisposto il pro liberamente al manssionario che sarà eletto dal Signor Piovano, che sarà *pro tempore*, obbligando il medemo alla cura di far pontualmente officiare la detta manssionaria al numero delle messe a proportion del detto pro, et in caso di frantatione debba investirsi detto capitale, perchè la rendita di detto capitale sia sempre impiegato all'effetto delle dette messe. Nel che, in-

carico nella forma che più strettamente posso la coscienza de' Molto Reverendi Piovani.

Voglio che delli denari che si trovano di mia ragione nell'Offitio Eccellentissimo del Sale siano girati ducati doi mille cinque cento a credito della chiesa sudetta di Sant' Antonio sudetto per la mansionaria quotidiana perpetua per l'anima mia da esser offitiata nell'altare et cappella di San Liborio Vescovo giornalmente, dovendosi applicare il pro delli sudetti ducati doi mille cinquecento a questo effetto col corrispondere liberamente al manssionario che sarà elletto da' Molto Reverendi Piovani che saranno *pro tempore*, alla coscienza de' quali raccomandando la pontualità dell'essecutione, lasciando a loro arbitrio potere delli stessi pro et officatura constituer un patrimonio ad alcuno de' chierici di chiesa, et a sustentimento de chiesa; et in caso di francatione, debbano rinvestirsi li ducati doi mille cinquecento, perchè con li pro sia sempre essequita la mia sudetta volontà. Il che sarà incombenza de' Molto Reverendi Piovani, i quali se mancassero in ciò o nella predetta officatura, venga in quel caso recclamato acconti gli Eccellentissimi sopra Monasteri, dalla cui autorità e giustitia sia applicato il dovuto rimedio in ordine all'adempimento di quanto ordino.

E perchè, come ho detto sopra, l'altare di San Liborio sarà fabricato a mie spese, s'io promissi alla detta fabrica a perfetione totale di detto altare, ordino che si vega quanto haverò sin all'hora esborsato al Signor Batta [Baldassare] Longhena, giusta lo accordato, e supplire poi con l'esborso del rimanente, alla totale sodisfatione dell'opera compita. Fornito che sia il medesimo, voglio che sia fatta fare la palla dell'altare per mano del signor pittor Zanchi, la quale contenirà l'immagine del vescovo santo nel mezzo, e dalla parte destra l'immagine di San Lodovico, Re di Francia, e dalla sinistra quella di San Gio: Battista. Dalla parte destra della capella ordino che sia posto un cartellone di pietra di paragone col suo friso intorno di marmo fino, fatto a fogliami, dove si venga scolpita in lettere d'oro la memoria del Signor Lodovico Vidali, *quondam* Gio: Antonio, zio, che sarà nelle seguenti parole: *D. O. M. LODOVICUS VIDALI JO: ANTONIJ FILLIUS, UNIUS ECCLESIE PRAD: EIUSQUE EDIFICATIONIS LEGATORIA BUTELLA PROMOTOR, VIR INTEGERRIMUS, PRUDENTIA PROBITATE CLARUS TOTIUS FERE URBIS JUDEX COMPROMISSARIUS, EX EQUO ET BONO UTRIQUE PACTI ACCEPTUS, CUI PRO MORTE ETAS FINIT NONAGE-NONIUS (sic) ETERNITATEM INGRESSUS. JO: BAPTISTA NEPOS ET BREVES MONUMENTUM PONI IURAVIT.*

Dalla parte sinistra in un eguale cartellone sarà scolpita la memoria

mia, con quelle parole che paressero senza affettazione proprie, da esser composte dall'Eccellentissimo Medico Mesetti, alla cui bontà e valore mi rimetto. Ogn'altro ornamento per la medesima capella et altare voglio che sia fatto fare a mie spese, sì che tanto l'una quanto l'altro ricevano quello splendore che si ricerca per la sua compita perfetione et eleganza.

Alle Molto Reverende Madri Suor Dorotea et Arcangella, monache in San Servolo, mie sorelle, lascio ducati quattro mille di quelli mi attrovo nell'Offitio Eccellentissimo del Sal, heredetati da me dal *quondam* Signor Lodovico, mio zio, in vita loro durante, perchè godano esse il pro delli medesimi la metà per una, e morendo l'una, acresca tutto l'intiero nell'altra, e doppo la morte di tutte e due, vadano nel monastero del loro ordine sino all'estintione totale del monastero, doppo la quale veramente voglio che vada detto capitale di ducati quatomille nel mio residuo.

Al Signor Giorggio Gobati lascio ducati mille durante sua vita, et nella sua morte possa disporre delli cinquecento, et gli altri cinquecento vadano nel mio residuo, quali saranno di quelli stessi nell'Offitio del Sale hereditati come sopra.

Item, lascio a Betta, mia serva, ducati dol mille durante sua vita, ducati mille al Partitante de Sale di Verona et ducati mille all'Offitio Eccellentissimo del Sal, ereditati come sopra; dopo la sua morte anderanno nel mio residuo; di più ducati doicento di contanti, e che si taglia della mia biancaria tutto quello le pare e piace, et proibisco che sia guardato nelle sue casse, ma voglio che tutto quello che dirà sia suo e da me datole, che le sia creduto.

Alla Signora Elena, mia sorella, lascio la mia letiera, trabacca, stramazzi, coperte di letto, scagni, careghe di Bulgaro, casse di noghera, numero quattro, gli utensili di cucina, la metà a lei e l'altra mettà voglio che sia di Betta mia serva sudetta.

All'Eccellentissimo Signor Emanuel Meseri, medico, mio amorevolissimo congiunto, lascio un paro di sotto coppe d'argento, quelle più grandi che io adopero, et il mio anello di diamante che voglio portar in detto, et un paro di saliere d'argento a sua elletione.

Al Signor Abbate Francesco dall'Oglio, per testimonianza d'affetto, un bacille d'argento col suo ramino d'argento a sua elletione.

Item, al servitore e massera che saranno al tempo di mia morte, ducati dieci per uno, non comprendendo Betta in questo legato, havendola beneficata.

Al Signor Vetur Meseri, padre dell'Eccellentissimo Dottor Emanuel,

tutti li miei drappi e vestiti, la mia romana, capelli, scarponi, calzoni, calze.

Li miei tappedi, grandi e piccioli, caienini, ordinarij, in somma tutti, voglio che siano della chiesa di Sant'Antonino per la solennità di detta chiesa; così le spalliere pure della medesima chiesa, et voglio che ogni anno nel giorno di San Liborio Vescovo il Molto Reverendo Signor Piovan di San Martino si compiaccia esser presente personalmente alla messa grande del Santo in memoria che San Martino fu presente alla sepoltura del Santo, et a questo effetto ordino che annualmente gli sia dato un ducato.

Ordino di più che sia esequito l'ordine del testamento del detto Signor Lodovico, mio zio, in materia delle candelle il venerdì grasso nell'esposizione de Santissimo in chiesa de San Martino, e così parimente il legato che lasciò al tempo del maritar o monacar d'alcune putte sorelle d'uno chierico di San Giovanni in Bragora, sia esequito.

Alli signori Can^{co}. et Domenico Fallier, miei ss^{ti}. et amici amorevolissimi, una busta con dodici pironi d'argento, cuchiari e coltelli con manichi d'argento, che goderanno per segno d'affetto.

Fideicommissario et herede universale istituisco il Pio Luoco della Fraterna, alla pietà et carità del quale io commetto e raccomando l'essecutione della presente mia ultima volontà in tutte le sue parti, sì come devo sperare, e con questa sicurezza acqueto il mio animo. Ma perchè corre voce del matrimonio del Signor Lodovico [Vetor?], mio fratello, et io non ho dubbio che non segua, però in caso di suo matrimonio, se haverà figliuoli tanto maschi quanto femine, voglio che siano essi heredi universali di tutto il mo presente e futuro che *quovismodo* potesse aspettarmi: ma sino che detti suoi figliuoli non havessero sedeci anni, voglio che il Pio Luoco della Fraterna usi delle rendite mie a benefitio de' poveri conforme l'instituto di detto luogo, doppo il qual tempo vengano essi a possesso in maniera però che se mancassero avanti il compimento degl'anni sedici o doppo s'estinguessero in se stessi o nelle loro successioni, in quel caso voglio che siano fatte de tutto il mio tre parti, et che una terza parte sia del Luogo Pio della Fraterna de' Vergognosi sudetti e ceda a pro e benefitio de' poveri; l'altra terza parte de' figliuoli del Signor Michiel Zucareda, mio nipote, e l'altra terza parte de' figliuoli del Signor Antonio Zatta mio nipote, figliuoli tanto dell'uno quanto dell'altro che siano di legittimo matrimonio e non altrimenti: et anco questi con la conditione che ogni volta che manchino in se stessi o nelle loro successioni leggitime s'intenda sempre chiamato sostituito il sudetto Pio Luoco, volendo che il medesimo habbia da subentrare assolutamente nell'heredità mia, mancando le successioni

de' predetti, non vi essendo consanguinità più congiunta di quella de' poveri vergognosi, contratta della natura humana del primo huomo che è statto povero ignudo e vergognoso.

Prego et incarico bene la pietà del detto Pio Luoco a voler sovvenire la persona del detto Vetur [Lodovico?] Vidalli, mio fratello, con tutto quanto gli basti sufficientemente ad allimentarsi e vestire; ma per gli esempi pur troppo notti, vendendo egli sopra la sua vita ciò che gli viene lasciato et in pochi giorni dispende ogni cosa, si come ha fatto sempre in sua vita, ordino che il detto Luoco Pio li vada somministrando o di giorno in giorno o di settimana in settimana quanto possa giornalmente bisognarli, et quando non se ne vaglia per suo sostenimento, possa sminuirglielo, alterarlo et anco totalmente levarglielo, e tutto questo per oviare che non venda e dissipi senza suo pro quello che ha da servire per suo puro sostenimento, incaricando la vigilanza e dilligenza caritativa del sudetto Luoco.

Alla fabrica di Sant'Antonino tanto necessitata di mia contrada, lascio ducati mille di quelli m'attrovo a livello nell'Eccellentissima Procuratia *de supra*, de' quali si può subito intimar l'affrancatione per valersene quanto prima al predetto effetto della sudetta fabrica.

Lascio che degli argenti miei che restassero oltre i disposti di sopra siano fatti quattro candellieri d'argento ed una lampada per l'altare di San Liborio Vescovo, ecceto che voglio che il cacin o boccal d'argento da lavarsi lo lascio insieme con suo piè lavorato e tazze d'argento per sapone alla signora Marcolina Zuccareda, moglie del Signor Michiel Zuccareda mio nipote, per segno e testimonianza d'affetto.

Al Signor Dottor Pollieri, prette di San Pantaleone, lascio tutti benchè pochi miei libri: al Signor Dottor Andrea Moroni tre quadri di casa a sua elletione. Li ritratti di mio avo e di mio padre, che siano posti nel Luoco Pio della Fraterna. Il credito che ho con Gio: Battista Dali di ducati sei mille quando si scada scuotendo, lo lascio liberamente e senza nessuna conditione al sudetto Pio Luoco della Fraterna, e raccomandandomi alla protetione di Sua Divina Maestà della Beatissima Vergine, San Michel Arcangelo, San Francesco di Paula et di tutti i Santi miei protetori nell'ultimo mio transito, sottometto la mia volontà e la subordino al Divino Beneplacito, con l'esempio tanto da imitarsi di Nostro Signor Gesù Christo. *Non mea, non mea, sed fiat voluntas tua. Amen.* Et perciò ho scritto et sottoscritto di propria mano questo mio testamento, onde resti inviolabilmente esequito. *Preterea si quis per signum autem, etc.* Io Gio: Battista Vidalli, quondam Michiel, affermo et confermo quanto di sopra.

Here follows the deposition of the witnesses, Gerolamo Nulzi di Pietro Antonio, Challe Giordani di Jocando Giordani; and then the codicil:

[Voglio] di più che la casa di Ca' Moro, nella quale habbito, che le cinque parti sono di mia ragione, venendo il caso che fosse recuperata dall'Illustrissimo Moro, saranno di mia ragione le cinque parti del capitale che tiene a galder detto Illustrissimo Moro e doveranno esser le cinque parti dette di ragione del mio residuo conforme nella mia ordinatione predetta.

E volendo Betta, mia serva, fermarsi sei mesi doppio in casa, non possi esser scaciata, ma farina, oglio, vin e legne, che si ritroveranno alla mia morte, servano a suo uso e beneffitio.

Interrogato da me, nodaro, delli quatro hospedalli della città, convertite, vergognosi, rescato de' schiavi et specialmente l'Hospedal della Pietà rispose: lasso alle convertite ducati vinti per una volta tanto.

TUDOR LITERATURE AND MR. LEE

ALTHOUGH with all critics in all ages the personal equation must be considered, yet surely never as at present has it bulked so large. When paradoxes are at a premium, the writer with a "thesis" naturally wishes to sustain his position. But even then he should be fair, presenting all facts both for and against. Now, however, the methods of the advocate have superseded those of the judge. For there is this essential difference. The literary advocate before the great but ignorant jury of the public is bent solely upon proving his point, and, providing that he procures conviction, he considers any method legitimate. The plausible half-truth, the careful suppression of unfavorable evidence, the cunning stress upon prepared points, these are all artifices in Old Bailey. But when applied to literature they breed both an unwilling admiration for the cleverness of the critic and a hearty distrust of the soundness of his conclusions.

Thus it is with mixed feelings that the reader closes "The French Renaissance in England" by Mr. Sidney Lee. Honored by the universities of Oxford and Glasgow and Fellow of the British Academy, Mr. Lee must speak with authority. Also he is one of the most widely known of English scholars. As the second Editor-in-Chief of the "Dictionary of National Biography" he has given us a work that, however irritating through occasional inaccuracy, is yet exceedingly convenient; his "Introduction" to the "Elizabethan Sonnets" is the best single discussion of that difficult subject, and he writes the analogous chapter in the "Cambridge History of English Literature"; and his "Life of Shakespeare" is still standard. Moreover as the present work is based on six lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, it comes to us with academic prestige. Thus as being one of the leading exponents of the value of the comparative study of European literature, we rightly expect him to show both profound knowledge and mature judgment and, like another Oxford scholar, to aspire to the "high, white star of Truth."

Unhappily Mr. Lee is hampered in his investigation by a thesis. This he states definitely: "Yet I prepared to defend the position that French culture has a bearing on the development of Tudor culture, which neither the classics nor Italian art and literature nor German art and literature can on a broad survey be said to equal" (p. 12). But the "broad survey" must embrace a large number of little details and its value will depend proportionately upon their accuracy. Yet to defend his position he makes a number of statements so extraordinary that, as ignorance is out of the question with such a scholar, they must be credited to the thesis. They are comically easy to disprove. Let me illustrate as courteously as possible by citing three typical cases. He tells us that "Ronsard was at one time the English sovereign's guest" (p. 39), the sovereign being Elizabeth. Ronsard accompanied Madeleine de France when in January 1537 she married James Stuart of Scotland. He spent two years there and six months in England. Apparently, although in 1540 he was again in Scotland, this was his last visit to England. Elizabeth was born in September 1533, so that at the time of Ronsard's visit she was of the ripe age of six. Nor do we know that he ever saw her except in a vision. In fact, since in his poem in 1567, "*A Très-Haute et Très-Illustre et Très Vertueuse Princesse Elisabeth Royne d'Angleterre,*" he knows her but by report,

"Car, quand j'oy dire à ceux qui vous cognoissent
Que les beautez diverses apparoissent
Sur vous . . ."

the probability is against it. Presumably Mr. Lee in his eagerness allowed himself to overstate. But as in history, so in linguistics he yields to the same temptation. "But despite his insular professions, Skelton's work pays ample tribute to French culture. . . . One of his best known poems, an allegorical description of the vices of courtiers, called *The bowge of Court*, employs oddly but characteristically, an anglicized form of the French word *bouche* (mouth) in the sense of 'rations'" (p. 102-3). On the other hand *bouge*, or *bowge*, appears fifty years before in the Ord. R. Househ., Liber Niger Edw. IV, 19, according to the "New English Dictionary," published in 1888. A contemporary use of the word is given in the line from "Cocke Lorelles Bote,"

"Tankarde berers bouge men and spere planers."

Consequently Skelton's odd but characteristic use of it was the normal use for that particular service and shows exactly as much French influence on him as an individual as the word *chauffeur* or *garage* today does in the mouth of a newspaper reporter. The third illustration should not be historical, nor linguistic; therefore let it be critical. ". . . it was while he was talking in French with a Portuguese sailor who had voyaged to America, that More's alert imagination conceived his new ideal of society" (p. 72). In the first place I fail to see how French influence is shown by the language used in an imaginary conversation. Even with that subtilty granted, we are no better off, because, as More intimates, the conversation was in Latin.

". . . & mea oratio quanto accederet propius ad illius neglectam simplicitatem, tanto futura sit propior veritati, cui hac in re soli curam & debeo & habeo." Preface to Peter Giles.

To correct such slips as these and others like them requires no masterly knowledge. Mr. Lee tells us: "In spite of my efforts to test my facts and dates, I cannot hope to have escaped error in handling a theme which demands an acquaintance with very varied topics in the literary history of two great peoples and a grasp of an infinitude of historical and biographical detail." Yet the greatness of the task and the grossness of the blunders are not correlative, when the most casual testing of facts and dates would correct the errors. And it is significant that the errors all tend to establish his thesis.

This significance appears still more strikingly in the biased manner with which he treats the question of humanism. "The chief fact in the history of humanism in the early part of the century is that France became the European centre of scholarship" (p. 69). It is to be regretted that the extremely popular form of his lectures does not permit Mr. Lee to give the reasoning on which he bases so striking a generalization. He differs here from the usual critical comment in this day and in that. Erasmus's own opinion of Paris, "that Gallic dung-hill," and his longing for Italy are too well-known to need comment. But when, speaking of Colet,

Linacre, and More, he tells us that "France however chiefly gave their aspirations coherent shape and substance" (p. 68), he raises a suggestive question affecting the whole conception of humanistic ideals. To what extent would a Frenchman, modelling upon Latin writers and writing in Latin to a European public, transmit pure French influence? Or, how far did humanism tend towards denationalization? It would be possible, I think, and instructive, I know, for careful analysis to show the Italianism in the "*Ambra*," the Teutonism in the "*Epistolae*," the Anglicism in the "*Utopia*" and the Dutch quality in the "*Colloquies*," but it has never been done. The remarkable feature, on the other hand, is their uniform freedom from the limitations of space and time. Written to appeal to an audience of all Europe and formed upon models which are to a large extent our models, they seem universal. That this is true of the "*Utopia*" is beyond question; perhaps in less degree of the "*Colloquies*"; and even the "*Epistolae*" may be read with admiration for their cleverness. But since none of these books was written by a Frenchman, wherein lies the French influence? In reply Mr. Lee is forced to Gallicize the cosmopolitan Erasmus. Then More becomes a "disciple" of the pseudo-Frenchman. It is only necessary to state that in the correspondence between More and Erasmus such a relation is not even suggested. There is but one more step needed to bring us to the *reductio ad absurdum*. This he takes by telling us that, at a time when Latin was the universal language of scholarship, among other factors a French translation "efficiently relieved More's *Utopia* of the risk of oblivion to which English blindness exposed it" (p. 73). I do not know the conditions in Oxford, but here at least many of us had never heard of the French translation and some of us are so out-dated that we still prefer the Latin. Surely this is very special pleading of a very poor case.

In opening the case anew, it must be stated that this article will be limited to a discussion of the conditions, in the first half of the sixteenth century. It would be impossible with the space at command to consider the entire century, and in a period of rapid expansion truths of the times of Elizabeth become false when referred to the early years of Henry. Moreover, owing to the "retarda-

tion," as Mr. Lee felicitously expresses it, of the mid-century, it is possible without loss to consider each half separately. First then, although Mr. Lee does not recognize the distinction, direct French influence must be sharply differentiated from the indirect, namely the Chaucerian influence. Chaucer was greatly influenced by the contemporary French literature. This he assimilated and passed on to the succeeding writers, together with the practice of borrowing contemporary French works. Consequently all through the first three quarters of the fifteenth century one finds English poems modelled upon Chaucer, and French translations such as Sir Richard Ros' version of "*La Belle Dame Sans Merci*," existing side by side. But it is to be remarked that the poems chosen for translation were of the same general type as Chaucer's own. Thus an English literary tradition arose based originally upon the French and occasionally added to from the French, but all under the aegis of Chaucer. So Lydgate admits his mastership, and Hawes that of Lydgate:

"O mayster Lydgate, the most dulcet sprynge
Of famous rethoryke, wyth balade ryall,
The chefe orygynall of my lernyng."

Pastime of Pleasure, XIV.

These poems are characterized by the use of the dream structure, allegory, personifications, and the rhyme royal, although every poem may not have all four features. Thus the "*Court of Love*," the "*Pastime of Pleasure*" and the "*Bowge of Court*" are following a type which, although it may at one time have been a French peculiarity, had yet been domesticated in England for a hundred years. Consequently in connection with Barclay's translation of Gringoire's "*Château de Labour*," to say that "*The French muse of Gringoire smoothed the path of allegory in Tudor England*" (p. 100) is to put the cart before the horse. Presumably it was translated because it was of the popular type. In the same way it is not surprising to find Hawes acknowledging his general indebtedness to Chaucer, to Gower, and especially to Lydgate, without a word or hint of any French author, because to the sixteenth century mind, it was the English tradition he was following. In the early years of the sixteenth century this type of poetry, originally French, had

become English. But when we try to trace the direct influence of French literature upon English, we find it much more difficult to define. A priori reasoning would posit it. Mr. Lee takes sixty-one interesting pages to show us that in grammars, in embassies, and in trade there was intercourse between the two countries. But this is what one would expect; all this time the English owned Calais! On the assumption that England was at this time peculiarly susceptible to foreign influence, historically and geographically France would be the favored nation. But to define the extent to which this influence exists in literature, that is another matter. In the first place we are hampered by our lack of data. We masquerade our ignorance by inference and our generalizations too often have but a slight foundation in fact. Our existing literature is but a remnant of what must have originally been produced, and the discovery of another "Tottel's Miscellany," might reverse all our theories. Yet there are sporadic translations of both prose, like the "Huon of Burdeux," and verse, like "The debate and stryfe between Somer and wynter, Imprinted by me laurens andrew, 1530," which are conclusive so far as they themselves are concerned. Also in the "Royal MSS." are two songs composed in French by William Cornyshe, and two by Henry himself. Therefore it seems safe to conclude that, when the King was writing French, the courtiers were reading it. Thus there are occasional French lines inserted into English poems.

"She sayd, 'Si douce est la Margarete'"

"Flower and the Leaf."

"My fearful trust, 'En vogant la Galere'"

Wyatt: "The Lover Prayeth Venus."

Then also occasional French rhetorical terms, "le recule," "le plaintif," or French names, "La Bel Pucel," appear. Thus while none of these show much French influence, they do show a familiarity at least with the language.

A rough method of determining how far this familiarity with the language passed over into literature may be found in estimating the proportion of entire French works translated during this period. And this, after all, is but a matter of publishers' lists. The "Catalogue of the Caxton Celebration" in 1877 and a review of the

books published before 1550 taken from the "Catalogue of the Books in the British Museum published before 1660," published in 1884, will give us the data. Although neither of the lists is exhaustive, yet since there is no reason to assume any hostility to works of French origin, they will serve as a rough basis for estimating the percentage. From the first of these it is apparent that of the five books printed by Caxton at Bruges two are in French and the other three are taken from the French. On the other hand, of the books published by him in England, the proportion of books drawn avowedly from French sources shrinks to one quarter. Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde have even less. This still large percentage is not surprising in the light of the disorganization of England due to the feudal wars and the predisposition toward French influence due to the foreign training of Henry Richmond and his courtiers. When, however, we examine the publications during the reign of Henry VIII, this percentage dwindles to the vanishing point. Here naturally the greatest number of publications, over two hundred, deal with religion or the religio-social condition arising from the question of the divorce. The next group, over a hundred and fifty items, show humanistic influence. Then comes a miscellaneous lot on medicine, husbandry, etc.; then a smaller group more purely literary; and lastly eleven works either in French, dealing with France, or translations of medieval French romances. Thus broadly in general French influence does not appear as a dominant factor.

Perhaps the simplest way of discussing this is to divide the books into the two classes of prose and poetry. The prose, since the works are more apt to show their origin in their titles, is given by the preceding figures. And although even so well-known a writer as Lord Berners is omitted, there is no reason to assume that they are not roughly accurate. On the other hand if translations of Calvin or works influenced by him were included under French influence, the number in the first class, religion, would be greatly diminished, and the number in the last be proportionally increased. With Calvin, however, it is not a question of nationality. And again it is noteworthy that of the French romances, none in these lists was published before 1550. Consequently to say (p. 66) that "transla-

tion of more conventional specimens of French medieval literature constitutes the chief exploits in the English prose of Rabelais' era" (1495-1553), is absurdly out of proportion so far as mere quantity is concerned. But in quality it is none the less so, since Cranmer's melody and Latimer's vigor surely take precedence. Nor is the reason far to seek. Like the English, the French prose, until clarified by Calvin, is not a great literary medium. Compared with the incisive thinking of Machiavelli or the charm of Caro or the phrase of Bembo or the sting of Aretino, Froissart or Le Maire are immature, however much we may delight in their naïveté. Therefore it was not in the French but first in the Latin and later in the Italian that models were sought.

In regard to poetry, the same reasoning does not hold. Poetry not only develops before prose but by its very nature lends itself more easily to foreign impressions. Yet the generalization that "it was to Gringoire and to his masters, 'Les Rhétoriciens,' that the early stream of Tudor poetry was largely tributary" (p. 98) is surprising. By English as well as by many French readers the poets, Cretin, Meschinot, *et al.*, have been forgotten, together with the kind of poetry that they wrote. The school owes its name to a curious and highly artificial kind of mental play. Fabri (?), 1527, in his "Rhétorique" gives horrifying examples of "Rythme enchainée.—Rithme de basse enchainure.—Anadiplosis ou gradation.—Epanalepsis.—" etc. As a type of "la plus noble et excellente rithme" he cites:

"Contre le froit, la gelee et la ryme
Rythme ne sert, non fait texte ne comme.
Comme l'on voit, le froit croist ore a prime;
A prime sault le soleil de son somme,
Somme," etc.

Here each line begins with a pun on the last word of the preceding line. To say that this abomination was never used by any English poet is too broad. Yet that many used it, owing to the very fact of its artificial difficulty is *a priori* improbable. The simplest way to reach the solution is, even at the risk of a catalogue, to examine the works of the six principal English poets of the epoch. They are without question Barclay, Hawes, Heywood, Skelton, Wyatt, and Surrey.

In the case of Barclay, owing to Jamieson's justly celebrated edition of the "Ship of Fools" and to the publications of the Percy Society, his major works are accessible. That he knew French is shown by the "Introductory to Write and Pronounce French," 1521, but Mr. Lee's comment, "The Englishman seems doubtful of his competence to practise original composition in his native language, and seeks to compensate his defect by a close study of a foreign tongue" (p. 78), is curious, as by that time he had translated from Gringoire the "Castell of Laboure" and adapted from Brandt the "Ship of Fools." Mr. Lee's summary of the first from which I judge, stamps it as a descendant of the "Romaunt of the Rose" and justifies Ward's comment: "A moral allegory, which, though of no novel kind, was speedily reprinted by a second publisher." (D. N. B.) Therefore to say of this example of an expiring type that "The credit of first introducing Tudor readers to French poetry of their own period belongs to Alexander Barclay" (p. 99) is misleading, because Barclay had done nothing but follow the fashion of the century past. Still more misleading is his treatment of the "Ship of Fools": "Even more acceptable proved Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, which came from the German of the master satirist of the era, Sebastian Brandt. A French rendering of the *Ship of Fools* was printed as early as 1497. French example governed here and elsewhere Barclay's choice of material" (p. 99). This comes perilously close to a conscious suppression of evidence. Not a word of the Latin version which Ward states to have been the medium:

"A Low-German translation was published as early as 1497, and in the same year Jacob Locher produced his celebrated Latin version, the 'Stultifera Navis.' On this Barclay's translation was founded. He professes, indeed, to have 'ouersene the fyrst inuention in Doche, and after that the two translations in Latin and French.' . . . But at the conclusion of the argument (Jamieson, i. 18) Barclay directly refers to certain verses by Locher as those of his 'Actour,' or original and the order of the sections, as well as the additions made to the original German text, generally correspond to those in Locher's Latin version of 1497." (D. N. B.)

Here the case rests, since without a careful collation of the three

texts nothing can be determined. But in the first chapter of each, as given in the Jamieson, I can find nothing to justify Mr. Lee. The French is in octosyllabic couplets and Barclay uses the rhyme royal. Moreover, as the major part of his work is taken from the Latin, it seems probable that this poem was translated from that language. Mr. Lee also thinks that the poem on the death of Lord Howard inserted in the Fourth Eclogue is "planned on the model of Le Maire's *Temple*" (p. 100). Again I respectfully differ. The "*Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus*" is a long work in both prose and verse, on the death of Pierre II, Duc de Bourbon. The likeness consists in that in each case is there an edifice erected to the memory of the deceased. Barclay's is a comparatively short poem in the "Monk's Tale" stanza, describing a tower guarded by allegorical figures of Labour and Vertue and inhabited by Henry VIII and others. The part of Le Maire's work which deals with the temple is in prose, and in it are six figures bearing letters forming the anagram of Pierre, each of whom recites a poem. The sole similarity that I find is that one of Barclay's lines ends in the phrase "vertue and honour," a locution not so unusual as to justify remark. So thus far the French influence in Barclay is nearly at the vanishing point. But Mr. Lee failed to remark that, as Ward suggests, the "Enuoy of Barclay to the Folys" (Jamieson, i. 268) is curiously suggestive of being a translation from an unknown French ballad with the refrain

"Ilz sont tous mortz ce monde est choce vayne."

The tone of the poem reminds one of Villon or Gringoire, but I cannot find it. In any case it shows French influence.

The second on the list, Stephen Hawes, is principally known by the poem sardonically called the "Pastime of Pleasure," reprinted by the Percy Society. Mr. Lee recalls Warton's theory, due to the French word "pastime" in the title and to the French names of some of the characters, that it is a translation of an unknown French original. But that original has never been found. Nor did Hawes himself conceive it as a French poem:

"And all in English with long circumstance
She shewed us all the whole condition . . ." p. 187.

Moreover, his use of French naming merely follows that of Lydgate, whom he continually avows to be his master.

"Of my maister Lidgate to folowe the trace . . ." p. 220.

Naturally under these circumstances the poem is written in the rhyme royal. This normal Chaucerian condition leads Mr. Lee to infer that "Hawes marches in Gringoire's regiment. . . . It is easy to perceive how busily French allegorical ingenuity was fertilizing the English soil whence Spenser's *Faerie Queene* was in due time to spring" (p. 108). And it is all very exasperating!

With Heywood, his dramatic importance as a predecessor of Shakespeare has popularly minimized the importance of his poems. In the interludes Dr. Karl Young has shown a striking similarity, so close that it almost precludes coincidence, with certain of the "sotties." Moreover the form and substance of the "Dialogue of Wit and Folly" is common in French poems, although Professor Hanford has just shown that it is also common to all mediaeval literature. But Heywood's use of the heroic couplet and the large amount of alliteration suggest that if he were affected here by French models, he at least assimilated them completely. In the other long works, the "Proverbs," the "Epigrams," and the "Spider and the Flye" (all three of which Mr. Lee entirely ignores), there is no suggestion of a foreign source. The "Proverbs" recall the "Proverbs of Hendyng," the "Epigrams" faintly follow classical models, and the "Spider and the Flye" is an involved political allegory wherein some of the analytic speeches foreshadow Milton and Dryden. So in Heywood, as in Hawes, French influence is more adumbrated than defined.

The French influence in Skelton Mr. Lee finds on three counts, two of which appear to me to be invalid. The first, the so-called French form of the "Bowge of Court," is again Chaucerian. The second, the resemblance of "Speke, Parrot" to "L'Amant Verd" of Le Maire consists solely in the fact that in each case the poem is spoken by a parrot. Otherwise the two poems differ utterly. "L'Amant Verd" consists of two verse-letters in flattery of Marguerite of Austria, with no attempt to imitate the speech of a parrot; Skelton's poem is a virulent satire against Wolsey, the imitation of the disconnected nature of a parrot's discourse render-

ing the poem at times unintelligible. Mr. Lee's comment here is interesting as an illustration of his psychology.

"It is clear whence came the suggestion. Skelton's voluble bird is no less polyglot than the pet of the Burgundian duchess in Le Maire's narration. 'Dowse (i. e. douce) French of Paris Parrot can cerne (i. e. discern, understand)' is one of Skelton's Anglo-French testimonies to his parrot's accomplishments, and many a descriptive note appended by Skelton to his poem is in ill-printed French. The English parrot has a far more strident note than the French bird, but the kinship is not in doubt" (p. 103).

Two of these three statements are wrong in fact and the third gives a false inference. In the French poem, although in the parrot's epitaph it is stated that he knew many languages, he does not show himself polyglot; the notes are not in ill-printed French but in Latin; and as the parrot speaks not only French but Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, Greek, Dutch, Spanish and English, and throughout the poem interjects Latin, Greek, Spanish and French, the implication given by quoting the French alone is misleading. Nor is the device of utilizing a parrot so striking as first appears. In Aesop or "Reynard the Fox" birds and beasts talk. In Thomas Feylde's "Controuersy bytwene a louer and a Jaye," printed by Wynkyn de Worde, the jay expostulates. And in the classic authors the *psittacus* is not uncommon. Thus while undoubtedly Skelton's device may have originated with Le Maire, it is equally possible that each author independently put two and two together.

In regard to the third point, the origin of the Skeltonian metre, Mr. Lee's derivation of it from the French is valuable. Almost the same form may be found, not in one but in many of the contemporary French poets. Against it, however, may be urged that in the little poem "En Parlement a Paris," although written in French, Skelton does not use the Skeltonian metre. Schipper tends to derive it from an expansion of the virelay, and Saintsbury, after showing that internal rhyme tended to break up the line into "line-kins," summarizes:

"Upon these facts Skelton fastened, and, either by deliberate experiment or in sheer process of practice, hit upon a vehicle generally homogeneous in plan but susceptible of considerable minor variations." Hist. of English Prosody, Bk. III, C. II.

Certainly it is plausible that Skelton's undoubted knowledge of French suggested what that vehicle might be. Here again, then, is a possible French influence.

French influence in the poems of Wyatt and of Surrey may be sought in either content or in form. In regard to the first, the question is easily answered since no one has ever found any direct French original. Since Nott in 1815, apparently deducing from the name, queried that the poem

"A Robyn,
Jolly Robyn . . ."

might be a translation, editors have carefully chronicled it as a fact, notwithstanding that that very phrase is used by Chaucer. Wyatt does however use the rhetoric terms, "Le Plaintiff," etc. But the stock example has been the sonnet

"Like to these unmesurable montayns."

In 1904 Mr. Lee remarked: "He rendered with verbal accuracy a popular sonnet of Melin de St. Gelais." But fifteen years before Mr. Waddington had suggested that it came from Sannazaro, and since then Mr. Arthur Tilley, Professor Kastner and myself each rediscovered the Italian original independently. Consequently now Mr. Lee states confidently: "But it is unquestionable that both Wyatt and the French poet had here independent recourse to an original Italian sonnet by Jacopo Sannazaro" (p. 121). Mr. Lee's "unquestionable," the modern substitute for his too famous "doubtless," I question. If my theory ("Professor Kastner's Hypothesis," *Modern Language Notes*, 1909) be true, not only did Wyatt not imitate from the French, but St. Gelais copied this sonnet from him. Thus the last concrete example fails. This condition is the more striking by comparison with the Italian, where we are dealing, not with possible similarities, but with definite borrowings from definite poems. Feeling this, Mr. Lee interjects pages dealing biographically and critically with Marot and Alamanni. Unhappily neither of the poets took the content from Marot, and Alamanni is not French but Italian,—an Italian who it is true paid sporadic visits to the French court, but whose presence there is indicative of Italian influence. The same line of reasoning would enrich French art with

Leonardo and Benvenuto. Moreover, if it be essential to hypothesize a meeting between Wyatt and Alamanni, the poets might equally well have met in Florence in 1527 when Wyatt was in Italy and before Alamanni's second exile. By that time, according to Hauvette, Alamanni had written his satires. In this way we disinfest even the slightest traces of French atmosphere. Nor need we wonder where Wyatt found the *terza rima*, as Wyatt in Italy must have seen hundreds of *capitoli*. Consequently in the Wyatt and the Surrey, there is no French content.

In discussing the forms, it is to be remembered that poets in all three languages were experimenting in short stanzas, *strambotti*, *huitains*, *dizains*, *estrennes*, *epigrams*, etc. Mr. Lee shows that in some of Wyatt's experiments he employs the same rhyme scheme found in some of Marot's. That he knew French authors is proved by the first lines of nine poems written in his own hand in the Egerton MSS. Of the two identified, the first is an extravagant compliment by St. Gelais to François I and the second is Marot's epigram on "Frère Thibaud." But this merely complicates the case as that particular epigram is one of the most disgusting of Marot's poems, and the verse form of it is nowhere imitated by Wyatt. Yet it is quite possible that he may have known others and copied their verse forms.

Thus the question really turns upon the introduction of the sonnet, the *rondeau*, and blank verse. The first is undoubtedly Italian, since both Wyatt and Surrey copy known Italian sonnets. The second is almost certainly French. Here, however, we lack definiteness. The term "*rondeau*" was applied very generally to any short poem with a refrain, but towards the close of the fifteenth century it began to crystalize into the present form, *aabba aabR aabbaR*, which Fabri (?) terms "*rondeau d'amours*." But it was by no means an invention of Clément Marot, as Mr. Lee seems to think on the authority of Boileau. (Boileau's opinion of early French poetry is paralleled by Pope's critical dicta upon the Elizabethans!) Actually that form, used by Le Maire and others, was the favorite of Jean Marot. Even the first published *rondeau* of Clément is of that type, although his constant use afterwards tended to establish it. Thus if Wyatt's *rondeaux* were regular, it would not limit

him by any means to Clément Marot. But unhappily only three of the nine conform to the rondeaux d'amours. Three omit the separate refrain, embodying it in an *a* line; two reverse the order to read *aabba bbaR bbabR*; and one introduces a third rhyme. Although these variants may perhaps be found, yet they are not listed by either Raynaud (*Rondeaux et Autres Poésies du XVe Siècle*) nor by Chatelain (*Recherches sur le Vers Français au XVe Siècle*). And it is worth stating that in two of them an Italian content is put into the French form. Thus while the theory that Wyatt received the rondeau from Marot is very doubtful, that he received it from France is probable in the highest degree.

Blank verse, the last form to be considered, would not need to be mentioned, except for the fact that Mr. Lee insists upon considering Alamanni a Frenchman. Its origin lies in the imitation of the classics, or the Italians, or both. The Italians did experiment in the "*versi sciolti*," Wyatt (not Surrey) shows a knowledge of Alamanni's work, and Surrey (not Wyatt) was present at the meeting of François with Henry, 1532, a ceremony which Alamanni also attended. But the degree of familiarity between the young English noble, aged sixteen or seventeen, and an exiled Florentine citizen, aged thirty-seven, is a matter of pure conjecture. Nor aside from Surrey's employment of blank verse in his translation of two books of the "*Aeneid*" is there elsewhere in his works any trace of Alamanni. On the other hand Saintsbury has called attention to the fact that a passage in Chaucer, by accident or design, is in blank verse, and that that metre is the "*riding rhyme*" without the rhymes. Moreover this was preached by the humanists as a doctrine. Although Ascham is writing without knowledge of Surrey's translation, it is noteworthy that he advocates Surrey's procedure:

"surelie to follow rather the Gothes in ryming, than the Greekes in trew versifying, were even to eate acornes with swyne, when we may freely eate wheate bread among men . . . And although Carmen Exametrum does rather trotte and hoble, than run smoothly, in our English tonge; yet I am sure our English tonge will receive Carmen Iambicum as naturllie as either Greeke or Latin." "*The Scholemaster*."

This position is confirmed by Grimold's blank verse translation in

the Tottel, which was published one month before the Surrey. As the datation of either poem is inferential, the assumption that Grimold is imitating Surrey needs proof. If not, then the origin of blank verse is probably humanistic. And in either case there is no French influence.

If the reasoning thus far has been sound, it follows that French influence on early Tudor literature, while undoubtedly existent, is yet distinctly minor. The question then arises why, when the nations were so closely related, did not the Early Tudors borrow more extensively from France. The answer is, I think, that the two nations were too closely related; they were *fratres inimici*. France had been the successful battle ground of English troops for a hundred years, the English still possessed French territory, and the English sovereign claimed the title of King of France. Under these political circumstances French feeling, as manifested in poem after poem, is one of intense bitterness.

"Meschans Angloys, remplis d'orgueil."

That the English reciprocated is shown by Mr. Lee's own citations. Therefore a French work, unless the subject matter were of the most general kind or the form particularly appropriate to an English theme, would be handicapped by the very fact that it was French. Moreover both the French and the English were in the same general stage of development. Therefore both literatures turned normally to Italy for their inspiration, which, owing to the very brilliance of Clément Marot, affected England first. So Mr. Lee's entertaining paradox falls to the ground. But the harm done by such a *jeu d'esprit* is incalculable. To follow him in his airy flights from mountain top to mountain top requires a knowledge of pedestrian detail possessed only by specialists and distasteful to the general reader, attracted by the glittering plausibility. This phantom of French influence has haunted us now for many years. For the future let us either produce tangible results or recognize that

"We grasp a shape and hold a shade."

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PETRARCH'S CONFESSIONAL PSALMS¹

IN describing the copies of the earliest collective edition (Basle, 1496) of Petrarch's Works in the Willard Fiske Petrarch Collection at Cornell University, Mr. Fiske (*Petrarch Books*, Ithaca, 1882, p. 19) says: 'One of the two perfect copies is unusually tall, having broad margins, and with some illuminated initials; it is in the original stamped vellum and oak binding. At the beginning are two leaves of rubricated MS. (not later than the very earliest years of the 16th century) with the title at the head: FRANCISCI POETE LAUREATI ET ORATORIS CLARRISSIMI PSALMI CONFESSIONALES.' The 'two leaves,' at present the only flyleaves at the front of the volume, are the third and fourth of four leaves made of paper unlike that in the body of the volume, of which the first is pasted to the inside of the cover, and the second is represented by a strip about an inch wide, next to the binding. On the outer margin of this strip are marks resembling quotes, which probably pertained to some writing on the missing part of the second leaf. The four leaves were evidently put in by the binder and afterward the *Psalms* written upon the third and fourth of them. Six leaves of the same paper are similarly placed at the back of the book. These also are covered with manuscript, but neither this nor the marginalia which occur at various places in the volume seem to be in the same hand as the *Psalms*.

In 1908 the RR. Marco Vattasso published a text of these *Psalms* together with a short history of their various editions (*I Codici Petrarqueschi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome). To the editions mentioned by him may be added one in which the *Confessional Psalms* appeared together with Petrarch's *Penitential Psalms*, published in 1497,² and a similar work, in which they were accompanied by a French paraphrase, as follows: *Les quinze degrez de Penitence*

¹ This study was prepared for the Petrarch Seminary of Professor Arthur Livingston. Since the literary and biographical side of the *Psalms* requires more thorough treatment than was possible at the time of the presentation of the study in the Seminary, the work done on it is, for the present, withheld.

² Des Champs et Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 2, 219.

representez par les quinze Psaumes de F. Petrarque. Paraphrasez en Francois, par F. N. Poteau, Rel. de S. Dominique. Dedié à la Royne Mere du Roy. A. Lyon, chez Jaques Faure à la place de Confort, 1616, avec privelege du Roy. This work is in the Willard Fiske collection at Cornell.

The RR. Vattasso's text is based on the collation of a manuscript in the Vatican Library, and the earliest printed edition of the *Confessional Psalms* accessible to him, that published in 1491 as a supplement in an edition of an *Exposition of the Psalter* by Ludolf of Saxony. Since the copy at Cornell is nearly as early in date as the Vatican manuscript, is probably the only other manuscript of these *Confessional Psalms*, and differs considerably from the text printed by the RR. Vattasso, and from the texts in three editions of the *Psalter* of Ludolf (those of the years 1506, 1518, and 1542) in the Fiske collection, it is worthy of consideration.

Certain of its peculiarities call for particular comment: In the first *Psalms*, line 6, the MS. reads *nescies*, and the other copies *nescius*. The latter reading is the more to be expected, but the former is perhaps more vivid because it emphasizes the futurity of the judgment and the certainty of God's knowledge. In line 15, *confitebor*, the reading of the MS., is perhaps to be preferred to *confitear*, because it gives a corroborative idea, while the causal idea associated with the latter has already been expressed. At the beginning of *Superbia*, the MS. reads *superbire me non fecisti*, and the other versions, *superbum me fecisti*. The former is more in harmony with the spirit of the *Psalms*, but does not fit in well with the following co-ordinate clause, which one expects to be adversative. In *Superbia*, line 14, *omni* seems grammatically preferable to *omnes*, the reading of the MS. In *Superbia*, line 16, the reading of the MS., *Tu*, is decidedly superior to the *Vir* of the other copies. In *Superbia*, line 17, *negatus* is more forcible than the *iurgatus* of the variants. In *Avaricia*, line 2, the change from the *Ubi* of the MS. to *Ubi* makes a statement of a question. In *Avaricia*, line 2, the *largitatem* of the MS. seems to be caused by the influence of the same word just above, and is probably less authentic than the *legalitatem* of the variants. In *Avaricia*, line 9, the *simoniam* of the MS. seems inferior to the *sermonem* of the variants. In *Avaricia*,

line 14, the *innocentem* of the variants is closer to the Vulgate than the *innocentum* of the MS., for the former occurs many times in this connection and the latter but once. In *Luxuria*, line 6, the variants seem to improve the sense by allowing the translation: *I railed against the chaste woman who repulsed me, and falsely declared that she was unchaste*. In *Luxuria*, lines 6 and 12, the word *umbilicum* is interesting because it preserves a rare use of the word in this sense. In *Luxuria*, line 14, the word *dorca* seems to be used in a way not given in the lexicons. In *Ira* line 16, the word *redargutiones* is unusual in this sense. In the last *Psalm*, line 28, the *rectam* of the MS. seems to make better sense than the *testem* of the variants.

In the transcription, abbreviations have been expanded, words crossed out have been omitted, and interlinear words have been inserted, all as indicated in the manuscript. V indicates variants to be found in the RR. Vattasso's text; S¹, S² and S³ those in the texts of the *Confessional Psalms* in the editions of Ludolf of Saxony's *Exposition of the Psalter* of the years 1506, 1518, and 1542 respectively. Where the three give the same reading, the variant is indicated by S. The text of the edition of 1616 is not represented in the variants. It is substantially that of S with some variations of which the most striking are: *Introduction*, line 22, *coeno* for *ceno*; last *Psalm*, line 3, *nomen* for *regnum*; *Accidia*, line 29, *movi* for *novi*; line 36, *continent* for *continentur*.

FRANCISCI POETE LAUREATI ET ORATORIS CLARISSIMI PSALMI
CONFESSIONALES

Dies effluunt et labuntur anni: sed infelix ego nihil cogito de peccatis meis. Quid faciam domine: aut quo ibo: cum venerit ultimum tempus meum. Clamabis me ad iudicium: et exquires a me de talento mihi tradito rationem. Heu mihi quid respondebo tibi. Confusus territus ac tremens dicam. Nil domine superlucratus sum consumpsi etiam nequiter talentum tuum. Quasi nescies dissimulabis me: cum interrogabis fortunas meas et seriem vite mee. Domine tu scis omnia delicta mea: et sculpta stilo ferreo in fronte gero. Miserere domine servo tuo: et non intres mecum in iudicium: quia succumbo. Nec respicias ad multitudinem peccatorum: sed respice ad magnitudinem miserationis tue domine deus meus ut non perdas animam meam redemptor meus: quoniam tu eam sanguine redemisti. Vivens vivens domine confitebor tibi: aperiam et videbo omnia peccata mea. Ut humiliatum et contritum in me spiritum cognoscas: ut succurras et extendas dextera[m] pereunti,

Etenim confitebor tibi domine: misereri scis et parcere soles penitentibus et contritis. Sed heu quid reminiscar peccata mea dum nova committo et veterum obliviscor. Utinam memorem millesimum delictorum aut de mille milibus unum scelus. Ut vel sic conterar vel doleam: et tu miseraris misero et contrito. In iniquitatibus conceptus sum: et in iniquitatibus editus et nutritus. Infans iniquitates colui in qua purus esse debui pueritiam dolosus egi. Adolevi nec factus citius adolescens quo citius mea pravitas adolevit. Iuvenis fui et attigi virum: sed viguit in me viciū semper pro virtute. Virtutem odio habui: amavi semper scelera: et abhorui bonitatem. In ceno vanitatis educatus sum: et secutus sum semitas impiorum. Libens iniquos ad vomitum excitavi et dux malorum fui libentius quam sequax. Quis furta referet: et extorta semper dilexi spolia et rapinas. Depredatus sum pauperem et egenum: depredatus sum viduam et pupillum depredatus sum extraneum et infirmum: templum quoque orarium et altare. In mendaciis et figmentis versatus sum: adulationes et fraudes super omnia adamavi. Arma lucis odio habui: et dilexi semper opera tenebrarum. Exquisivi aspera et deserui vias planas per deserta perrexi et per invia et inaquosa. Coram te domine malum egi: tu scis quia a male agentibus non dissensi. Heu mihi: quid faciam: aut quo ibo oportet per aciem tui iudicii me transire. Propterea domine miserere mei: quia non est remedium nec auxilium nisi tuum. Gloria patri et filio.

SUPERBIA

Superbire me non fecisti domine: et mea superbia est immensa. Sprevi te domine: parentes sprevi: superiores: humiles: et amicos. Et nunquam domine cognovi erecto supercilio: me solum super omnia exaltavi. Lactabam temere verba mea et elationis fimbrias ad sidera dilatabam: errexī cornua et respexi celum: et te summum dominum non curavi. Et factus sum Lucifero similis immo excessi eum: qui nedum me tibi parem constitui sed maiorem. Nec contentus fui dominio domus mee: in servorum multitudine gloriabar. Infestus fui fratribus et vicinis: et ut preessem concivibus contumelias irrogabam. Nec passus sum aliquando proximum neque servum: elatus et stomachans omnia contemnebam. Credidi per superbiam exaltari: et in ea fuit tota gloria et pompa mea. In presumptione sapientiam existimavi: et quod sapiens non audebat insipiens ego sine timore presumebam. Sed quia magis immoror in hoc peccato: fui superbus et arrogans in omnes. Nec videbo qui talia possit ferre: nisi tu deus solus misericors et benignus. Tu fortis patiens et invictus: qui parcis contemptus blasphematus et negatus. Adiuva me domine et cor elatum ac presumptionis spiritum in me extingue. Gloria.

AVARICIA

Ubi tenacissima avaricia mea: ubi prodigalitas nephanda. Largitatem abominatus sum et habui odio largitatem. Propter avariciam domine nihil ommisi: propter hanc oppressi viduam et pupillum. Subii servitutis iugum: et abhorruī libertatem: propter hanc adhesi impiis et

indignis et cum eis expendi infeliciter tempus meum: quo carius nihil habebam. Fui mendax varius et perjurus: solitus cupidus et raptor. Perdidi leticiam et quietem tribui semper tristitiam laborem. Propter hanc esurii et sitivi et sopivi et frigui: tremui et expavi. Ob hanc testimonium falsum tuli: feci iniquum iudicium et detestabilem simoniam. Sepe in necem proximi mei conspiravi: confinxi epistulas et membranas. Cor meum ad aurum et argentum nunquam ad te domine levavi. Nec misertus inopi et mendico: propter avariciam domine avertabam oculos ab egenis. Nec recte consului indigenti: iustum et pauperem in necessitatibus dereliqui. Dedi pecunias ad usuram: defraudavi rem publicam: et altare: et sitivi sanguinem innocentum. Nec compassus sum inopi debitori debitum et depositum denegavi. Ne dum accepi munera sed exegi: et sine pretio nihil feci. Et dixi congregabo thesaurum de sanguine inopum et iustorum: cum his de sanguinibus liberabor. Quam diu me domine tulisti: ut quandoque conversus refrenarer. Tu frena domine: tu solus potes modum et finem imponere cupiditatibus impiorum. Gloria patri.

LUXURIA

Quot variis quotque modis lumbis meis abusus sum confundor domine cum recordor. Subtraxi virginem patri suo: uxorem pauperi et vicino. Persecutus sum viduam et matronam: et que celibem vitam tibi domine dedicavit. Quam non potui dolis flectere flexi donis: et quam non vici precibus vici minis. Et que mihi continens repugnabat continentem obsequiis mentiebar: laxavi lumbos et umbilicum suum secutus sum et huiusmodi vitio gloriam acquisivi. Fortis et casta mulier displicebat mihi et blandus oculus complacebat. Nec ad necessitatem tantum lumbos exercui sed ad voluptatem lasciviam exercebam. Nec una aut altera contentus eram maculare plurimas gloriabar. Sequabar assidue chorum psallentium et amatorias fabulas auscultavi. Induebar purpura et oculis lineiebam ut facilius umbilicum incitarem. Vescabar aromatibus et falernis ut lumborum libidinem roborarem. Solicitus mechus socius mihi fuit et dorca pedisequa unica soror mea. Cum adulteris habitatio mea et portio erat: et inter greges brutorum meus brutior appetitus. Transgressus modum et terminum nature: et si quid fedius feci domine tu vidisti. O quam in hoc vitio me prostravi: nunc pudet dicere quod non pudet me fecisse. Sed heu dixi fateor minora: sed nunc abscondo pro verecundia et rubore maiora. Propterea gravius deliqui: sed tu domine respicies animam et pudorem. Gloria patri.

INVIDIA

Invidia mihi amica fuit: et caritas inimica. Inique invidi virtutibus et fortunis detraxi regibus: et momordi eos mendacio susurro odio livore. Obloquens proximo murmurabam: et ab alieno bono semper invidus marcebam. Iustorum laudes et merita denigravi: et malorum gloriam concupivi. Cum recti bene agerent invidebam: non ut agerem ego bene: sed quia volebam eos agere male. Si quando de rectis laudabilis sermo fuit obieci false maculas et dilecta. Si vero contra pravos infamia laborabat eos subito ad sidera extollebam. Non invidi labor-

ibus proximi nec erumpnis: sed tantum laudi glorie et honori. Accendi contra pium filium patrem suum: et contra fidelem servum dominum inflammavi. Castam coniugem contra virum: et fratres unanimes ad discordiam concitavi. Optavi proximo pauperiem et exilium naufragium carcerem egretudinem et laborem. Vita proximi odio mihi fuit: et in sola morte eius speravi requiem invenire. Ut paterentur innocui optabam pati: et cruciatibus illorum gratulabar. Sed heu quanto deterius invidi: invidi tue potentie et operibus que fecisti. Idcirco domine invidie oculos amove a me ut que recte sint videam et ea agam. Gloria patri.

GULA

Odi temperantiam et amavi gulam: et nihil ventris ingluvie melius existimavi. In potu ciboque votum meum posui: et illic censui summum bonum. In commensationibus et conviviis exultavi: dum esuriet pauper et sitiret, Crapula serotina delectatus sum: et complacuit mihi potatio matutina. Nec expectavi prandium neque cenam secutus sum semper insatiabilem voluptatem. Nec uno nec altero ferculo contentabar luxuriatus sum semper in multitudine ferculorum. Varietas dapum mihi gloria fuit et sumptuosa electaque cibaria acquirebam. Nec in fictilibus his vescebar abutebar autem his in vasis celatis auro et argento. Salsamenta herbaris salubrium abhorrebam nisi condita forent aromatibus preciosis. Nec ulla communia nec domestica sapiebant mihi: peregrina et specialia appetebam. Nec bina refectio satisfactio fuit: multiplex autem et repetita crapula me iuvabat. Fregi ieiunia: parens gule et naturam paucis contentam cum excessu nephario violavi. Sepe impletus estuans oscitabam: et fragmenta mense non egenis sed canibus erogabam. Clamabat pauper et ego sollicitus de crastina crapula cogitabam. Extulisti me domine usque quaque ut aliquando gulosam voraginem temperarem. Ne feras amplius domine sed succurre et ventris ingluviem tu coerce. Gloria patri et filio.

IRA

Abhorruui patientiam et dilexi iram nec causa suberat et irascebar. Iratus contra dominum contra patrem iratum me constitui contra matrem. Iratus movi iurgia: innocenti et servo contumelias irrogabam. Sepe ob iram meam domine te negavi maledixi parentibus fratribus et vicinis. Maledixi sanctis tuis domine maledixi vivificis elementis et omnibus operibus que fecisti. Totus interius corredebam rationem et leges omnes ab animo abdicavi. In furore et furiis gloriabar: et succensui semper pauperibus et egenis. Vita mea mihi odio fuit: et iratum me cum omni homine perdi pariter concupivi. Conspiravi libenter ad iniurias et vindictas ultionem tibi nunquam reservabam. Scandalisatus sum domine cum furiabam: nec responsio mollis: nec vir pacificus complacebat. In litibus et contentionibus oblectabar in effusione sanguinis et discidio civitatis. Inimicitias odia et dissensiones civium agitabam: et iratus sepe prelia concitavi. Cum ira in scandalo cuncta egi verba pacis et patientie semitas aspernabam et factus sum sicut insipiens et insanus qui redargutiones obaudit: nec amplectitur

disciplinam. Propterea ad te confugio salvator meus doce iram fugere exemplo tuo da mitem esse. Gloria patri et filio.

ACCIDIA

Colui accidiam tanquam matrem: fuit ocium mihi frater et desidia soror mea. Fugi exercitium et laborem et in sola negligentia estimavi fructum corporis invenire. Nec vigiles oculos in sacra lectione detinui nec in pio labore manus meas. Tota nocte dormiens dormitavi: nec ad galli cantum excitatus sum neque in matutinis anuntiavi laudem tuam. Sepe illuxit dies nec surgebam: ociabar in lecto: ne labores manuum manducarrem. Et bene operantes singulos irridebam: torpentes vero a bono opere commendavi. Ociabar domi nec tua sanctuaria visitabam: et panem doloris in ocio concupivi. Piguit me frangere esurienti panem meum cum tota die ad hostium exclamaret. Torpebam tibi reddendo per diem laudes: et quam raro in te meditatus sum domine tu vidisti. Nec sic torpui domine ad cogitationes vanas ad occupationes sceleris illecebras et delicta. Pre segnitie mea non visitabam in funere mortuum: nec in egritudine infirmum: nec in carcere peregrinum. Nec subveni inopi neque nudo: vacui ab omni opere bono et indulsi semper ocio vite mee. Excita me domine et torporem fuga: redde me iustificationibus tuis vigilem et intentum. Gloria.

Miseras tibi domine decantavi: et si quid alius feci domine non taceo. Neglexi deus iustificationes tuas: et contempsi doctrinam evangelisantium regnum tuum. Derisi sacerdotes tuos domine et levitas innocuos simul et pauperes et ignotos. Apostolorum canones aspernatus sum et decreta pontificum sum transgressus. Nec colui parentes meos nec honoravi senem neque precepta ecclesie custodivi. Peccavi audiens: peccavi videns gustans et tangens omnia ac odorans. Peccavi ambulans stans sedens cogitans vigilans ac dormiens. Impatiens et invitatus tuli adversitates meas: sed gloriatus sum semper in adversitatibus innocentium. In confessionibus et in psalmis non fui diligens nec devotus nec rectam conscientiam sed vulgi gloriam quaesivi. Sepe movi controversiam contra rectos et malui mendacio vincere quam succumbere veritate. In promissionibus largus eram fui parcissimus observator et nunquam cum potui redidi vota mea. Non consideravi domine que fecisti mihi: tu enim ad imaginem tuam me formasti: tradidisti mihi spiritum immortalem: capacem visibilium et invisibilium me fecisti. Celum et stellas tu ad solacium hominis creasti: mare et terram: et omnia que continentur in eis ad usum hominis fecisti. Addidisti mortem domine et gehennam: addidisti paradisum ut te melius contemplarer. Pro his omnibus que retribui bene vides non ledas gratis humiliatum animum ac contritum. Aduva me domine et miserere mei: da veniam delinquenti et confitentem tibi domine ne repellas. Gloria patri.

THE CONFESSIONAL PSALMS OF FRANCESCO, POET LAUREATE AND VERY
RENOWNED ORATOR

The days pass by and the years glide along, but, unhappy man that I am, I do not meditate at all upon my sins. What shall I do, Lord, or whither shall I flee when my last day shall have come? Thou wilt call me to judgment and ask from me an account of the talent committed to me. Woe is me, what shall I answer thee? Confused, terrified, and trembling, I shall say: "Nothing, Lord, have I gained in addition, yea, I have miserably squandered thy talent." As though thou wilt not know thou wilt dissemble with me, when thou wilt search into my fortunes and the course of my life. Lord, thou knowest all my shortcomings, and graven with a pen of iron I bear them upon my forehead. Have compassion, Lord, upon thy servant, and enter not into judgment upon me, for I submit; and look not upon the multitude of my sins, but look upon the magnitude of thy mercy, O Lord, my God, that thou mayest not lose my soul, O my Redeemer, for thou hast redeemed it with thy blood. While I live, while I live, O Lord, I will make confession unto thee; I will lay bare and look upon all my sins, that thou mayest perceive in me a humble and contrite spirit, that thou mayest succor the perishing and reach out to me thy right hand.^a And assuredly I will make confession unto thee, O Lord; thou knowest how to have compassion, and thou art wont to spare the penitent and contrite. But alas, why do I remember my sins, while I commit new iniquities and forget the old? Oh, that I might remember a thousandth part of my sins, or one crime of a thousand thousand, that thus I might either be broken down or weep. And thou wilt pity the wretched and contrite. I was conceived in iniquity, and in sin was I brought up and nourished. As a babe I cherished evil deeds, and that infancy in which I should have been artless I spent in guile. I became a boy, but I grew up no faster than did my wickedness. I became a youth and attained manhood, but vice ever flourished in me in place of virtue. Virtue I had in abomination; I ever loved evil deeds and abhorred goodness. In the filth of vanity I was brought up, and I followed the footsteps of the impious. Gladly I urged the wicked to their filthiness, and rather was I a leader of the wicked than a follower. Who shall report my thefts? I even delighted ever in things taken by violence, in spoils and booty. I plundered the poor and the needy; I plundered the widow and the orphan; I plundered the stranger and the weak, even the church, the shrine and the altar. I was busied about lies and deceits, above all I was fond of flatteries and frauds. I held in abomination the arms of light, and delighted ever in works of darkness. I sought out rough places, and I deserted level paths; I ranged through solitary regions and through dry places. Before thee I sinned, O Lord; thou knowest that I was not at variance with those who did evil. Woe is me; what shall I do, or whither shall I flee? I must needs pass through the battle-line of thy judgment. Therefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, since there is no help or aid but thine. Glory be to the Father and the Son.

^a Reading *dexteram*.

PRIDE

Thou didst not make me to be proud, O Lord; and my pride is boundless. I scorned thee, O Lord; I scorned my parents, those in authority, the humble, and my friends. And never, Lord, did I know myself,⁴ because my pride was exalted. My single self I exalted above all things. I uttered boastful words, and the borders of my pride I spread out to the stars. I exalted my horn and gazed upon the sky; and of thee, the Almighty Lord, I took no heed. I became like Lucifer, nay, I exceeded him, since I made myself not to say equal to thee, but greater. I was not content with the rule of my house; I gloried in a multitude of servants. I injured my brethren and my neighbors, and that I might rule I offered affronts to my fellow citizens. Never did I tolerate neighbor or servant, in my pride and peevishness I despised all things. I believed myself to be ennobled by pride, and in this was all my vaunt and show. I thought that wisdom lay in presumption, and what a wise man feared to do, I in my folly presumed to do without fear. But why do I linger more upon this sin? I was proud and arrogant in everything.⁵ I shall not see one who is able to bear such deeds, unless it be thou, the only merciful and gracious God; thou, strong, patient, and invincible, who dost forbear to punish when despised, blasphemed, and denied. Help me, O Lord, and destroy in me a proud heart and a spirit of arrogance. Glory (be to the Father).

AVARICE

Where is that most persistent avarice of mine; where my most abominable prodigality? Generosity I had in abhorrence, and I hated liberality. Because of avarice, O Lord, I stopped short of nothing; because of this I oppressed the widow and the orphan; I put myself under the yoke of servitude and abhorred liberty; because of this I clung to the evil and unworthy, and with them passed my time, though I had nothing more precious than it. I was given to lies, untrustworthy, a breaker of oaths, anxious for the things of the world,⁶ covetous and a robber. I utterly gave up mirth and quiet, I put upon myself sadness and toil. Because of this I hungered and thirsted and fainted and suffered cold; I trembled and was afraid. Because of this I bore false witness, gave unrighteous judgment and committed hateful simony. Often I plotted for the ruin of my neighbor; I forged letters and documents; I lifted up my heart to gold and silver, but never to thee, O Lord. I did not pity the poor and the beggar; because of avarice, Lord, I turned away my eyes from the needy; I did not rightly counsel the poor; the righteous and the needy I abandoned in their necessities; I gave out my money to usury; I defrauded the state and the altar, and thirsted for the blood of the innocent; I had no compassion upon the needy debtor; I denied debt and deposit; I did not merely receive, but exacted rewards, and without recompense I

⁴Reading *me* with the variants.

⁵Reading *omni*.

⁶Reading *solicitus*.

did nothing; and I said, I will gather together treasure from the blood of the just and the needy; with these I will be freed from blood-guiltiness. How long hast thou borne with me, O Lord, that at some time I might be converted and checked! Keep me back, O Lord; thou only art able to set a limit and end to the desires of the wicked. Glory be to the Father.

LUST

As often as I remember in how many diverse ways I have also¹ abused my loins, I am confounded, O Lord. In stealth I drew away the virgin from her father, the wife from the poor and my neighbor. I pursued the widow and the wife, and her who dedicated a celibate life to thee, O Lord. I prevailed upon by gifts her whom I was unable to prevail upon by craft, and her whom I was unable to subdue by entreaties I subdued by threats; and the continent one who in her chastity repulsed me I deceived with flatteries. I freed my loins from bonds and followed their lust, and by sin of this sort I gained fame. A courageous and chaste woman was displeasing to me, and a wanton eye was pleasing. And I did not make use of my loins under great necessity, but used them in lascivious voluptuousness; and I was not contented with one or two; I delighted to defile many. I followed continually the chorus of singing girls, and listened to amorous tales. I wore crimson and painted my eyes that I might more easily arouse lust. I fed on spices and choice wines that I might strengthen the lust of my loins. A watchful fornicator was my companion and a lascivious serving woman my chosen familiar. With the adulterous was my habitation and portion, and among herds of brutes my appetite was more brutish. I indulged in excess and in unnatural lust; if ever anything more foul I did, Lord, thou hast seen it. Oh, how I debased myself in this vice! I am now ashamed to speak what I was not ashamed to do. But alas, I have spoken (I confess it), only of the lesser things, but now conceal the greater for shamefacedness and modesty. Therefore I have sinned more grievously, but thou, Lord, wilt look upon my desire and my shame. Glory be to the Father.

ENVY

Envy was a friend to me and love an enemy. Wrongfully I hated virtues and fortunes; I disparaged kings and attacked them with lying, murmuring, hatred and spite. I spoke slanderously of my neighbor, and ever languished because of envy at the prosperity of another. I blackened the praiseworthy and commendable actions of the just, and coveted the renown of the wicked. When the just succeeded I was envious, not that I might do well, but since I wished them to have ill success. Whenever there was praiseworthy speech of the good, I falsely pointed out blemishes and sins. If, however, ill report strove against the wicked, I at once extolled them to the skies. I did not envy the labors and calamities of my neighbor, but only his praise,

¹Reading *quoque*.

glory and honor. I incited the father against the dutiful son, and moved the master against the faithful servant. The chaste wife I stirred up against her husband, and brethren living in harmony I moved to discord. I desired for my neighbor poverty and exile, shipwreck, prison, sickness, and labor. The life of my neighbor was hateful to me, and in his death alone I hoped to find repose. That the innocent might suffer, I desired to suffer, and I rejoiced in their agonies. But alas, in how much worse a way I envied; I envied thy power and the works which thou didst. Therefore, O Lord, take from me eyes of envy that I may perceive what things are just and right, and do them. Glory be to the Father.

GLUTTONY

I hated temperance and loved gluttony and thought nothing better than gluttonous excess. In drink and food I set all my desire, and there I thought was the greatest good. In feasts and banquets I exulted, while the poor hungered and thirsted. In late drunkenness I delighted, and early drinking was pleasing to me. I did not wait for midday or evening meal; I continually followed insatiable desire. I was not contented with one or two dishes; I ever rioted in a multitude of dishes. A variety of feasts was glory to me and I sought out splendid and chosen victuals. And I did not devour them from earthen dishes, but I consumed them from vessels plated with gold and silver. Sauces of wholesome herbs^a I despised unless they were seasoned with precious spices. Nothing common or home grown pleased me; I desired the foreign and peculiar. Two meals did not satisfy me, but various and repeated feasting was a delight to me. Yielding to gluttony I broke fasts, and nature content with little I violated with vile excess. Often after gorging I was oppressed by heat and yawned; even the fragments from the table I bestowed not on the needy but on the dogs. The poor man called out and I, in my lust, was thinking of future carousing. Thou hast borne with me thus far, O Lord, that at some time I might forbear gluttonous voracity. Do not endure longer, O Lord, but give aid and restrain gluttony. Glory be to the Father and to the Son.

WRATH

I loathed patience and delighted in wrath. There was no cause, and I was angry. I was enraged against master, against father; in rage I set myself against my mother. In wrath I occasioned disputes; I offered affronts to the innocent and the servant. Often because of wrath I denied thee, O Lord; I cursed my parents, brethren, and neighbors; I cursed thy saints, O Lord; I cursed the life-giving elements, and all the works which thou hast done. I wholly wore away judgment within me. In madness and violent passions I gloried and I was ever inflamed against the poor and needy. I held my life in despite; and in my wrath I desired myself as well as every other man to be lost. I gladly plotted for injuries and revenges; never did I leave vengeance

^a Reading *herbarum*.

to thee, O Lord. I was tempted to evil, O Lord, while I was raging. A soft answer or a peaceable man was not pleasing to me. In lawsuits and contentions I took delight, in shedding of blood and disunion of the state. I stirred up strife and hatred and dissension among the citizens; and in my rage I often roused up contentions. In my wrath, I made into a cause of offense all words of peace and scorned the paths of patience, and became as the foolish and frantic man who resents reproach and does not regard restraint. Therefore I flee to thee, my Saviour; teach me to shun wrath by thy example; give me power to be gentle. Glory be to the Father and to the Son.

SLOTH

I cherished sloth as my mother; laziness was as a brother to me and indolence as my sister. I fled from practices and labor, and in heedlessness alone I thought to find the use and enjoyment of the body. I did not keep my eyes watchful in sacred reading, or my hands in holy labor. I slumbered and slept the whole night. I did not arise at the crowing of the cock, nor did I declare thy praise in the matins. Often the day dawned and I did not arise; I enjoyed my leisure in bed that I might not eat the labors of my hands. And each of those who were laboring well I laughed to scorn; yea, those whom idleness kept from good work I commended. I lingered at home and did not visit thy sanctuaries. The bread of sorrow I wished for in sloth. I neglected to break my bread to the hungry, when all day long he cried out at my door. I was slothful in giving thee praises through the day; and thou hast seen, O Lord, how seldom I have meditated upon thee. I was not thus insensible to empty thoughts, to works of evil, allurements, and sins. Because of my sluggishness I did not attend the burial of the dead, or the infirm in sickness, or the stranger in prison. I did not give aid to the poor or the naked; I lacked every good work and ever indulged my life with idleness. Rouse me up, O Lord, and drive away slumber; make me again watchful and zealous by thy righteousness. Glory (be to the Father).

I have repeated my sorrows over and over to thee, O Lord; and if I have done aught else I am not silent, O Lord. I have neglected, O God, thy righteousness and despised the saving doctrine of those preaching thy kingdom. I have derided thy priests, O Lord, and thy harmless deacons, and at the same time the poor and the obscure. I have disdained the canons of thy apostles, and have transgressed the decrees of the popes. I have not cherished my parents, or honored the aged man, or kept the precepts of the church. I have sinned in hearing; I have sinned in seeing, tasting, touching all things, and in smelling. I have sinned in walking, standing, sitting, thinking, watching, and sleeping. Impatiently and unwillingly I have borne my afflictions, but I have ever rejoiced in the afflictions of the innocent. In confessions and in psalms I have not been diligent or faithful, and I have sought not an upright conscience, but the praise of the multitude. Often I have stirred up contention against the just, and I have preferred to prevail

by falsehood rather than to yield with truth on my side. In promises I was liberal; I have been most niggardly in keeping them, and whenever I have been able I have not fulfilled my vows. I have not considered, O Lord, what thou hast done for me, thou hast even made me in thine own image; thou hast committed to me an immortal soul; thou hast made me able to comprehend visible and invisible things. Heaven and the stars thou hast created for the comfort of man; the sea and the land and all things which in them are, thou hast made for the use of man. Thou hast added death, O Lord, and hell; thou hast added paradise that I might better contemplate thee. Thou seest well what I have rendered thee for all these. Mayest thou not in thy grace harm a humble and contrite spirit. Aid me, O Lord, and have compassion upon me; give pardon to the sinner, and turn not away, O Lord, from him whose trust is in thee. Glory be to the Father.

VARIANTS

Caption V, S, Francisci Petrarche Laureati Psalmi—2 S, Confessionales caute tamen ac sobrie legendi.

INTRODUCTION

1 S, nil—2 S^a, ibi *for* ibo—3 V, S, requires—S, a *lacking*—S^a, de *lacking*—4 S, confessus—6 V, S, nescius—V, S, mecum—8 S^a, stylo—*In the MS. a word is crossed out between fronte and gero*—9—11 Nec respicias ad multitudinem peccatorum: sed respice—V, S, Nec minus ad multitudinem miserarum mearum aspice—11 S, et *for* ut—12 V, S, domine *lacking*—S, confitebitur—13 V, S, domine *follows* tibi—S, et videbo *lacking*—Ut: S, Et—14 V, S, spiritum in me agnoscas—V, S, citius *follows* extendas—V, S, dexteram—15 V, S, confitear—S, miserere—V, S, scis *lacking*—16 peccata: V, S, delicta—17 S, et *lacking*—18 V, millibus—vel: V, et—20 V, S, et *follows* colui—21 V, S, sum *follows* factus—23 S, vitium—24 S, sceno *for* ceno—S, libens *follows* second et—25 S, semper *follows* sum—S, incitavi—26 S, futura *for* furtas—27 V, S, Dilexi semper—29 S, et *follows* quoque—31 semper opera: S, super omnia—33 a: V, S, et; *The letter is written above the line in the MS.* 34 aut: V, vel; *In the MS. cum is written in the place here given to aut, and aut written above. Probably cum was to have been cancelled*—35 S^a, transiere—V, S, neque—36 V, S, et filio *lacking*—V, etc. *follows* patri. *An illegible word follows filio in the MS.*

SUPERBIA

Cap. V, Sequitur de superbia. 1—1 Superbire: V, S, Superbum—V, S, non *lacking*—3 V, S, me *follows* domine—4 MS., elationes—S^a, sydera—5 V, erexi—6 S, imo—7 V, S, nondum parem me tibi—MS., aorem—12 S, tam gloria quam—13 S, audebar—V, S, sine *lacking*—V, S, tumore—14 S, omni—15 deus solus: S, solus dominus—16 Tu: V, S, Vir—17 V, etiam et iurgatus; S, et etiam iurgatus—domine: S, deus—ac: V, S, et—18 V, S, gloria patri, etc.

AVARICIA

Cap. V, De Avaritia II; S^a, Avaritia—1 V, Ibi; S^a, Ubbi—V, S^a, avaritia—V, ineffanda; S, nephanda *lacking*—2 V, S, Legalitatem—V, S^a, abominatus; S^a,

abominatus—V, semper odio—V, S², avaritiam—3 V, domine *lacking*—V, S, nil—V, S², omisi; S¹, S², obmisi—5 V, dilexi *follows* indignis—V, S, nil—6 V, S², sollicitus; S¹, S², sollicitus *for* solitus—7 V, S, letitiam. *In the MS. letitiam is crossed out after semper*—8 V, S, esurivi—9 V, S, sermonem *for* simoniam—11 V, S, cor *follows* domine; *in the MS. cor is crossed out after domine*—12 sum *follows* misertus—15 V, S, innocentem—16 S, Nec dum—17 S, precio—V, S, thesauros—18 V, S, et *precedes* cum—19 V, domine me—V, S, conversus *lacking*—21 S¹, S², patri *lacking*—V, etc. *follows* patri.

LUXURIA

Cap. V, De Luxuria III—1 V, S, Quam—S, quoque—2 V, S, dum—4 V, dicavit—dolus: V, S, donis—donis: V, S, dolis—5 vici: S, potui vincere—6 V, S, incontinentem—obsequiis: V, S, obloquens—V, S, sum—7 V, S, sum *lacking*—V, huiusmodi—9 sed ad: S, et—V, S, et *follows* voluptatem—11 assidue: S, quotidie—S, thorum—V, S, puellarum *follows* psallentium—13 S, valernis—MS., libinem—14 V, sollicitus—V, S, mihi socius—V, S, mea *lacking*—15 V, S, mea *follows* portio—16 V, S, meus *lacking*—V, S, sum *follows* appetitus—et terminum: V, S, terminumque—17 S, O *lacking*—18 V, S, fatebor—19 V, pudore—V, S, maiora *follows* abscondo, *not* rubore. *In the MS. it is written under rubore and its place indicated by a caret*—20 V, S¹, S², respicias; S², despicias—21 S, patri *lacking*—V, sicut erat etc. *follows* patri.

INVIDIA

Cap. V, De Invidia IIII. 1 S, charitas—invidi: S, mundi—2 regibus: V, principibus—S¹, detradi—V, S, et *follows* odio—4 invidus: S, mundus—5 S², invadebant—6 V, ego *follows* quia—7 S, falsas—8 S, sydera—9 S, erumnis—13 S, odium—14 S, et *lacking*—15 *In MS. pati is written above the line*—V, S, illorum cruciatibus—16 invidi (*second*): V, tibi—17 V, sunt—18 V, etc. *follows* patri.

GULA

Cap. V, De Gula V—1 V, S, nil—2 ciboque: V, S, et cibo—V, S, posui votum meum—3 V, comessationibus—4 S, potatio *lacking*—5 S, neque *also precedes* prandium—V, S, semper *lacking*—6 ferculo: V, cibo—8 electaque: V, ac electa; S, et electa—V, S, exquirebam—10 V, S, herbarum—S, ab *follows* forent—11 V, S, omnia *follows* peregrina—12 V, S, mihi *follows* bina—V, satis—13 MS., parentens; *a cancellation seems to have been intended*—14—15 V, S, repletus et—16 V, S, ut surdus *follows* ego—V, S¹, S², sollicitus—S², crastia—17 V, Subtulisti—19 et filio: V, etc.—S¹, et spi. *follows* filio.

IRA

Cap. De Ira VI—2 V, S, iratum *for* iratus—3 S¹, S², novi—S, irrigabam—4 V, S, meam *lacking*—6 V, tuis *follows* operibus—7 S, legem omnem—8 V, S, semper *lacking*—9 V, S, aspiravi; *in the MS. espiravi was written, then ex crossed out and con written above*—10 V, S, domine *follows* tibi—V, S, reservavi—11 V, S, Scandalizatus—cum: V, S¹, S², dum; S², non—13 V, S, confusione—S², dissidio—S, inimicicias—V, odio—17 V, S, et *follows* fugere—18 et filio: V, etc.—S, patri et filio *lacking*.

ACCIDIA

Cap. V, De Accidia VII; Invid is written and crossed out in MS. before Accidia—1 S², Nolui—2 V, S, in lacking—V, S, solam negligentiam—V, existimavi—3 V, S, operis—V, S, tenui—4 In the MS. labore is written above the line; V, S, opere for labore—5 V, S, nec for neque—V, annuntiavi; S, annuntiavi—6 V, S, dies lacking—S, manuum labores—7 V, manducarem—8 In the MS. the second a of sanctuaria is written above the line—9 V, S, in ocio lacking—10 V, S, dum—V, S², ad ostium; S¹, S², ab ostium—10-11 V, S, per diem tibi reddere—12 V, S, domine lacking—13 V, S, visitavi—16 V, otio—V, S, fugans—17 V, etc. follows Gloria—S², patri follows Gloria.

PSALMUS

Cap. V, this section is headed Psalmus—1 V, meas follows miserias—2 S, tacebo—2-3 V, S, evangelizantium—3 regnum: V, nomen—4 V, S, et lacking—V, Apostolorum—5 V, S, et consilia patrum follows sum—6 neque: V, nec; pita is crossed out after neque in MS.—8 V, S, Peccavi follows ambulans—ac: V, et—9 In the MS. adversitates meas was first written adversans mihi; ans and mihi were crossed out and the corrections written above—11 rectam: V, S, testem—V, S, exquisivi—S, novi—13 S², veritati—15 V, S, tuam imaginem—17 V, ad solatium hominis tu creasti; S, ad solacium hominis tu creasti—18 S, tu follows addidisti—19 V, paradisum addidisti—21 V, S, animum lacking—23 V, etc. follows patri; S¹, S², et filio follows patri; S², patri lacking—An illegible word follows patri in the MS—S¹, S², conclude with Finiunt psalmi confessionales Fran. Pe.; S², Finiunt psalmi confessionales Francisci petrarche—V, adds a paragraph headed Oratio.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Lirici Marinisti a cura di Benedetto Croce. Bari, Laterza, 1910. 8vo, pp. 559. (Scrittori d'Italia.)

This anthology of 17th century lyric verse of the fashionable kind, is a welcome gift to students of Italian literature. It contains selections from seventy-two authors; occupies some 519 pages, and has the peculiar advantage of being material for study which was formerly almost inaccessible, since almost none of the poets represented are to be read in modern editions, and the American student, at least, was consequently obliged to form his ideas of 17th century lyric verse from what is said in works which deal with the subject, and from the poems of Marino and one or two others.

This collection, the editor tells us,¹ has been made from 150 "canzonieri," and with the object of providing the material needed for studying the lyric of this century. Accordingly it has been made without regard for what might be considered good or bad verse, but aims to give examples of everything which is characteristic of the kind it is intended to represent. That kind is the poetry of "marinisti," and by this name are intended all those poets who "moved in the circle of inspiration traced by Marino," whether self-confessed followers of the latter or even his opponents in some secondary sense. Needless to say, the poems of Marino himself, whose works are accessible and so voluminous that a representative selection would demand a volume to itself, are not included. Nothing could be more satisfactory, and the variety and number of poems chosen, together with the name of the editor, assure us that his object has been attained.

The order of the selections is, as the editor tells us, mainly chronological. The poets are grouped in twelve sections, each of which is more or less homogeneous as regards the respective birth-places of the authors and the character of their works. Girolamo Fontanella, whom the editor considers, in some ways, the most notable of "marinisti," and who certainly is one of the most typical; Ciro di Pers, whose inspiration is less sensuous than that of the others who have any, and Giuseppe Battista, who has none, to my mind, but whose poems are chiefly moral and pseudo-scientific, have each a section to himself. One long section contains a few poems—sometimes only one sonnet—from each of many authors who, apparently, could not be grouped in any other way. Each of the divisions is in chronological order as regards the others.

The notes at the end of the volume give the sources whence the selections have been made, and other valuable bibliographical information. References are given to notes containing biographical information, and in many cases the dates and birthplace of authors are given. One would be grateful if these last-mentioned data had been supplied for all the poets: section iv, which offers pickings from thirty-seven authors, contains very little of this kind, but no doubt it is unobtainable regarding some of them, while others are so well known, Maffeo

¹ Pp. 525-526.

² *Saggi*, ecc., p. 414.

Barberini, *e. g.*, that the editor has not thought it worth while to give it.³ No one will complain that the editor has invented new titles for the poems, considering how suitable they are, and how indefinite and prolix were the old ones.

A volume of essays by Croce,⁴ which has followed hard on the publication of *Lirici Marinisti*, contains one new essay which is in the nature of an introduction to the edition in question.⁵ This is an admirably clear exposition of his the preface to the same volume, p. xxiii, and the notice by Arthur Livingston in views on the nature of 17th century lyric verse, which are mainly as follows:

The chief tendencies which characterize the lyric verse of Marino and the marinists are two: the *sensuous* ("sensuale"), which was called by the poets themselves "lasciva," and the *ingenious*, called by them "concettosa." Of these the former might be productive of aesthetic literature, but not the latter. It was the sensuous tendency, far more than the ingenious, which produced and influenced the verse of these poets. Marino himself in *La Bruna Pastorella* advises one lover by the mouth of another, to pass over, in reading his *Lira*, the "carmi gravi" to come to the "più soavi."⁶ But the chief evidence is to be seen, we are told, in the body of the verse of marinists, in which the subject is nearly always love of a voluptuous kind, often verging on the obscene. It is chiefly erotic poetry, dealing with woman, with every imaginable detail of her outward appearance, with every one of her daily actions, with all her possible attitudes. Those of these poems which are not concerned with woman are mostly sensuous descriptions of nature, as numerous as varied as those of women. The comparatively few concerning moral or religious matters are without feeling; it is rare to find an ethical sentiment expressed as forcibly as sensuous feeling; sometimes sensuality is actually compared to its own advantage with morality; "altre corde, fuori di queste sensuali, non vibrano, o vibrano debolmente."⁷

A comparison of poetry and painting in this century reveals a striking resemblance between the two in subject and treatment. In both appear the same mythological figures and figures of saints; in both the sacred and profane are mingled in the same grotesque manner; in both appears the same visual sensuousness throughout, and these facts tend to confirm the opinion that the living element in 17th century poetry is the sensuous.

That this element may be productive of aesthetic literature has already been said; it is so productive in Marino, and of marinists who are so successful Croce cites Stigliani, Macedonio, Della Valle, Paoli, Giovanetti, Sempronio, Salomoni, Quirini and especially Fontanella, giving us to understand that in these poets the results are excellent, while they are less perfect but still admirable in many others. Of the other element, ingeniousness, he finds little good to say. It may

³ On p. 533 the order of the notes differs from the real order of the poems, which is given correctly in the index: the sonnets "τα καταμήνια" and "Zitella Romanesca Ritrosa" are mentioned before the sonnet "Il Pallone" of Martino Lunghi.

⁴ *Saggi sulla Letteratura Italiana del Seicento*. Bari, Laterza, 1911.

⁵ *Sensualismo e Ingegnosità nella Lirica del Seicento*, *Saggi*, pp. 379-433. Cf. the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, II, pp. 108-110.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 384. We might add for evidence the stanza of Stigliani, which concludes: "che 'l senso è divo e la ragion terrena." *Lirici ecc.*, p. 16.

⁷ *Saggi*, p. 413.

take part in producing aesthetic results in a parody or in poems of a mirthful character, trifling in their nature: some few marinists have taken advantage of this possibility. Usually ingeniousness hides or fails to hide aesthetic poverty; it introduces a pedantic and empty phraseology, and, what is worse, is substituted for genuine expression of feeling, and becomes an object in itself, often causing a poem begun with feeling to end in curious but forced antitheses. Its effects become worse with time, so that the later marinists are more futile in this respect than the earlier.

There is a certain resemblance, often mentioned, between the marinists and the "d'annunziani" of to-day, but it consists far more in the sensuousness of both than in their "concettismo"; in both Marino and D'Annunzio, and in the followers of both, we find a notable absence of ethical sentiment. The titles and sub-titles of the poems of both constitute a resemblance of secondary importance. Both Marino and D'Annunzio sacked ancient and contemporary literature for material, and another resemblance is to be seen in the attempts of the marinists to issue from the narrow circle of sensuousness, when compared with the symbolism of D'Annunzio, which would seem, and is not, freighted with deep meaning.

The points mentioned above are the most important in this introduction to the collection "Lirici Marinisti." My brief summary, however, does not worthily represent the essay, which contains many facts and judgments that I have not referred to; nor have I spoken of the abundant examples, taken from the poems in question, with which Croce supports his contentions. To read the poems themselves is to agree with him that two of the most important productive elements in this body of verse are the sensuous and the ingenious. Nor can any one who accepts, as I do, the well-known views of our editor regarding the nature of the aesthetic, doubt that of these two elements the sensuous is the one capable of producing aesthetic results.

One may reasonably differ with him, however, as to the extent to which these results occur. The numerous examples given by Croce in his essay, illustrating the variety of erotic poems by marinists,⁸ are commented on by him in such a way as to leave no doubt that he esteems them aesthetically. These are, apparently, examples picked to show what of artistic the sensuous inspiration can produce in this erotic verse: in more than a few cases the most successful part of a poem is presented, the rest being discarded as not apt for illustration. And yet the reading of these examples leaves one in doubt as to whether there is any real feeling, any inspiration in them. Take for example the following sonnet of Maia-Materdona, one of the least frigid of these illustrations:

Ad un tempo col sol madonna desta
 Apre del ciel d'un volto i gemin' astri,
 Bagna di nanfe i teneri alabastr
 E serici al bel fianco arnesi appresta.
 Lo specchio adatta e de l'inculta testa
 Ara il crin sciolto con eburnei rastri,
 L'accoglie e intreccia con argentei nastri
 E di mille narcisi indi il tempesta.
 Increspa il più minuto a ferreo stile,

⁸ *Saggi*, pp. 388-398.

A l'orecchie sospende aurate anella,
 E fa di perle al collo e d'or monile.
 Esce alfin di sua reggia, e sì favella,
 Ne' suoi silenzi: "Or chi da Battro a Tile
 Vide cosa già mai di me più bella?"⁹

Does one, on reading these lines, feel any sensuous pleasure corresponding to a genuinely sensuous expression in the sonnet? To this question I am obliged to answer that I do not though others may: I cannot but leave the matter in doubt. To me it seems that the author has had only a vague intuition of something sensuously splendid, and has consciously attempted to express his impression by means of a more or less skilful enumeration of details. Most of the other illustrations also fail to affect me, and I cannot but sympathize with another reviewer of this edition¹⁰ who fails to see in the verses of Fontanella on a cradle and on sending a pair of gloves to a lady,¹¹ any tenderness or effectiveness.

Needless to say this is not the case with regard to all the poems in the collection: there is frank and effective sensuality in *I Baci* of Antonio Bruni, *L'Amor Nostro* of Tiberio Sbarra, *Baciando* of Pietro Paolo Bissari, *Amori* of Pietro Michiele, *Amori* of Leonardo Quirini, and there is graceful sensuous description of the erotic kind in *Gli Occhi e il Seno* of Giambattista Pucci, in *La Via Lattea* of Scipione Errico, in *Il Bagno nel Lago* and *La Dormente* of Marcello Giovanetti. In these poems the effectiveness of the sensuous element needs no explanation, but in most of the poems dealing with love and woman the sensuousness is so feeble as to have no effect at all, and in the examples given by Croce in his introductory essay, it is such as to leave us in doubt as to whether there is any definite intuition.

It should be noted that in the illustration from Maia-Materdona which I have transcribed, the ingeniousness is not so marked as to offend the modern reader. There are few "concetti" or tricks of any sort, and yet the effect is negative. An illustration of another kind is a quatrain taken from *La Cortigiana Frustata* of Brignole-Sale.¹² The whole sonnet is as follows:

La man che ne le dita ha le quadrella
 con duro laccio al molle tergo è avvolta.
 L'onta a celar ch'è ne le guance accolta,
 spande il confuso crin ricca procella.
 Sul dorso ove la sferza empia flagella,
 grandine di rubini appar disciolta;
 già dal livor la candidezza è tolta,
 ma men candida ancor non è men bella.
 Su quel tergo il mio cor spiega le piume
 e, per pietà di lui già tutto essangue,
 ricever le ferite in sè presume.
 In quelle piaghe agonizzando ei langue;
 ma nel languir non è il primier costume
 che il sangue corra al cor: ei corre al sangue.¹³

⁹ *Saggi*, p. 388.

¹⁰ Antonio Belloni in *G. S. L. It.*, lviii (1911), p. 199, ss.

¹¹ *Saggi*, p. 389.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 393.

¹³ *Lirici*, p. 300.

It is evident that this sonnet, which promised better in the first verses, has been ruined by "concettismo": the result is as cold as ingeniousness without feeling can produce. But why is this? Surely there could be no better subject than this—a beautiful woman tied up and whipped—to inspire sensuous poetry.¹⁴ The conclusion to which one is driven is that the poet's impressions of his subject were too vague, his sensuous feeling was too feeble to triumph over his active ingeniousness.

Here is the same kind of sensuousness which one finds, for the most part, in the poetry of Marino, who has been miscalled the poet of voluptuousness. Compare most of the would-be luscious descriptions in the *Adone* with the erotic tableaux in the *Gerusalemme* or in the *Orlando Furioso*; compare Falsirera and Adone with Rinaldo and Armida, that Armida who is, we are told, "la Venere genitrice di tutte le donne dei marinisti."¹⁵ It is a weak and watery sensuousness that we have in most marinists as in their master. Marino pretended to avoid the obscene, but if he had written much intentionally indecent verse, it would no doubt have been as ineffectual as his "lascivia"; the marinists do not always avoid the obscene, but where is the sensuousness in a sonnet like *τα καταμήνια*,¹⁶ which deals with the menstruation of the beloved woman?

That very fertility in inventing erotic subjects, the astonishing variety of which is well illustrated by Croce, is evidence of the absence of real sensuous feeling in most of the poems, for the beauty of woman has been the source of inspiration for sensuous poems in all ages, without the conscious, brain-tormenting search after novelties of detail and circumstance of that beauty, which may drive authors to write, for example, of the missing tooth in the mouth of a lady, through the gap left by which love shoots his darts,¹⁷ or of beauty engaged in that daily, wholesome but rarely described function imagined by Menzini in his fourth satire.

In the verse which has the beauties of nature for its subject we find qualities similar to those of the erotic. In many of the poems occur short passages which may seem to be pure sensuous inspiration, as in some of the examples given by Croce,¹⁸ but almost invariably what follows or precedes these passages destroys that impression. On the other hand some few preserve the impression throughout as do *Ombra di Nuove Foglie* of Achillini, *Paesaggio* of Preti, *Il Ruscelletto* of Claudio Achillini, and *Al Melogranato* of Girolamo Fontanella, while in others we have virtuosity shown in tiresome enumeration of things and their qualities instead of description, as in *La Trinità di Cava* of Giovanni Canale, *In Villa* of Girolamo Preti and *A Posilipo* and *I Piaceri della Villa* of Fontanella. Others in which "concettismo" is not obtrusive, and in which there is no virtuosity of description, are nevertheless without inspiration of any sort. Such is the following sonnet of Marcantonio Arlotto:¹⁹

¹⁴ Especially if there is, as Croce believes (*Saggi* ecc., p. 386), something peculiarly shady in the sensuality of some of these poets, suggestive of perversion.

¹⁵ *Saggi*, p. 396.

¹⁶ *Lirici*, p. 214.

¹⁷ *Lirici Marinisti*, p. 287.

¹⁸ *Saggi*, pp. 398-406.

¹⁹ *Lirici Marinisti*, p. 203.

In cima a quegli altissimi dirupi,
ove sol fra latebre e ripostigli
stanzan veloci damme, ingordi lupi,
sals' io l'altr' ier, non senza aspri perigli.

E poi che nulla v'è che 'l guardo occúpi,
vidi scherzar fra teneri vincigli,
d'alto mirando giù ne' fondi cupi,
due vezzosetti e timidi conigli.

Ratto caláimi da la balza alpestre
e, rannicchiato e quatto, ambi pigliai,
giuntili tra i ginebri e le ginestre.

A te, Nisa, gli serbo, ed anco avrai
da me più vaga fèra e men silvestre,
se men fèra e selvaggia a me sarai.

Simple as the sonnet is, one receives from it no feeling, unless it be humorous: nothing but the conviction that no such person ever caught rabbits in any such way. As for the author's sense of the beauty of nature, the fifth verse: "E poi che nulla v'è che 'l guardo occúpi," is naïvely significant.

It seems to me that in the poems descriptive of nature as in the erotic verse, the sensuous element is generally so feeble as to be unproductive of anything aesthetic—this with the exception of a relatively small number of compositions—while the ingenious element is as destructively prevalent in the one kind as in the other. No doubt it is reasonable to point out analogies between Marino and the marinists on the one hand, and D'Annunzio and his followers on the other, but there still remains the important difference that the works of D'Annunzio are the product of an extraordinarily vigorous sensuality, while those of Marino and of these poets, although properly described as sensuous, are without that vigor.

Where in these poems we have genuinely sensuous expression, it is far less frequently of visual or erotic sensuousness than of auditory. Many of them have a truly musical quality which would produce the same pleasant though vague impression even if the words had no meaning, and often enough that pleasant impression vanishes as soon as one realizes the meaning of the words. Take for example *Il Riso* of Giuseppe Salomoni, of which the first stanza is as follows:

Qualor da bel disio
tratto gli occhi e la mente,
gli occhi e la mente al mio bel sole affiso,
sì dolce al guardo mio
si scopre e si lucente,
che da me dolce il cor resta diviso.
D'oro è il crin, d'ostro il viso;
ma più che l'oro e più che l'ostro eletto
il crine arde e fiammeggia,
il viso arde e lampeggia;
d'alabastro è la man, d'avorio il petto,
e nel bel ciglio splende
fiamma d'amor che mille fiamme accende.*

* *Ibid.*, p. 274.

Such examples as these are not infrequent,²² and offer a happy relief to those who must for any reason toil through the other unlovely stuff. In some poems the meaning of the words is so slight as not to interfere at all with the musical impression, as in the graceful trifle of Brignoli-Sale which begins as follows:

Chi nel regno almo d'Amore
brama l'ore—trar serene
fuor di pene,
d'una sola amante stolto
non si chiami;
molte n'ami, — ma non molto.²³

And in others—fewer of course—the musical impression is so well fused with the other impressions, as to produce, in spite of "concettismo" and conventional language, excellent verse. Such is the following sonnet of Ciro di Pers, and others by the same author would serve equally well as examples:

Fortunata fanciulla, al ciel nascesti
non alla terra, e non ti fu immatura
l'ora fatal che dei tesori celesti
e dell' eterno ben ti fe' sicura.
Tu breve il corso della morte avesti,
che con lungo penare altri misura;
la frale umanità poco piangesti,
poco spirasti di quest' aria impura.
Chi solca il mar del mondo ogn' or aduna
maggior peso di colpa, e'l cammin torto
sul tardi dell' età vie più s'imbruna.
Viaggio avesti tu spedito e corto;
navicella gentil fu la tua cuna,
che ti sbarcò del paradiso al porto.²⁴

As for the moral and religious verse, one cannot but agree with our editor that it is almost entirely without either moral or religious feeling. He has pointed out that some of the poems are openly immoral, and it is equally true that a number of those on religious subjects are unconsciously but grossly impious. So, for example, Gennaro Grosso in *Cristo Esortante alla Confessione* puts into the mouth of Christ the conventional poetical language, full of elaborate antitheses and one mythological reference; Giuseppe Artale in *Santa Maria Maddalena* describes the effect on the susceptible Saviour, of the golden hair and other charms of the Magdalene.

²² See Stigliani, *Il Dono del Fiore* (Lirici, p. 4); Macedonio, *Disfida delle Acque* ecc. (25); Preti, *Paesaggio* (58); Errico, *La Via Lattea* (140 ss.); Galeani, *Il Dono della Lepre* (181); Massini, *Il Vino* (190); Leonida, *La Bellezza al Tramonto* (204); Cormani, *La Dormente* ecc. (208); Fontanella, *Al Fiume Sebeto* (236); Quirino, *Serenata* (330); L. Casaburi, *Le Lagrime* (499); Perucci, *L'Oroscopio* (518-21).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 303.

²⁴ *Per una Nipotina dell' Autore la quale visse pochi giorni, ibid.*, p. 373. Cf. also *La Lotta col Tempo*, p. 367.

Antonio Belloni, in the review already mentioned,²⁶ accuses Croce of a tendency to "trovare bello tutto ciò che prima d'ora fu considerato come brutto," a criticism which seems to me excessive, and in harmony with a good deal more said by the reviewer which has in it more than a trace of bitterness. When, however, Belloni says that there is in Croce's essay a "pizzico" of exaggeration, he seems to me to be right. For although our editor admits that 17th century literature is, in an empirical and relative sense, "letteratura di decadenza," because it is without ethical sentiment,²⁷ still he believes that visual and erotic sensuousness is a living element in this marinistic poetry, and productive of much that is valuable, whereas it seems to me that, in the greater part of this verse, the undeniable sensuality of the authors has produced almost nothing which expresses any sentiment either ethical or sensuous, while what sensuousness is expressed is of the auditory kind which produces music.²⁸

Ingeniousness, the other important element of the marinistic lyric mentioned by Croce, is shown chiefly in the invention of "concetti," in "concettismo," and this has always seemed such a striking feature of 17th century writing that it has been illustrated and emphasized by all who have written on this period. Its evil effects are analyzed in an illuminating way by our editor,²⁹ who, however, points out that the "concetto" may become poetical not only in parody but also in verse in which the subject is not taken over-seriously by the author, in verse which is of a mirthful character,³⁰ as, for example, in *Contro l'Amare una Bellezza Sola* by Ciro di Pers:

Due begli occhi ha Lisetta
ed ha Clori un bel sen di vivi avori:
di Lisetta amo gli occhi e'l sen di Clori.³¹

But it seems to me that the "concetto" may be similarly transformed into poetry, that is, become expressive of true sentiment, even in verse which is not jocose, as in the sonnet, also by Ciro di Pers, *Le Chiome Nere*, in which all the "concetti" are cold and expressionless except that of the last triplet:

venga chi veder vuole entro un bel viso,
con una bianca fronte e un nero crine,
dipinto a chiaroscuro il paradiso.³²

or in the satire of Giacomo Lubrano, *A un Vantatore di Nobiltà*:

Odi tu, che degli avi i tronchi avvolti
vanti di gloria sol perchè vetusti:
la più antica famiglia è degli stolti.³³

Needless to say, these examples are rare because sentiment is more often absent than present, or else the intuition of it is so vague as to have no expression.

²⁶ *G. S. L. It.*, lviii.

²⁷ Preface to *Saggi*, p. xxi.

²⁸ A similar opinion is expressed by Belloni in the review already mentioned.

²⁹ *Saggi*, 415-419.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 416-420, but the examples given there seem to me doubtful illustrations.

³¹ *Lirici*, p. 377.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 363.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 463.

Thus far I have attempted to take into consideration the aesthetic value of this body of verse—which seems to me small—but a responsible account of the collection must deal chiefly with other matters. Apart from all aesthetic considerations, it should be said that there is a great difference among “conchetti,” some being clear, apt and witty, and others confused and inappropriate. Of the former kind is the following, in *Agli Accademici Oziosi di Napoli* by Vincenzo Zito:

L'ozio qui si trafigge e, a morte spinto,
in segno di vittoria ogn' alma intende
prendersi il nome del nemico estinto.
Così latino eroe, mentre che rende
l'Africa doma, dall' imperio vinto
per gloria il nome d'african si prende.²⁵

and the following by Pier Francesco Paoli: *Una Dama Spagnuola*:

Là dove more il sole
nata è costei; ned è stupor, se accolto
quanto ha di bello il sol porta nel volto.
Egli, pria che la sera
giunga a la tomba ibera,
per non lasciar senza splendor quei campi,
nel bel volto di lei lascia i suoi lampi.

These are witty “freddure,” but in the following example of Pietro Casaburi it is evident that the figure was not clear in the author's mind. He is speaking of the invention of the looking-glass:

Dell' arte opra migliore, onde gli oggetti
per cui gli egri amatori hanno il feretro,
par ch' a legar le fughe han gli anni stretti.²⁶

Confusion in these “conchetti” is usually due to the disconcerting use of metaphorical language in close connexion with unmetaphorical. In *La Luna ed Endimione* Vincenzo Zito tells how the moon in the sky describes Endymion, and then:

Sente farsi nel sen dolce rapina,
condursi l'alma in placida prigionie;
cruda non più, qual videla Atteone,
al faretrato nume, ecco, s'inchina.²⁷

For a moment one imagines that Cupid, the “faretrato nume” is present, but he is not; it is only metaphorical language. And a still more commonplace example, similar to a hundred others, is in the sonnet of Giuseppe Artale on the death of Troiano Spinelli who has bequeathed him a sword, the second triplet of which is:

Quinci sol per dar pace al mio cordoglio,
col tuo nobile acciar penne temprando,
la morte che t'uccise uccider vogliò!²⁸

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 503.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 344.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 455.

Ingeniousness, "concettismo," is prevalent throughout the whole collection: no poet but amuses himself in this way, unless it be one or two, of whom only one or two sonnets are given. So much so that it seems to me that of the two productive elements, the sensuous and the ingenious, the second—unproductive as it is of aesthetic results—is a more important factor in this kind of lyric than the first, for there are many poems here in which is no observable sensuousness, but almost none in which ingeniousness has no part. It is the manner of thought of these poets, which is universally substituted for feeling and is their chief pride and aim.²²

The language in which these poems are written has been repeatedly described, satirized and condemned. It is pedantic, bombastic, exclamatory, sweetish. The famous parody of Manzoni in the Introduction to the *Promessi Sposi* represents seventeenth century prose at its worst. On reading these poems one cannot but be struck by the homogeneity of the language which represents the patrimony of ideas common to the authors. It consists largely of innumerable minor "concetti," the ready-made stock-in-trade of anyone who chose to write lyric verse. It is beyond the object of this review to trace the origin of this material: no doubt nearly all of it could be found in Tasso and Petrarchists of the 16th century. It is sufficient to note that this common fund of expressions exists, and it is a significant phenomenon.²³

The satirists of this century, such as Salvator Rosa and Menzini, direct their attacks chiefly against the use of extraordinary "concetti,"²⁴ but it is evident that they are disgusted rather with the nauseous prevalence of the language of "concettismo." The vocabulary is small: a few hundred substantives, as many adjectives, still fewer verbs, form the nucleus of the stuff out of which most of these poems are made. It would be curious, but quite useless to know how many times are repeated some of the commonest words such as *ostro*, *manna*, *linfa*, *inostrare*, *inalbare*, *stanzare*, *lascivo*, *vitale*, *fero*; how often the expressions *tessere in rime*, *pura e serena*, *alto e canoro*, *erbe molli*, *erme rupi*, *ergere la palma*, *petto d'avorio*. Very many of the words are among the least pretentious, and are in living ordinary use to-day, and yet they are used so frequently as to acquire temporarily, a precious seventeenth century character, as, e. g., *grembo*, *fregio*, *aura*, *umore*, *esca*, *aureo*, *argenteo*, *altero*, *soave*, *ebbro*, *umido*, *stillare*, *lagrimare*, *ornare*, *irrigare*, etc.

Habits of construction which are common to these poets have been often noted as peculiarities of "secentismo." They consist chiefly in the abuse of what are known to rhetoricians by the names: "chiasmus," "hyperbaton," "zeugma,"

²² Ireneo Sanesi (in *La Cultura*, xxx, 21) also remarks that ingeniousness is more characteristic of this verse than sensuousness, altho in other respects he agrees with Croce: cf. p. 42, "l'ingegnosità . . . più ancora della sensualità, è . . . il carattere fondamentale del marinismo."

²³ The fact that the greater number of lyric poets repeat trite expressions without any apparent sense of their commonness, is an argument against the theory of Belloni (*Il Seicento*, p. 461 ss.) that the prime cause of "secentismo" is that craving for novelty which produced noble results in experimental science. And this in spite of the striving after new "concetti."

²⁴ Cf. also the parody of Stigliani in this collection, p. 16: *Sonetto nello Stile di Moda*.

"inversion" or "interposition" of nouns and their adjectives, "apposition" and the so-called "Greek accusative."³⁰ Adjectives and nouns are used chiefly in couples, and often they are synonymous; their respective positions are continually varied as if they were partners in a square dance; for example:

Poi sbuffando in parlar l'ira e l'orgoglio,
con un tuono di voce alto e spietato
fa palese il furor, noto l'orgoglio.³¹

One of the most common features is the omission of articles, which is perhaps a Latinism:

vastissimo gigante
fa latte di speranza amore infante.³²

Peculiarities, such as these and others, do not indicate, as one might expect, pedantry in exceptional care for the form of construxions; they are mere fashionable habits, and are found together with a frequent looseness of syntax in harmony with the impropriety of the "concetti," for example:

Spande l'ali la fama, e in ogni parte
le tue va in promolgar rime pregiate,
l'autor tacendo, non espresso in carte.
Son le tue glorie al maggior segno alzate;
chè creda il mondo ella l'occulta ad arte
che d'angelica penna or sian formate.³³

The fashionable language used by all the authors in this collection, which had, among other advantages, that of allowing the manufacture of "concetti" out of mere improprieties in terms,³⁴ was easy to learn. Frequently it served only to cover a lack of all ability either poetical or ingenious. A number of authors who seem to be mere followers of fashion in verse, without feeling or originality, are represented here by one, two or a few more poems,³⁵ but it was in the intention of the editor to exclude from this volume poems which are entirely characterless,³⁶ and so the body—no doubt large—of verse which is mere imitation of the rest of the lyric poetry of this century, is represented by only a few samples. In these the absence of feeling is, of course, more obvious than in the rest, since here the only disguise is the plain bombast and pedantry of the trade. These authors are to the other marinists who express some sensuousness or who are original in their "concettismo," as the "guittoniani" of the 13th century are to Guittone. On the other hand, the more original marinists and Marino himself, are to poets of true inspiration such as Tasso, Ariosto and Petrarch (except chronologically), as Guittone himself is to the poets of the

³⁰ Cf. *Lo Stile del Marino nell' Adone* ecc. (Pavia, 1901) by E. Canevari, who gives illustrations from Marino and others.

³¹ *Lirici*, p. 262.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 433.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

³⁴ *E. g.*, where it is said of sleep: "tu l'agitato sen placido assali," *ibid.*, p. 371.

³⁵ *E. g.*, Balducci, Palma, Rovetti, Abbelli, Marcheselli, Fortini, Augustini, Arlotto, Saracini, Trivulzio, Lunghi, De' Rossi, Artale.

³⁶ See *Lirici*, p. 525.

"dolce stil novo." Confessions such as those of Battista⁴⁰ and Fontanella,⁴¹ which, we are told, are frequent,⁴² remind one of Guittone's rather pathetic request to be instructed how to love,⁴³ because it was fashionable to love and write love-lyrics.

Few indeed of the authors in this collection use any but the conventional phraseology. In Stigliani, for instance, conscious sobriety produces a negative effect only. For the most part, whenever a poet condescends to use simple language, the poverty of thought and feeling appear in flat prose of a ludicrous kind. Take for example Girolamo Fontanella, who is one of the most typical marinists, fertile as he is in original "concetti" and in variety of subjects; ineffective in treatment of sensuous subjects; clothed as his poems are usually in the conventional language with more exaggeration than is in others. Of him our editor says: "Se fosse corretto e sobrio quanto è fresco e vivace, sarebbe il più notevole tra i marinisti . . .".⁴⁴ It is not to contradict this judgment—in which I agree, with some reservations—that I venture to point out that in the one poem in which Fontanella really shows sobriety of language, the result is a most comical prosiness.

This poem is *La Morte di Marianna*,⁴⁵ in which is related the story of the death of Mariamne at the hands of Herod. The story is told, for the most part, in the simple language suitable to tales for children, although the conventional phraseology and "concetti" reappear from time to time. It includes admonitions by the author, pointing the moral of the incidents, syntax that is sometimes lame, and anticlimaxes in plenty.

Herod is presented as the traditional tyrant of the marionette stage, a very satisfactory monster, blood-thirsty, lustful, talkative and self-satisfied; Mariamne as an innocent, beautiful and modest creature with golden hair. The king, his ambition and his other simple desires satisfied, sends for the heroine to feed his amorous cupidity:

Un dì, tornando ai suoi lascivi amori,
condur si fe' la sua real consorte,
che per abiti avea porpore ed ori.

but on finding her sulky and unresponsive, he exclaims:

Chi ti turbò, cor mio, ben mio? rispondi!
Farò, farò che'l temerario mora,
che fu cagion de' tuoi dolor profondi.
Oh Dio, che cosa è quel che il cor t'accora?
di pur, comanda pur; quanto richiedi
eseguirò, per compiacerti, or ora.
Non solo io vo' che'l regno mio possiedi,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

⁴² Cf. *Saggi* ecc., pp. 384-5.

⁴³ *Le Rime di Fra Guittone d'Arezzo* a cura di Fl. Pellegrini, Bologna, 1901.

I. son. xxviii.

⁴⁴ *Saggi*, p. 414.

⁴⁵ *Lirici*, pp. 257-266.

ma il dominio del cor siati concesso;
 sia tuo quanto in Giudea scopri e rivedi.
 Comanda pur, ch' obedirotti appresso;

She repulses him, rebuking his intemperate amorousness, and he is temporarily cowed. Next day, however, after dinner, he returns to the charge:

verso il caro suo ben corre anelante,
 ma scacciato di nuovo, egli s'accorge
 di nemica beltà trovarsi amante.

This time she gives him her true reason, and accuses him of plotting to kill her, concluding:

Non ti bastò d'avermi il padre ucciso,
 soffogato il german, l'imperio tolto,
 ed il trono usurparti e starvi assiso?

At this Herod's rage explodes:

A tal parlar tutto di rabbia ardente,
 uscito fuor di sè grida il tiranno:
 —Tanto ardisci tu dir, donna insolente?

He retires to his throne to ruminate:

Va nel trono a seder ricco e pomposo,
 e del passato e ricevuto scorno
 non può coi suoi pensier trovar riposo.

He calls a council, orders the arrest of his betrayer, and summons Mariamne to be condemned to death. She appears and does not spare language in vituperating Herod and his counsellors; but here the author intervenes to criticise his heroine. Beautiful and chaste as she is, she ought not to behave so boisterously:

Costei, quantunque sia di regia prole,
 troppo nel suo garrir si mostra audace
 ed in furie trabocca ed in parole.
 Ma si scusi, ch'è alfin d'alma vivace;
 e se troppo nel dir sciolta si vede,
 è proprio della donna esser loquace.

Mariamne is willing enough to die:

Su, toglietemi—grida—or or la vita;
 per non veder sì barbaro spietato,
 bramo far da' viventi oggi partita.

Her mother appears and takes the king's side. She rails against her own daughter,

e la sgrida e l'accusa, odia e riprende;

she cuts off her daughter's hair. Then the queen, who had been before like a "stolida tigre," becomes as meek as a lamb, and is beheaded amid the tears of all but Herod:

Tal fu di Marianna il caso infausto,
 la falsa accusa, il fin tragico e rio;
 ma d'innocenza candido olocausto,
 casta e bella in amor visse e morio.

Very many other examples could be given in which amusing poverty of expression is the result when these poets attempt to express themselves simply:⁸³ the conventional language is the proper dress for their vague impressions and their artificial imagery, and without it there is often nothing left but laughable prose. So true is this that it seems to me that to the two productive elements emphasized by Croce, a third ought to be added, not less important than the other two, that is conventionality. Writers of this time in Italy breathed the atmosphere of a society in which (to use an expression of Emerson), "the virtue most in request" was "conformity" and this in spite of the general desire for novelty in detail, which has always been a characteristic of imitators. Much of this verse seems to have been written at the instigation of the fashion of the time; and no doubt all that which has been excluded by the editor as without character was so written. For example, the poems of Murtola are not included: but why did Murtola write verse? Presumably because to write conventional poetry was an easy way to be famous. The power of fashion in producing large quantities of more or less tolerable verse is seen still plainer in the 18th century, but it should be considered in the 17th also.

Wise words are in the preface to the series of essays by Croce (*Saggi*) in which he reviews the attitude of critics of the literature of this century, in the past; points out that criticism which consists in accusation or defense of "secentismo" is out of place, and remarks on the defects of modern criticism which confuses "storia dell' arte" and "storia della coltura." It is hardly to be doubted that one of the contributing causes of "secentismo" is Spanish influence. One of the essays, *I Predicatori Italiani del Seicento e il Gusto Spagnuolo*,⁸⁴ seems to put that influence beyond doubt, as far as the Italian preachers of the 17th century are concerned. It should be remembered, however, that sermons are a kind of literature which is peculiarly liable to "concettismo." The friar in Schiller's *Wallenstein*, cited by Croce,⁸⁵ finds his match in many a modern popular preacher: I remember, for instance, a modern address on total abstinence in which occurred a sentence somewhat as follows: "Beware of the man who 'only drinks now and then,' who 'only drinks more or less,' he always drinks now and not then, he always drinks more and not less."

As far as the Italian lyric is concerned, one is inclined to think—especially after reading the recent work of Lucien Paul Thomas⁸⁶—that Spanish influence,

⁸³ Needless to say, nearly all the marinists are without sense of humor. A striking example is *La Mendicante* of Achillini (*Lirici ecc.*, p. 49) in which the mendicant is asked why she begs for alms when she is rich with the gold of her head and the ruby and pearls of her mouth. Exceptions are the authors of parody and satire, Stigliani (p. 19) and Paolo Abriani (p. 197); the anonymous authors of *Zitella Romanesca Ritrosa* (p. 215) and *La Mosca nel Calamaio* (p. 216); Lorenzo Casaburi, and Tommaso Gaudiosi. Absence of humor is an important characteristic which the marinists share with D'Annunzio. Compare the preface to *Più che l'Amore* (Milano, 1907, p. v), where the author complains that the audience burst into a vulgar guffaw when the protagonist (beset by the police, who had surrounded his house) after tragic speeches, opened a window and said: "È una bella sera."

⁸⁴ *Saggi*, pp. 161-194.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

⁸⁶ *Gongora e le Gongorisme*, etc., Paris, 1911.

weak or strong, came from the kind of verse cultivated by Herrera and the imitators of Italian poets, rather than from Gongorism as Morsolin thought.² Subtle and involved thought expressed in obscure language is not a characteristic feature of our marinists, if we except a few poems of Pietro Michiele, Paolo Zazzaroni, Antonio Basso and Giuseppe Battista.

Important is the fact brought out by Croce that "concettismo" was popular, not only literary, and not aristocratic. In the extract he gives from "Il Canocchiale Aristotelico, ecc." by Tesauro occur the expressions: "concetti favoriti dal popolo" and "concetto predicabile appresso il popolo."³ The fashion of "concettismo" was national. Even without Spanish influence, the previous history of Italian literature is sufficient to account for poetry such as this in the 17th century. It has often been remarked that the most admired poets of the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th centuries have characteristics similar to those of the marinists,⁴ and these characteristics are not so much artistic blemishes as mere barrenness of aesthetic production. The "concetti," for example, are chiefly ungainly products of a busy mind, not the result of any intuition, of any artistic expression. Such are the "spiritelli" of the "Dolce Stil Novo"; such are many comparisons in Petrarch, and part of the imaginative inventions of the Divine Comedy. It is notorious how these special manifestations of aesthetic sterility are more frequent still in the Petrarchists of the 16th century, and in Ariosto and Tasso. In 1882 D'Ovidio distinguished the phenomena of "secentismo" from "the rhetorical, the pedantic, the sweetish and the affected," admitting that the latter are symptoms of artistic ill-health in Italy as elsewhere, but denying that the former were indigenous in Italy.⁵ And yet, if "secentismo" in literature means anything, it connotes these general features with the addition of "concettismo" which can easily be shown to have been markedly present in all centuries of Italian literature, while the 17th century combined all these things more noticeably than other periods, and the combination was more prevalent in Italy than in other countries.

To seek for the cause of this state of things is somehow like seeking for the cause of all national characteristics, or, worse still, the cause of all things. Doubtless there is no such cause to be discovered: the cause, as Croce says, is in the phenomena themselves, the development of which, however, may be traced. When we have such investigations as are outlined by our editor in his preface to the *Saggi*,⁶ there will be no need to look farther.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century, that flood of aesthetic expression which we call the Renaissance, had become divided into many channels, and flowed in some ever more slowly and scantily, in others more fully and faster. The literary and plastic arts began to be feeble and florid, while the so-called natural sciences became more and more vigorous and disciplined, and the logical or philosophic faculty, which feeds on all this material whencever it may come.

² *Il Seicento*, Milano, 1880.

³ *Saggi*, p. 164.

⁴ Cf. De Sanctis, *Storia d. Lett. It.* (Marino); D'Ovidio in *N. Ant.*, October 15, 1882; D'Ancona, *Studi sulla Lett. Ital. d. Primi Secoli*. Ancona, 1884 (Del Secentismo ecc.).

⁵ D'Ovidio, *op. cit.*

⁶ Pp. xvii-xxi.

grew apace. The artistic sterility favored the growth of the less admirable, the unaesthetic, national peculiarities, and they became grave, overwhelming faults, so much so that the sum of them was likened to an epidemic disease, and named "secentismo."

The collection of poems we have before us affords us an opportunity not formerly available of judging the true nature and accessory features of marinistic verse. It is the work of a master who, though more able than most of his compeers to draw truth from literary material of any sort, does not disdain the labor necessary to provide excellent material of this kind for others to study.

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Confesion del Amante. Spanische Uebersetzung von John Gowers Confessio Amantis aus dem Vermächtnis von Hermann Knust, nach der Handschrift im Escorial herausgegeben von Adolf Birch-Hirschfeld. By JOAN GOER. Leipzig, Dr. Seele & Co. 1909, 8vo, pp. XXXII + 553.

On the death of Herman Knust in 1889, the copies of medieval works which he had accumulated in the course of a singularly industrious career, came into the possession of the Statsbibliothek of Leipzig. The *Confesion* is the second Old Spanish text of this collection to be edited by Dr. Birch-Hirschfeld. It is the prose translation by one Juan de Cuenca, of the lost Portuguese translation of the *Confessio*, which is attributed to a certain canon of the Lisbon cathedral, John Paym or Payn. The text is preserved in MS. G-II-19 of the Escorial library. The translation is nearly complete, very faithful and readable, and considering the roundabout transmission, tolerably free from corruption. The English version followed is the so-called first redaction (1390).

Knust was not at all preoccupied with questions of language, and it is easy to believe that what tempted him to make an edition of the *Confesion* was the opportunity which its didactic and folkloristic nature afforded for comparative annotation. Now, however, that the English version is available in Macaulay's annotated edition, it is as a linguistic monument that Juan de Cuenca's work is chiefly interesting, and as such Birch-Hirschfeld has elected to edit it, although his remarks on the language are limited to five pages. He has furnished an analytical table of contents, and has made use of the English work to elucidate the text. The Glossary and Index of Proper Names are partly due to Dr. Martin Wolf.

While it is not difficult to appreciate the pious impulse that led Birch-Hirschfeld to publish the *Conde Lucanor* which Knust had so nearly finished, the reviews of that work¹ should have convinced him that Knust's editions, valuable as they may be to the student of literature, do not conform linguistically to the best standards of his own day. Not only did he habitually print *v*, *u* and *b* according to modern usage, but he failed to recognize the *s* with horizontal upper stroke as equivalent to the older *z*. Since Baist first called attention to this form of *s* in 1880 there has grown up quite a little literature on the subject.²

¹ Baist in *Literaturblatt für Germ. und Rom. Phil.*, 1900, col. 218 ff., and Maria Goyri in *Romania*, XXIX, 600 ff.

² Juan Manuel, *Libro de la Casa*, Halle, 1880, p. 207: Menéndez Pidal, *Romania* XXX, 436 ff.: Menéndez Pidal, *Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, p. 404: Tallgren, *Estudio sobre la Gaya de Segovia*, Helsinki, 1907, p. 28.

It is certain that Knust's copies, of which there are still some in Leipzig, unedited, should not be published without a word for word collation with their originals. In the present instance, by eliminating his probable errors and frank modernizations, we might have a text one stage nearer an original which is at best sufficiently remote.⁹

Birch-Hirschfeld states that the copy has been compared with the original for those passages which Knust marked as doubtful. However, in view of the fact that the editor gives no first hand description of the MS. and no paleographical notes, it is fair to assume that he did not himself examine it.

The language of the *Confession* is Castilian. One might expect a number of portuguesisms. If they are there I have failed to notice them. There is, on the other hand, some evidence of the influence of an Aragonese scribe. Such evidence I take to be the confusion of *a* and *e* (*estralabio* 363.12, *especto* 385.29, *estermonia* 144.12, *estrologia* 211.25, *malenconia* often, *selvia* 392.8); the separation of vowels by *h* (*prohesa* 312.18, *Prohençia* 116.26, *cahen* 404.11, *dihesa* "goddess" 230.26, *pohesia* 228.10, *naho* often, *traher* 407.22, *vehedor* 432.26, *provehedor* 323.22, *comprehende* 509.30); *g* in the present of certain verbs (*fuiga* 438.2, *fuygas* 36.25, *ringo* 186.11, *costringa* 438.10); *pl* = Cast. *ll* (*planto* and *plorar* often); *ll* = Cast. *j* (*tallada* 375.21); initial *es* = Cast. *des* (*esviar* 146.31); finally *devantar* often for *levantar*. This form B-H. corrects always, but I find it in Casañal Shakerly, *Epistolario Baturro*, Zaragoza, 1907, p. 10 and p. 11. Cf. *debantaronse*, Pidal, *Infantes de Lara*, p. 269 note 1, var. of MS. *t* of the *Chronica* of 1344. Cf. also Sp. *dintel* and Goer 503.31 *Dalyda* = *Dalya*.

Many of the editor's emendations are good. The *Confessio*, though not always quoted accurately, has been used intelligently. It is unfortunate and incomprehensible that many passages have been emended which are perfectly good as they stand. Some of these will be pointed out in the textual notes which follow.

2.1 *tomo*, r. *commo*.—6.23 *Avinon*, r. *Aviñon*.—6.27 *trhe*, r. *trahe*.—9.22 *entero*, r. *enpero*, Cf. Gower I, 527 "bot plenerliche upon ous alle".—23.3 *Cadino*, r. *Cadmo*.—23.4 *lançan do*, r. *lançando*.—23.6 *bosinas*, r. *bozinas*.—28.10 remove comma, place one after *conplido* and another after *de*, l. 11.—33.34 r. *que que* (or *quien*) *en la verdad falso es, que no pueda*.—44.8 *piel de fueles* is not *faltige Haut*. This is one of the few passages where the translator has shown any originality of metaphor.—49.16 *que mudo*, r. *quemudo* not *quemado*. Cf. *perdudo*, Biblia I-j-6, *Romania* XXVIII, 395.—89.10 *demando que de que creença era*, editor removes first *que*. Still cf. 135.19, *preguntole que en que diablo pensava*; also *pregunto Sancho al huesped que que tenia para darles de cenar*, D.Q. II, 59; *pescudaron que que oviera*, *Engaños*, p. 52; Meyer-Lübke, *Grammaire* III, p. 652 (§ 577).—95.9 *la avia fallado e guardo* needs no emendation, this tense alternation being frequent in Old Sp.—100.19 *guarte* is good.—146.31 *esviar* need not be emended to *desviar*. See above and *Libro de Alixandre*, ed. Morel-Fatio, p.

⁹In the case of certain proper names it is very possible that the corrupt reading of the text is due to Knust. Such are *Senerus* 443.7, r. *Seuerus*; *Alacorni* 392. 1, r. *Alacorui*; *Solius* 166. 6, r. *Solins*; *Soraster* 370. 32, r. *Zoraster*; *Cancer* 507. 28, r. *Cauçer*. For this last case compare Macaulay's Gower, II, p. CLXVIII, where Fr. Antolin in an extract furnished to Macaulay, reads *Caucer*. This extract differs widely from the corresponding passage in K's text.

XXVII.—159.22 remove *ado*.—170.22 *qual* needs no correction, being equal to "as". Cf. Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik* 62.8.—177.1 *si [a] alguna cosa*, vocal embebida?—209.36 *que [a] amor son pertenecientes*.—212.5 *Cefalo*, r. *Cefalon*.—216.26 construction does not require subjunctive as emended.—229.16 B-H. corrects *seguir seya* to *seguir sera*, apparently not recognizing the cond. although there is another, *querrelar me ya* in 298.30.—242.6 *Pitonus*, r. *Pitoni* or *Pitornus*.—244.25 place comma after *fusia* and remove that after *peñas*, l. 26.—245.32 should be left. A plural verb with *ninguno* is not rare in Old Sp.—245.32 *salva*, r. *salvo*.—262.30 r. *por manera que aunque no quisiere*.—268.9 *levando* corrected by editor to *llevando*! Also 281.27 *levolas* to *llevolas*. He admits however *luvia*.—272.9 r. *que muy bien fuese el [a] aquella tierra*.—275.10 *ynvincible*, r. *ynvesible*. Cf. 282.10.—275.32 *la serpiente* is possible. Cf. *infanta*, *sirvienta*.—286.14 r. *sahuesos*. Cf. *ahuela* 40.10 and *ahenencia* 17.7.—291.2 *especies*, r. *especies*.—320.18 r. *con enemiga*.—324.26 *aunque alcan a Dios*. Editor inserts *las manos*, though reference is undoubtedly to elevation of the Host.—325.22 *vos cre* needs no correction. Cf. Goer 444.5 *fase de mi lo que por bien toviere des*. It is frequent in *La Lozana Andaluza*. See Hanssen, *Grammatik* 29.2.—332.32 *Elena*, r. *Eleno*.—386.31 *Sodiaco*, r. *Zodiaco*.—267.30 *ofreçiol*, B-H. doesn't admit this form. I see no objection to keeping it. Staaff, *Etude sur les pronoms abrégés*, Upsala, 1906, p. 149, says that there are no cases in the *Third Cronica General*, but fails to mention that the MS. is of the XVIth century.—391.16 apropos of the herb *borum nigrum* editor incorrectly quotes Gower VII, 1327 "the Vertuous ele"! G's line is "Is hote Eleborun the blake".—398.27 *Sorobabel* r. *Zorobabel*.—431.12 *Jacob*, r. *Joab*. Cf. Gower VII, 3867 "and slouh Joab in such a wise".—450.5 editor does not admit *la fem. indir.* but restores it in 459.28.—455.6 *tenprar*, r. *tenptar*. Gower VII, 5447 "to tempte a man".—455.8 r. *con otras estorias e mesturada*.—467.7 *despio* (= *despidió*) is possible. Cf. Schuchardt, *Die Cantes flamencos*, Halle, 1881, p. 70.—467.21 r. *e seyendo*.—469.18 r. *fiiese una camara para*. Gower VII, 82 "a chambre for this man pourveie".—493.27 *carnaval*, r. *carcañal*.—501.27 *Canata*, r. *Canaça*.

The word lists are very carelessly done. There are many cases of words incorrectly recorded, and numerous omissions, among them the following. *abto* 118.19, 120.32; *açebta* 88.18; *achates* 391.29; *agramente* 191.34; *aguarismo* 374.20; *alexos* (adv.) 425.8; *alonge* 296.31; *alonyado* 19.18; *aluenē* 10.11; *amargosas* 449.33; *amaynar* 34.6; *a presa* 144.24, cf. *a grant priesa* 144.21; *bacado* 69.31; *Bel* 242.20; *ben* 329.27; *Benus* 148.4 and elsewhere; *berrillus* 391.23; *Bulcano* 228.12; *çafyr* 391.20; *cansedad* 42.15; *Capiscornio* 211.13; *carboncolo* 24.35; *carretativo* 122.18; *cavalleroso* 228.17; *carco* 55.12; *çarcar* 317.8; *celebro* (subst.) 241.7; *cercustancias* 168.17; *Claudino* 39.25; *colora* (= *ira*) 379.3; *commun* 7.9, 9.15; *compusision* 13.22; *comunt* 188.4; *compania* 140.6; *correbçion* 8.1; *Coste* 89.12; *cuidoso* 66.26; *descontra* (prep.) 147.9; *desperta* (adj.) 481.24; *destenprado* 126.16; *deyso* 41.25; *diesa* 21.19, 23.16, cf. *diosa* 30.18; *dioso* 135.18; *elixer* 201.25; *eltropios* 384.29; *enbeudose* 86.24; *ençusiar* 165.6; *escripsis* 230.14; *escuros* 34.12; *escusacion* 33.16; *especial* (adv.) 82.33; *esperencia* 6.22; *evas* 32.15; *fantastigos* 238.36; *fasion* 257.16; *ferrunbre* 201.15; *fiminino* 31.18; *fortuna* (= *adversidad*) 475.24; *geumetria* 374.17; *girgonça* 291.32; *Gorgoneas* 24.3; *grasçia* 95.30; *guernida* 57.13; *Heneas* 240.7; *Josefas* 199.13; *levado* 64.7; *liña* 301.25; *malatia* 120.4; *mengoso* 499.7; *mercador* 233.7; *minçion* 498.2; *misiricordia* 422.20; *moltitud* 429.16; *monimento* 218.6, 482.21; *mormuracion* 39.14; *mormurar* 37.25;

mumento 172.23; *mur* 150.30; *Nereides* 239.11; *Ninos* 299.32; *osequias* 306.36; *otrie* 159.29; *pasamente* (adv.) 352.25; *Pasifa* 300.11; *pennados* 141.24; *pescueço* 10.23; *Piçes* 390.10; *Pluton* 205.31; *posision* 219.31; *primulla* 391.30; *príncipe* 475.25; *Promoteus* 199.18; *Prone* 501.24; *providiência* 10.16; *pulçia* 419.13; *puni-laminidad* 426.17; *quistion* 40.21; *rrecadar* 151.3; *rreçuçitar* 351.9; *rreferta* 319.13; *rregradeçer* 314.35; *rreguarda* 99.33; *rrelijon* 477.32; *rromeraje* 466.14; *sardis* 393.21; *senificar* 13.26; *serayma* 376.27; *soleme* 483.1; *soterraña* 322.3; *spiritu* 45.27; *spirituales* 373.25; *supitamente* 17.3; *supitaña* 482.11; *supito* 309.29; *temiente* 80.9; *tenpestoso* 132.5; *Tereus* 304.28; *topamiento* 57.21; *tronpeço* 188.9; *umill* 94.19; *velleçino* 270.17; *vento* (subst.) 88.22; *xristal* 188.30; *ynfortunamiento* 357.20; *ynorançia* 441.18; *ynquição* 33.5; *ynsolas* 233.28; *ynlinçion* 6.6; *yproçista* 26.30; *ysperença* 201.28.

The making of a word-list may seem an ungrateful task, but so long as our knowledge of the Old Spanish tongue is in its childhood, the editor who makes his glossary convincingly complete may be sure of the fervent gratitude of his fellows.

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Die Bataille d'Arleschant des altfranzösischen Prosaromans Guillaume d'Orange.

By FRITZ REUTER. Halle, Buchdruckerei Hohmann, 1911. Pp. 164.

The purpose of this volume is to indicate the source of the prose recital which the author calls the *Bataille d'Arleschant*, and to find a place for it in the grouping of the manuscripts of *Aliscans*.

The prose recital exists in two manuscripts, both preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. français 1497 (which the author designates *A*), and MS. français 796 (which he designates *B*). Before stating his opinion as to the relation of the source of *A* and *B* to the thirteen extant manuscripts of *Aliscans*, the author makes a few brief remarks concerning the manuscripts of *Aliscans*. The critical content of these remarks makes no claim to offering anything new, and has merely an expository value.¹ The author had before him, in addition to the printed editions of *Aliscans*, copies which had been made of MSS. *C*, *L*, *e*, *d*, *M*, and of parts of *b* and *T*,² also a copy which he calls a rotograph, of *m*. We cannot refrain from wondering whether these copies are the unfortunate ones mentioned on p. vi of the edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch. If so (as seems probable), I have elsewhere shown the untrustworthy and unscholarly character of these copies.³

On pages 9-31, Mr. Reuter gives a skilful summary of the events of the prose version, and, on page 34, a table showing the presence or absence, in the

¹The author cites the statement of Mr. Paul Rasch, p. 9, concerning the close of MS. *m*: *vid.* the edition of *Aliscans* by Wienbeck, Hartnacke and Rasch, p. 530, comment to variant 8242. The statement that *m* closes with the line indicated is not strictly correct, since quite a number of words additional exist in this manuscript.

²The laisses which were lacking extend from laisse 122 (which is on folio 129 v° of the MS. of Milan) to laisse 181 (which is on folio 138 r°).

³*Romania*, xxxv, p. 309 ss., and S. A. Bacon, *The Sources of Wolfram's Willehalm*, Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1910, p. 8.

manuscripts of *Aliscans*, of seventeen episodes and important passages of the recital in prose. This table is well constructed, and indicates grafically the conclusions which he states on page 36: that no one of the manuscripts preservd can alone have servd as the original of *P* (the prose version); that *P* was either based on a MS. which has disappeard, or that it was derivd from several MSS. The MS. of London resembles most closely the events of *P*, and that of MS. 34,639 of the Bibliothèque Nationale comes next. Along with these two affiliated MSS., he mentions MS. *e*. In MSS. *C* (Berne) and *m* (Boulogne), on the other hand, a number of important episodes of *P* are lacking. These conclusions are well supported by the table on page 34.

The most valuable part of Mr. Reuter's volume is that in which he gives the Old French text of the *Bataille d'Arleschant* (pp. 37-162). Mr. A. Terracher had already printed, from the same MSS., what precedes the *Bataille d'Arleschant*.^{*} An examination of a few pages of the text as printed by Mr. Reuter will enable us to judge how faithfully he has done his transcription.

Page 37, line 7 from the bottom: *l. compaignie*.—P. 38: third line, *l. Sar-rassins*; in line two of paragraf 2, *l. emmy*; in line twelve, *l. eschiué* (or *eschivé*: the author is not always consistent in rendering *u*). At the end of the same line, *l. toux*.—P. 40: third line before paragraf 5, *l. desservy*; in the following line, *eus*; second line of paragraf 5, *l. s'estoit*.—P. 41, line ninth: the word written *vernit* is an erroneous reading of an obscure word. In the next line, *l. greslecte*, and two lines below, *ligier*. Eleven lines from the bottom of the page, *l. sa femme*, and in the second line from the bottom, *porroient*.—P. 42: fourteenth line from the bottom, *guctent*; eighth line from the bottom, *siege*.—P. 43: ninth line of paragraf 8, *metoies*; in the following line, *intencions*; two lines further on, *milleur*; in second line from the bottom of the page, *luy*.—P. 44: tenth line on the page, *lui donnast*; seventh line from the bottom, *couvint*.—P. 45: ninth line of paragraf 11, *Gloriëcte*.—P. 46: in line tenth, *prouchainement*; in eighth line from the close of paragraf 12, after *fet* the MS. has *elle*; in the fifth line from the bottom of the page, *gucte*.—P. 47: sixth line from the close of paragraf 13, *l. vassal*.—P. 48: in the ninth line before the close of paragraf 14, *l. Gloriëcte* and *Sarrasins*; five lines further on, *palaix*, a spelling which recurs more than once in the MS.—P. 49: in the third sentence of paragraf 16, the words: "*ne ja ne visés si fort aperté que vous aiés faicte*," are not very clear. Woud not the idea be better exprest, if we took *aperte* as a substantive formd after the verb *aperdre*? In any case, the word *aperté* does not make sense. Three lines further on: *l. pourrés*, and, in the next line, it may be that the MS. has: *Et tant qu'est a moy?* In the following line, the last word in the sentence shoud be *parte*.—P. 50: in the eleventh line of paragraf 18, *l. famine*, instead of *fainme*; three lines further on, *Karlemaine*.—P. 52: sixth line, *l. Si se passa*.—P. 53: eighth line, *l. lessée*, and, in the third line of paragraf 2, *laissée*; the word is *chevaulchié*, in the ninth line of this paragraf, and, in the fourth line before its close, *l. enverrouillie*.—P. 54: in the second line of paragraf 4, the editor prints *comune* (five lines above, we have *commune*). He may be correct, but the MS. appears to have a word with an *i* towards its end, perhaps the word *covvine*, one of whose meanings woud suit the passage equally well with *comune*.—P. 56: eighth line from the bottom, *l. tant*, instead of *tout*.—P. 58: second line, *celluy*;

^{*} *La Chevalerie Vivien*, Paris, H. Champion, 1909, p. 214-87.

towards end of the same line, l. *qui*; in ninth line, l. *actendant*; in the fourth line of paragraf 4, l. *assi*; in tenth line from close of the page, l. *risée*.

At this point in the narration of the *Bataille d'Arleschant* occurs a passage of interest to students of medieval customs and amusements. The king has sent Sansson to see who the person is who has just arrived before the palace. Sansson returns and says:

C'est Guillaume d'Orange, le voustre frere que j'ay la bas trouvé en celle court sur ung grant cheval monté, qui tant est merveilleux a regarder que saouler n'en pouroye mon appetit. Car de prime face ne le congneus, ains cuiday que ce feust une fixation ou ung parsonnage fait et composé proprement pour faire une risée ou ung entremes, pour esjouir .i. prince en plain disigner et aultrement.

We find, on p. 72: "rire par maniere d'entremes," and, on p. 158, in the description of the merry-making of a wedding, occur the words: *menestrels, joieux instruments, dances, esbatements, entremes* (p. 158). Mention should be made here of another interesting passage, to be found on p. 53. Guillaume has arrived at Orleans, just as he rode from the battle, that is, with soiled and broken armor. The description continues thus:

Et a son cheval n'avoit boucle ne conroye qui ne feust despecié ou si povrriz que rien ne tenoit a la selle qui vaulsist, et samblast a le voir que ce feust .i. vout de parsonnage habillié en telle maniere.

P. 59: in the third line from the bottom, l. *aprouver*.—P. 60: in the second line of paragraf 12, l. *actendant*; ninth line from the bottom of the page, l. *ingract* and *habandonne*.—P. 61: fifth line, l. *ung*; eighth line from close of paragraf 13, l. *seullet*, not *seull et*; third line from the close, *par avant*.—P. 62: seventh line from bottom, *Normendie*; second line from bottom, l. *monstreray*.—P. 63: second line of paragraf 16, l. *intencion*.—P. 65: seventh line from the top, *asseurée*; nearly at the middle of the page, *malgractieusement*; fourth line from the close of the page, *appaissée*.—P. 66, line eleven: it is possible that the MS. reads *voy* instead of *loy*? In the third line from the close of paragraf 19, l. *esraigié*.—P. 67: in the first line, l. *vengeroit*; in line thirteen, l. *despiteusement*; in same line, *peut*; in the last two lines of paragraf 20, l. *avanture* and *n'en est il*.—P. 68: sixth line, l. *le scay*; just above the middle of the page, l. *la fera ardoir*; fifth line from close of paragraf 21, l. *regrecla*.

The list of errata, p. 162, includes a number of errors and inexplicable things.

Mr. Reuter deserves our thanks for having treated his subject with sobriety and restraint—for having been unwilling to "pad" his work. We thank him above all for placing before us a text of such value to students of the cycle de Guillaume. In fact, if we regard the subject matter of this text, we shall find a number of points which have an important bearing. Space is lacking to mention more than two of these points here. We are told on p. 44 that Baudus kills Guillaume's horse. I have stated elsewhere¹ that neither the *Willame* nor *Aliscans* nor the *Chevalerie Vivien* appears to offer such information, but that *Foucon*, in the MS. of Boulogne, describes the event: *Baudus l'ocist de ses moi en l'estrée*. The prose version, then, supports *Foucon* in this important point, and serves to draw attention again to the crudity and improbability of line 2161

¹ *Romania*, xxxviii, pp. 4, 5.

of the *Willame*, where the remaniment of this epic made it seem desirable to have the horse perish by the hand of his own master. Another passage of interest is found on p. 56, where Guillaume relates:

comment les Sarrasins estoient dessendus en Arleschant, comment il y avoit ses nepveux envoyés, comment il meemes y estoit allé a tout son pouvoir, comment il avoit rengiés ses batailles contre Desramé, etc.

Guillaume gives further details:

Vray est que moy, estant a Orange, n'a mye ung mois d'uy, me vindrent nouvelles que le roy Desramés avoit grant nombre de Sarrassins envoyés par deça mer pour mon pais gaster, pillier, apouvir et destruire. Sy envoyai pour cuidier rompre leur entreprise tout mont bernaige, jusques a .xx. mil compaignons, qui menerent Vivien, Gerart de Commarchis, etc.

The Christians are defeated and forced to retreat "en Arle ou ils furent assiégiés par Desramé, qui onques ne me ayma." This setting merits a comparison with the *étapes de la légende*, as I sketcht them in the *Romania*, xxxiv, p. 264 ss. A further point of interest: the aid which Guibor gave to her husband is mentiond in the prose version during his flight from the field of battle. In his lament, he exclaims of Guibor as he flees alone: "Elle aura son tresor malvausement employé!" He refers to the *tresor* which she expended for the expedition: *vid. Chevalerie*, 1174-81 (MS. of Boulogne, 1395-1404); cf. *Aliscans*, 1842-48. The passage in the prose version is on p. 40. It would be interesting to cite here the long description of the strange, uncanny horse of Esrofle, which Guillaume conquers (*vid. pp. 41, 48, 53, 54, 58, 59*). This description is to be compared with that of the horse conquerd by Bertran and ridden to court by him in the *Nerbonesi* (vol. I, pp. 425, 430, 444). The argument which I have elsewhere advanced that the messenger in *Aliscans* was, in the sources of that poem, the Bertran of the *Siège d'Orange*, appears to me strengthend by these passages of the prose version. It is interesting to see Aimer included with Guillaume in the following apostrofe of the king:

Haa Dieux! verray je ja le jour qu'on me raporte que Aÿmer et Guillaume soient mors ou finés; car par ceulx et par leurs entreprises oultrageuses est mon royaulme plus foullé que par tous ceulx du monde, et mon peuple tant travaillé que il deveroit incessamment leur mort soushaidier! (p. 59).

The story says later (p. 88) that Aimer bears the surname *le chétif* because he was the most *fortuné* of all the brothers. The compiler even calls him *Aÿmer le fortuné*. The text does not mention the presence of Garin. Those who are interested in the geograpy of *Aliscans* will see at once the testimony rendered by the name of the prose version, where *Arleschant* speaks with sufficient clearness (this spelling is that of MS. 796). Let us add that the Rhone is mentiond (pp. 43, 101). A sentence of possible value to students of the cycle occurs on p. 109. Preparations are being made to join battle with the Saracens: "Puis ordonna Guillaume deux batailles de gens que Charlemaine lui avoit livrées." Is *Charlemaine* for *Louÿs*? If not, we may have here a reference not extant in the French poems but mentiond in the *Nerbonesi*, vol. I, pp. 266, 370, 406. We read in the above passages that Charlemagne, before his death, promises Guillaume ten thousand men, wherewith to acquire a realm for himself. In a number of cases, the words are not properly divided in the text as the editor prints it; for example, *destours d'Arcalde* (p. 123) should be: *des tours d'Arcalde*.

The punctuation of the text could occasionally be improved, as in the brief sentence in line thirteen, p. 153, which should close with a point of interrogation.

The prose of the *Bataille d'Arleschant* is the work of a person of taste and ability. Not infrequently the story is admirably told. The paragraph numbered 7, beginning on p. 159, for instance, is beautifully done, and has true literary form. At the close of this paragraph, the adapter—I was going to say the poet—lapses into verse, and cites *les mos du romant ancien* (that is, of *Aliscans*, 8392–8411). He adds a verse of his own: *A ces parolles, Guillaume la baisa*. The lines as he gives them differ somewhat from those of MSS. *a*, *L*, *d*, *e*, which offer this passage. They appear to be cited from memory, and almost have the air of having been learned by the adapter as a "speech" when a child. The following lines concerning the lover of *la belle Alix* and his union with her are worthy of the author of *Aucassin et Nicolette*: "si doucement se maintenoit aveques elle que c'estoit toute amour et douleur que l'assemblée d'eulx deulx."

R. W.

La Phonétique castillane, Traité de Phonétique descriptive et comparative. Par MOLTON AVERY COLTON, Chargé de cours à l'Académie navale des États-Unis. Paris, 1909 (American agent, Geo. W. Jones, Bookseller, Annapolis, Md.).

La Phonétique castillane is the result of several years of investigation, carried on not only in Spain itself, but also in the Philippine Islands, where for some time the author was inspector of schools. The MS. was completed, and printing was begun, in 1909, while Mr. Colton was still a student in Paris; owing to unavoidable delays, however, the book has only just appeared. Although the author is an American, he has written in French in order to reach the largest possible public interested in Spanish studies. The work is dedicated to Professor Henry Roseman Lang.

The book is epoch-making in the study of Castilian phonetics. In it Mr. Colton not only controverts many of the essential contentions of such hitherto authoritative books as Fernando Araujo's *Estudios de Fonética castellana* (Santiago de Chile, 1894), but, constructive as well as destructive, draws positive conclusions from his investigations, conclusions so logical that they cannot fail to convince unprejudiced readers. The general conclusion of the study is that many of the Castilian sounds present various shades of pronunciation, from one extreme to the other, without lines of demarcation as to the middle forms, but clearly distinguishable as to the extremes.

As an example of Mr. Colton's important results we may cite the chapter on vowels. Araujo contended that Castilian contains practically only five vowels; that, although each of these vowels has various shades of pronunciation, it is practically impossible to discover any regularity in the occurrence of these shades. "Todo esto," he said, "son matices flotantes sin fijeza en general que varían de una persona á otra influidos por mil causas diferentes que hacen imposible ó muy difícil la reglamentación de estas fugaces variantes." F. M. Josselyn, in his *Études de Phonétique espagnole* (Boston, 1907), arrived at the same conclusion: "Je ne crois pas que ces changements soient uniformes; on dirait plutôt qu'ils sont régionaux ou même personnels." But Mr. Colton shows that certain of these shades, at least two for each vowel, are due to definite and regular influences; in other terms, that they uniformly recur under fixed conditions.

Of the factors which determine the quality of Castilian vowels, the most important is metaphony, which Mr. Colton defines as "l'influence qu'exerce la voyelle d'une syllabe sur la syllabe précédente." The discovery of the existence of metaphony in Castilian, not suspected heretofore—except for the influence, in certain cases, of an atonic *i* upon the preceding tonic vowel—is perhaps Mr. Colton's most important achievement.

Following are some of the other important matters which are put in a new light by *La Phonétique castillane*: the peculiar influence of strong accent on Castilian vowels (less marked in the case of *u* and *i*), both on their nature, and on their method of uniting with a following consonant; the nasalization of vowels; quantity, both of vowels and of consonants; the influence of contact on consonants.

One of the best things about *La Phonétique castillane* is that the long and detailed scientific expositions are followed by statements of practical results. Hence the book will be not only valuable to investigators, but also an aid to anyone desiring to attain a correct pronunciation. For example, the learner will no longer be compelled to content himself with one pronunciation for each of the five vowels, and to forego any attempt to attain the vowel-shades, which, with Araujo as a guide, would surely be a hit-or-miss proceeding; he can now learn, by means of the orthoepic rules given by Mr. Colton, when to use the most important shades of each vowel.

In view of the intrinsic excellence of the book, it is the more to be regretted that it suffers somewhat from looseness of arrangement. In the author's defense it is only just to say that the book was written under certain difficulties which prevented him from giving his work a final revision. In a second edition this fault, entirely extrinsic, may be easily remedied, and at the same time the too frequent typographical errors of the present edition may be rectified. Another edition should also have a general index.

It is unfortunate, also, that the tone of *La Phonétique castillane* is as controversial as it is. While this is to a certain extent a necessary evil, inasmuch as an investigator who signally advances the study of a subject cannot but express disagreement with his predecessors, we feel that Mr. Colton's manner of doing so is often too stinging. It is to be hoped that this feature of the book will not embitter whatever unfavorable criticism there may be, and retard the universal acceptance which Mr. Colton's results will surely receive in time.

FREDERICK BLISS LUQUIENS.

SHEFFIELD SCIENTIFIC SCHOOL OF YALE UNIVERSITY.

NOTES AND NEWS

Professor John R. Wightman, of Oberlin College, has been granted leave of absence for next year.

Mr. Francis B. Barton, docteur de l'Université de Paris, is instructor in Romance languages at Williams College.

Dr. R. T. Hill, of Yale University, announces that he is preparing an edition of the Old French Arthurian poem *De Gunbaut*.

Mr. Lawrence M. Riddle, a recent student at the Johns Hopkins University, is at present instructor in French at Allegheny College. Miss Hazel Bullock, who formerly held this position, is passing the year at Paris and Grenoble.

In the altered course of study as adopted at Amherst College, one requisite for graduation is a sight examination in one of the Romance languages and in German. This examination, we suppose, like that prescribed at Harvard for entrance on the junior year, is oral.

The Instituto Internacional, at the annual meeting of its corporation at Madrid, elected Professor John D. Fitz-Gerald, of the University of Illinois, a member of the advisory council.

Mr. G. Hall, late of the University of California, is instructor in French and Spanish at the University of Texas.

Miss Alma le Duc and Miss Anna Chenot are instructors in French at Smith College.

Dr. Chandler R. Post, of Harvard University, intends to publish a *History of Spanish Allegory*, in the Harvard series on comparative literature.

Mr. Charles Carron a graduate of the University of Paris, is instructor in French at Rochester University.

Dr. Max Walter will publish with Scribner's *The Theory and Practice of Teaching French* (and a similar book on German). These volumes will offer an exact demonstration of the model lessons which he conducted last year at the Teachers College, Columbia University.

An interesting pamphlet on *Instruction in French and German in Ohio* was published by Professor C. H. Handschin, in No. 8 of the *Miami Bulletin*, Miami University.

Professor J. D. M. Ford, of Harvard University, is to prepare a volume for the *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*.

H. Champion, 5 Quai Malaquais, Paris, publishes annually a *Guide des étudiants à Paris: littérature et langues romanes*. This guide will be found very useful to foreign students.

OBITUARY.

Gustav Gröber, Professeur de Philologie Romane à l'Université de Strasbourg, a succombé le 5 novembre 1911 à une maladie dont il souffrait depuis cinq ans.

En apprenant cette triste nouvelle à mes confrères, une voix me pousse, non seulement à exprimer les pieux sentiments de regret pour la perte que nous éprouvons tous, mais aussi, et surtout, à parler de ce qui affronte la mort, du souvenir du maître et des impressions vivantes et immortelles qui se rattachent à l'image et à la personnalité du défunt.

Chaque encyclopédie peut énumérer ce qui touche à la carrière, aux productions savantes de Gröber, tout romaniste contemporain ou futur connaît et apprécie ou appréciera l'importance capitale des travaux de celui qui fut en droit de terminer la préface de la 2^{ème} édition de son *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie* par la déclaration: "Wie die erste, dürfte daher auch die zweite Auflage berufen sein, der fernerer romanistischen Forschung die Wege zu weisen."

Mais aucune notice biographique ne saurait faire ressortir toute la droiture, la noblesse, la force calme et imposante de l'homme et du maître Gröber. Ceux seuls qui ont eu le bonheur de le connaître de plus près savent qu'il pouvait leur servir de modèle, d'exemple à suivre, au titre de maître et d'ami aussi bien qu'à celui d'érudit. Avec un dévouement infatigable et vraiment paternel il restait à la disposition de ceux qui venaient à lui, leur donnant, sacrifiant le meilleur de son temps pour les initier dans la méthode, dont la "*Selbstkritik*" fut le principe premier.

Son choix fut bon, son conseil fertile et sa peine lui valut la satisfaction de voir une bonne part de chaires de Philologie Romane occupées par ses élèves. Pour nous, il ne mourra jamais, car nous passerons à nos élèves à nous les préceptes que nous avons reçus de lui, nous maintiendrons vivante l'admiration de l'érudit, la vénération du maître et l'affection de l'ami.

JEAN B. BECK.

PROFESSEUR DE PHILOGIE ROMANE À L'UNIVERSITÉ D'ILLINOIS.

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